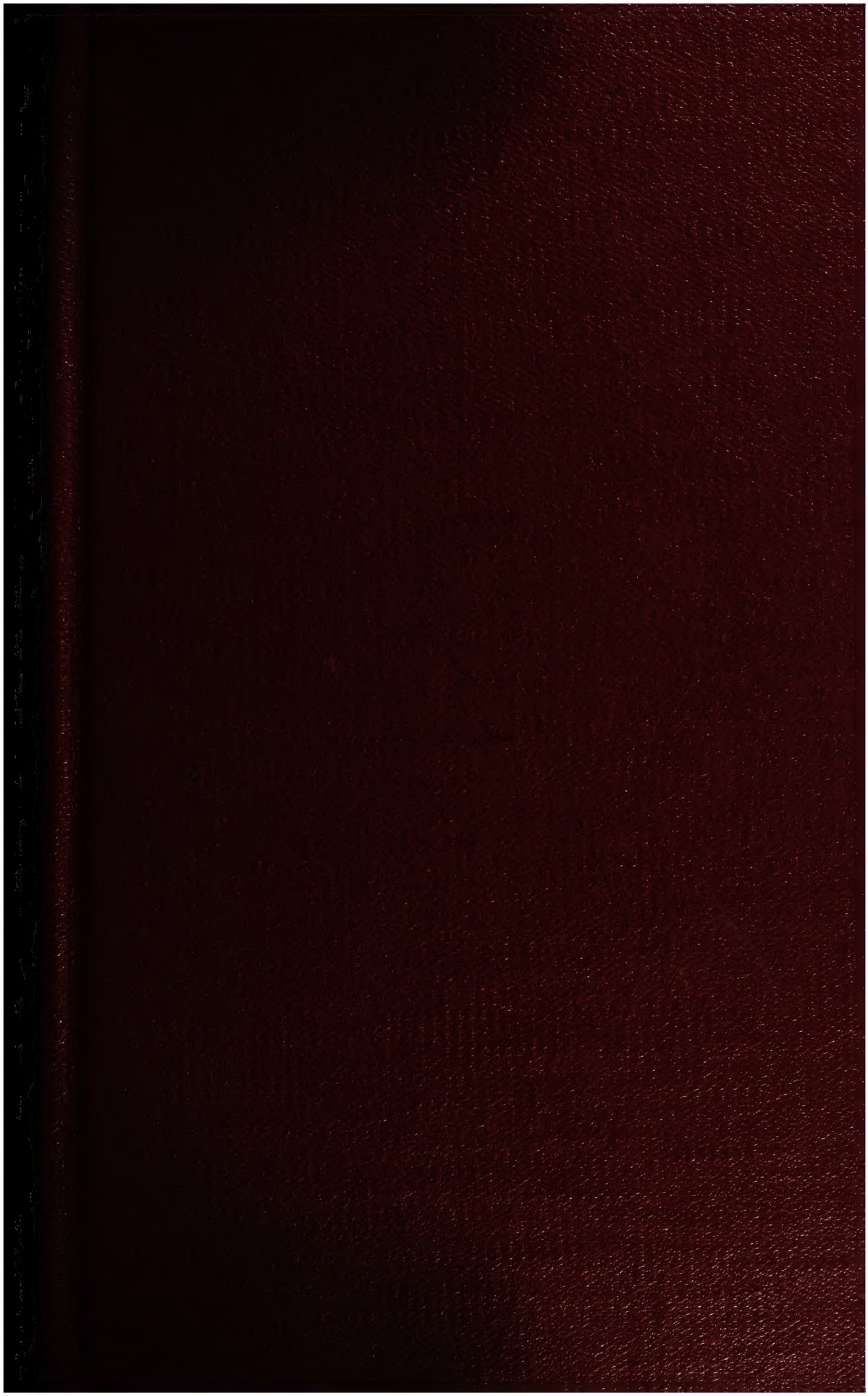

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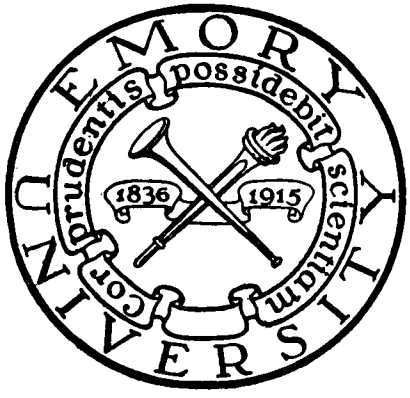

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OHIO IN THE WAR:

HER STATESMEN,

HER

GENERALS, AND SOLDIERS.

By WHITELAW REID,

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I

HISTORY OF THE STATE DURING THE WAR,

AND THE

LIVES OF HER GENERALS.

"I conceive that in these latter times the scale upon which we measure warlike prowess has been brought down too low by the custom of awarding wild, violent praise to the common performance of duty, and even now and then to actual misfeasance; so, if I keep from this path, it is not because I think coldly of our army or our navy, but because I desire—as I am very sure our best officers do—that we should return to our ancient and more severe standard of excellence. There is another reason which moves me in the same direction: not only is the utterance of mere praise a lazy and futile method of attempting to do justice to worthy deeds, but it even intercepts the honest growth of a soldier's renown."—KINGLAKE'S CRIM. WAR, Chap. 29.

"Whoever has committed no faults has not made war."—MARSHAL TURENNE.

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FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

AT an early date in the progress of the War the most casual observer of passing events could not fail to see the conspicuous part the men of Ohio were preparing to take in its prosecution. Watchful attention to the rapid developments of the time, and the emendous issues involved in the great struggle, was sure to intensify feeling already enlisted.

That the doings of Ohio Soldiers and Statesmen in the War should be fitly chronicled and ublished in a convenient and permanent form, was a decision more easily made than carried to execution. The difference in the present instance is measured by an interval of more than ur years, and the labor of not less than two persons during an equal period in preparing this ork for the press.

The collecting of materials in MSS. obtained by correspondence and conference with thou-nds of people located at widely extended points, with the labor of collating the facts given, id condensing them into narratives of such proportions as would bring the whole into reasona-le compass for publication, has been much greater than could have been readily foreseen, or than likely to be appreciated by the inexperienced. To these difficulties are to be added the numer-us obstacles which are sure to arise in getting a work of this magnitude through the press in ie time anticipated, whatever allowances for delays may have been originally made, and com-licated as in the present case in the destruction by fire of one-half the stereotype plates, when ie volumes were nearly two-thirds finished, and by the fact that the work has grown to be one-urth larger than calculated for.

The groups of portraits were engraved from time to time, by RITCHIE, ROGERS, and other ninent artists, as photographs were secured from reliable sources from which to produce them. he original intention was to have these include no person who had not attained the rank of rigadier-General (excepting a few heroes of lower rank who had fallen in the service); gradu-ly, however, exceptions were suggested in favor of such as had discharged the duties of their revet rank, and finally the sketches were extended to include notices—in many instances far o brief—of all officers of like rank appointed from the State.

The two volumes contain three times the amount of matter usually published in volumes similar size, and in a dress not less attractive, even when as profusely illustrated, and pre-sent facts equal to what are ordinarily given in a dozen volumes published under Legislative authority. The prices put upon the work, in its several styles of binding, are the same per vol-ume as those affixed by the publishers to *"Appleton's New American Cyclopedia,"* while the style of publication is more costly and the contents one-half greater. Thus, reliance for remuneration

is based upon large sales at moderate prices to the soldiers and their *hosts* of friends. Only thus can a return be expected for the twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars expended in producing the book, not to speak of profit on the venture. On this score, however, the publishers have no reason to be especially fearful. Several thousand copies have found purchasers in advance of publication; and, as heretofore arranged for, the work will continue to be delivered only to subscribers by duly-authorized agents.

The work is believed to be incomparably more complete than any similar one undertaken in any other State, and on a plan not attempted elsewhere.

Published to portray the patriotic efforts of the people of Ohio, the deeds of her soldiers, and of those who were at once her sons and the Nation's cherished leaders in the fierce struggle, the work will be found singularly free from the fulsome and vapid praise which was so striking a feature in works on the war published during the heat of the contest or at its close, to catch the sympathies of the public. Our author, with his careful, fearless, and polished pen, will doubtless find many eager readers, and be the means of exciting much discussion among the thinking men of the Nation.

PREFACE.

AN effort is made in these pages to present some leading facts in the illustrious record of the State of Ohio during the war of the Great Rebellion. It is sought, *first*, to exhibit the home history of the State through the long struggle; *second*, to present in whatever fullness of detail may be possible, the careers of the General Officers from Ohio, whether born in or appointed from the State; and *third*, to trace in outline the history of each regiment sent out, with the roster of its officers, and the leading facts in its organization and service.

The work owes its origin to Mr. WILLIAM H. MOORE, the senior partner of the house by which it is published. As early as in the summer of 1863 he visited me in Washington to arrange for its preparation. Its main features were then agreed upon, and he straightway set about procuring such facts for it as were then accessible. I desire now to add that but for his zeal, courage, and energy the work would probably have failed of completion.

It was a part of the contract made by Mr. Moore on behalf of the publishers, that they should procure for me all books, documentary matter, personal statements, etc., necessary for the preparation of the work. In pursuance of this arrangement, they have employed persons of apparent fitness for such service to visit the armies in the field, and, since the close of the war to wait upon officers of regiments, Generals, private soldiers—upon any one, in short, who might be thought able to contribute any fact not yet known or cast light upon any occurrence hitherto ill-understood.

With the material thus furnished my own work began. Many of the statements I was able to correct or modify from personal knowledge—many more could be verified from published documents or from official reports on file at the War Department—still others could be compared with the versions given in the reports of battles and of investigating committees, and in other documentary matter published by the Rebel Congress, of which I was fortunate enough to procure nearly complete sets at Richmond.* And on many points a residence of over a year at the South since the close of the war had given me additional light.

That these facilities have been used to the best possible advantage I dare not hope; but that they have been used honestly and conscientiously, I trust the succeeding pages may make clear. The book has been written without any theories of the war to sustain, and without any pet reputations to build up. I have striven earnestly to write always in the spirit of those golden words that stand as mottoes upon the title page of this volume—to avoid the custom of awarding wild, violent praise to the common performance of duty—to remember that whoever has committed no faults has not made war—to promote the honest growth of a soldier's renown by simply telling what he did. And if I have had any theory whatever that has influenced my expressions, it has been that of the gruff, good Count Gurowski, that the real heroes of this war were the great, brave, patient, nameless People.

It is quite probable that I shall have very few readers to agree with the estimates placed upon the performance of many of our most distinguished Generals. It is a National habit to go to

* For a general guide as to the events of the war, constant use has been made of Mr. Greeley's "American Conflict"—a work with which I have not in all cases been able to agree, but which has always seemed to me a marvel of comprehensiveness and condensation.

extremes. At first we could endure no comparison for the young commander of the Army of the Potomac but with Napoleon; after a time we could scarcely hear without impatience any defense of him from the gross charges of cowardice and treason. At first we denounced the man who fought Belmont and Pittsburg Landing as a drunkard and an incapable; now we echo the words of Sherman that he is the legitimate successor of Washington, and believe him the greatest General of the century or the continent. It is not by any reflection of such popular verdicts that honest History can be written. Yet I have experienced too many proofs of the generous consideration given by our people to honest convictions, to have any doubt as to the kindly reception they will extend to these frank statements of opinions that have not been formed without much study, and are not expressed without conscientious care.

It is doubtless impossible, in a work of this magnitude, to avoid errors. No page—not even the briefest sketch of a cavalry company or independent battery—has gone to the printers without being carefully revised or rewritten. The rosters of the regiments have been first taken from the rolls of the Adjutant-General, then compared with the War Department Volunteer Register, and finally corrected and enlarged in almost every case by some officer of the organization concerned; every page has been again and again revised. After all, in so many names, and dates, and brief accounts of great transactions, many errors must have escaped notice; but it may be safely affirmed that, in the main, the record of Ohio soldiers as here presented, is incomparably more complete and correct than any, official or unofficial, that is elsewhere accessible.

It has been earnestly desired to add to the work an unique collection of incidents in the war, narratives of personal experience, sufferings in Southern prisons, and the like—the materials for which were mostly furnished by Ohio private soldiers. But the work has already swelled far beyond the limits to which it should have been restricted; and it becomes an unfortunate necessity to omit this further illustration of the lives and works of the men in the ranks. For the same reason some mention of the Western gunboat service must be left out.

I am specially indebted to Major Frank E. Miller (of Washington C. H., Ohio) for intelligent and valuable assistance in reducing to shape the vast mass of material placed in my hands by the publishers. He has also prepared the exhaustive index which accompanies the volumes. Hon. William T. Coggeshall, Private Secretary to Governor Dennison (who has since died at his post as United States Minister to Ecuador); Hon. William Henry Smith, Private Secretary to Governor Brough, and subsequently Secretary of State; F. A. Marble, Esq., afterward Private Secretary to Governor Brough and to Governor Anderson, and Edwin L. Stanton, Esq., of the War Department, have placed me under obligations for valued assistance in many ways. I have also to thank the Adjutant-General and the Governor of Ohio for access to any documents among the State archives which it was needful to consult. Finally, to a whole host of the soldiers of Ohio, for the kindness which loaded me with whatever facts were asked, and for the delicate consideration which intrusted these to me to be used according to my own sense of fitness, I can never sufficiently express my obligations. No General or other officer of Ohio has failed to furnish whatever I sought; and no one (with a single exception) has asked that any feature in his career should be concealed or any other extolled.

And now as this labor, which for nearly two years has engrossed my time, is brought to an end, I lay aside the pen regretfully. Here are many pages, and many efforts to do some justice to features in the war history of our noble State. No one can better understand how far they fall short of the noble theme. And yet—who *can* write worthily of what Ohio has done?

W. R.

CINCINNATI, December 24, 1867.

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PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE DURING THE WAR,

AND

HER WAR ADMINISTRATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

OHIO'S PLACE IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

WHEN the Nation, striving only to enforce its laws and maintain its lawfully elected rulers, suddenly found itself plunged into a war that promised to envelop half its territory, it confided its "Grand Army" to the leadership of an Ohio General.* When, beaten less by the enemy than by its own rawness, that army retreated in disorder from the field it had fairly won, and the panic of the first Bull Run seemed to freeze the currents of National life, another Ohio General,† fresh from the first successful campaign of the war, was called in to restore public confidence, and reorganize the army on the grander scale which the increasing perils demanded; while still another Ohioan‡ was left to assume his vacated command in the mountains.

As the war expanded, the State continued to preserve a similar pre-eminence. Through three campaigns, the greatest of the National armies remained under the leadership of an Ohio General. This officer also succeeded the veteran Scott as General-in-Chief in command of all our armies. An Ohio General‖ commanded the great department which lay south of his native State, till, after pushing back the war from the Border to the Alabama line, he was caught and submerged in its refluent tide, and another Ohio General was summoned from fields of victory in the South-West to take his place. An Ohio General,§ after brilliant services elsewhere, commanded the Department of the South, till, in the midst of his labors, death came to relieve him; and when active operations in the department were resumed, it was reserved for another Ohio General** to revolutionize gunnery, in destroying the fort around which the war had opened, and in whose downfall was written the doom of the rebellion.

No less signal were the services rendered by the sons of the State through the whole duration of the war. Its close found another native of Ohio,†† after

* Irvin McDowell, native of Ohio, and one of her cadets at West Point.

† George B. McClellan, citizen of Ohio, and lately Major-General of Ohio Militia.

‡ William S. Rosecrans, native of Ohio, and one of her cadets at West Point.

‖ Don Carlos Buell, native of Ohio, but appointed to the service from Indiana.

§ O. M. Mitchel, citizen of and appointed from Cincinnati.

** Quincy A. Gillmore, native of and appointed from Ohio.

†† U. S. Grant, born in Clermont County, Ohio, and originally appointed to the army from that district.

a career as wonderful and as varied as that of any Marshal of France, in command of all our armies, and hailed, by popular acclaim, our greatest Soldier. Another,* rising from the rank of a Quartermaster, was foremost in enforcing the surrender of Lee, and stood confessed the first Cavalry General of the Continent. Another,† set aside for insanity at the outset, led the great consolidated armies of the West from victory to victory, till one of their successes decided a Presidential contest, and another, as they marched down to the Sea, and swept like the Destroying Angel through the birth-place and home of Secession, ended the war.

Other sons of the State had borne parts no less conspicuous in the National councils. One, at the head of the War Department,‡ illustrated by his fiery energy and his wonderful executive capacity, all, and more than all, that has been said of the greatest war minister of the most warlike nation of Europe. Another,|| so well discharged the great duties of the Treasury Department, carrying the Nation, and its armies through financial expenditures without a parallel, with a security and public confidence without precedent in the world's history of war, that a leader of the rebellion had been forced at its close to say: "It was not your Generals that defeated us, it was your Treasury." Another,§ foremost among all the brave hearts who surrounded and upheld the Government, and in all the gloomiest hours never once despaired of the Republic, was the Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War. And another,** maimed with honorable wounds received in the public service, passed from the field to take his place at the head of the committee which controlled the military legislation of the country.

The exalted fame reflected on the State which could boast such representatives in the field, and at the head of the great Departments and Committees that controlled the business and met the expenditures of the war, was still further increased. Energetic Administrations at home successively devoted the State and all it contained to the great struggle—"rising to the height of the occasion, dedicating this generation, if need be, to the sword, and vowing, before high Heaven, that there should be no end to the conflict but ruin absolute or absolute triumph." They gave to the Nation, in its prosecution of the war throughout its entire extent, this whole-hearted and unswerving support, and could still find means, beside, for such special achievements as the rescue of West Virginia by Ohio militia, the destruction of one of the most formidable cavalry commands of the rebellion on Ohio soil, and the re-enforcement of the Army of the Potomac, at the critical hour when the fate of a Nation hinged on the fate of a campaign, by the voluntary contribution of over forty regiments

* Phil. H. Sheridan, native of and appointed from Ohio.

† W. T. Sherman, native of and appointed from Ohio.

‡ E. M. Stanton, native of Ohio, and resident of the State for the greater portion of his life.

|| S. P. Chase, ex-Governor and ex-United States Senator of Ohio.

§ Ben. F. Wade, United States Senator from Ohio, and Vice-President of the United States.

** Robert C. Schenck, native of Ohio, Major-General of Volunteers, and Chairman of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives.

of Ohio Hundred Days' men, called to the field at but little more than an hour's notice, from every busy avocation throughout the State.

Yet the People who filled these regiments, and made these Administrations, and furnished these Statesmen and these Generals, merited more praise than all the rest. They counted their sons and sent them forth. They followed them to the camps. They saw them waste in inaction and die of disease. Then they saw them led by incompetents to needless slaughter. Stricken with anguish, they still maintained their unshaken purpose. They numbered the people again, and sent out fresh thousands. They followed them with generous gifts. They cared for the stricken families, and made desolate lives beautiful with the sweet charities of a gracious Christianity. They infused a religious zeal into the contest. They held their soldiers to be soldiers in a holy war; they truly believed that through battle, and siege, and reverse, GOD was waiting, in His own good time, to give them the victory. Then they saw the struggle broadening in its purposes as in its theater. They did not shrink when they thus found how they had walked these paths of War with open but sightless eyes, while unseen hands were guiding them to ends they knew not of. After a season the war came very near to each one of them. Almost every family had in it one dead for the holy cause; by almost every hearthstone rose lamentation and the sound of weeping for those that were not. Then came the voice of the tempter. Able sons of the State, men foremost in her honors and her trust, besought them to pause, declared the war at once a failure and a crime, entreated them to array their potential influence against the Government in its struggle, and in favor of peace on any terms; conjured them to save the blood of sons, and husbands, and fathers. They spurned the temptation. By a vote more decisive than had been known in the history of American elections they rejected the tempter. Thenceforward the position of Ohio was as a watchword to the Nation.

It seems right that the history of such services and such devotion should be specially preserved. The State which contributed such leaders in the Cabinet, such Generals in the field, and an army of three hundred and ten thousand soldiers to follow them, may be pardoned for desiring her achievements separately recorded. Finding them grouped thus together, those who come after us may trace the career of Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan; of Rosecrans, Mitchel, McPherson; of McDowell, McClellan, Buell; of Gillmore, and Steedman, and Hazen, and Schenck, and the whole host of our worthies; of Stanton, and Chase, and Wade; of Dennison, Tod, and Brough, and the two hundred and thirty military organizations they sent into the field. They may watch how by the aid of these the army grew into shape and substance. They may see how, following those it was led "always to honor, often to victory," and at last to glorious success. Then, contemplating this whole magnificent offering to the National cause, they may come to say, with something of the pride with which we, who have seen these things with our eyes and heard them with our ears, regard the noble State, the gracious Mother of us all, "This, this was OHIO IN THE WAR."

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR.

THE State of Ohio, which in the next four years was to contribute to the National service an army of soldiers amounting in the aggregate, according to the figures of the Provost-Marshal General, to three hundred and ten thousand men, had in 1860 a population of not quite two and a half millions.* The existence of its territorial organization had only begun a year before the Century; but it was already, and as it seemed was likely long to remain, the third State in population and wealth in the Union. More than half of its area was under cultivation,† and more than half of its adult males were farmers, there being of this class two hundred and seventy-seven thousand owning farms, averaging a little over ninety acres to each man. So well was this most important body of the State's producers aided by the natural fertility of the soil, that they furnished each year more than double the entire amount of food, animal and vegetable, that was needed for the support of the whole population of the State. In 1860 they exported nearly two million barrels of flour, over two and a half million bushels of wheat, three million bushels of other grains, half a million barrels of pork. The value of the exports of agricultural products for that year from Ohio swelled to fifty-six and a half million dollars.

Not less industrious and prosperous were the manufacturers of the State. The value of their products for 1860 was over one hundred and twenty-two millions of dollars, an increase of ninety-eight per cent. in a single decade. The city of Cincinnati alone, where Indians were trading wampum and buying blankets when New York had already attained the rank of the metropolis of the continent, manufactured in 1860, sixteen million dollars, worth of clothing, a larger quantity than New York itself produced in the same year.

But the wealth of the State and the welfare of her people, so eloquently illustrated in figures like these, may perhaps be more clearly presented in a briefer statement. The assessed value of her taxable property rose in 1860 to nearly a thousand million dollars; while, by the estimate of her Commissioner of Statistics, the entire debts of the people would not amount to twenty per cent. of that valuation. Let us not fail to add that, by the beneficent legislation of the

* 2,343,739. In 1850 it was 1,980,329. And in 1830 only 937,903.

† It had 13,051,915 acres of improved land to 12,210,154 of unimproved.

State, none of her children were growing up without the free gift of an education that should fit them for the duties of citizenship; that there were published and mainly circulated within her borders twenty-four daily newspapers, two hundred and sixty-five weeklies, and fifty-four monthlies, making in the aggregate seventy-two million copies; and that so general was the devotion to religion and the provision for religious instruction, that the church edifices in the State contained sittings enough for the entire population of the State.

The impending war was to have for its essence the spirit of hostility to the existence, or at least to the power of the system of human slavery; and so it comes that the position of the State on this subject is not less essential to a comprehension of her great part in the struggle, than is an appreciation of her wonderful progress and resources. The political conservatism, which prosperity and accumulating wealth naturally engender, was further favored in Ohio by the circumstances of her settlement and geography Along four hundred and thirty-six miles of her border lay slave States. From these many of her pioneers had come; many more traced with Kentuckians and West Virginians their common lineage back to the eastern slope of the ancient Dominion. In time of war the most effective support to the exposed settlements of the infant State had come from their generous and warlike neighbors across the Ohio. In the long peace that followed, the heartiest friendships and warmest social attachments naturally went out to those who had been proved in the hour of trial. If her churches on every hillside taught a religion which found no actual warrant in the Bible for the system of human slavery, they at least had no difficulty in believing that the powers that be are ordained of God, and by consequence in enforcing a toleration which proved quite as acceptable across the Border as the most exhaustive Scriptural exegesis. North of the National Road, which for many years was the Mason and Dixon's line of Ohio politics, different views prevailed; and the people, tracing their ancestry to Puritan rather than Virginia stock, cherished different feelings; but the southern half of the State, being more populous and more influential, long controlled the elections, and inspired the temper of the government and the legislation.

In the Presidential contest of 1848, the electoral vote of the State was thus thrown for Lewis Cass. In 1852, it was in like manner given to Franklin Pierce. But by this time a change had begun. In the very heart of the conservative feeling of the State, one of the foremost lawyers of the city of Cincinnati had for years been keeping up an antislavery agitation. He had found a few, like-minded with himself, but Society and the Church had combined to frown him down. Still, so single-minded and sincere was he, that, though the most ambitious of men, he resolutely faced the popular current, shut his eyes to all hope of political advancement, and daily labored at the task of resisting the pretensions of Slavery, giving legal protection to the friendless and helpless negroes, and diffusing an Abolition sentiment among the conservative men of the Border, and the influential classes of the great city of the State, whose prosperity was supposed to depend upon her intimate relations and immense trade with the slave-holding regions to the south of her. To this task he brought some peculiar

qualifications. Profoundly ignorant of men, he was, nevertheless, profoundly versed in the knowledge of Man. The baldest charlatan might deceive him into trusting his personal worth; but the acutest reasoner could not mislead him in determining the general drift of popular sentiment, and the political tendencies of the times. Conscious of abilities that might place him in the front rank of our Statesmen, his sagacity, not less than his conscience, taught him to take Time for his ally; and lightly regarding the odium of his present work, to look confidingly to the larger promises of the Future. Loving personal popularity, he was entirely destitute of the qualifications for attaining it. Really warm-hearted and singularly tenacious in his attachments, he was perpetually regarded as utterly selfish and without capacity for friendship; so that his defects, no less than his merits, shut him up to a course which could hope for personal triumph only in the triumph of great principles. He was gifted by nature with a massive and cogent eloquence, little likely to sway the immediate passions of the populace, but sure to infiltrate the judgment and conscience of the controlling classes in the community. His energy was tireless, and his will absolutely inflexible.

Under such leadership, ably seconded by the faithful and true old man who so long stood in Ohio the champion of Abolition, pure and simple, and the peculiar representative of the Reserve, a new element sprang up in Ohio politics. It cast a handful of votes for Birney for the Presidency; had risen to proportions which made it a respectable element in political calculations when it cast, what was thought to be, the vote of the balance of power for Van Buren; and had reached the height of its unpopularity with the old ruling class of the State when, in 1852, refusing to sustain General Scott on account of the "anti-agitation" and "finality of the slavery question" features in his platform, it persisted in again giving the votes of its balance of power to John P Hale, and thus permitting the triumph of Franklin Pierce.

But before another Presidential election the shrewd calculations of the sagacious leader of this outcast among parties had been realized. Holding, as has been seen, the balance of power, and subordinating all minor questions to what they regarded as the absorbing issue of slavery or antislavery, they had already, with a handful of votes, controlled a great election, and sent this Abolition leader to the United States Senate. A greater triumph now awaited him. As dexterous in managing parties as he was blind in managing men, he placed such stress upon the new organization which had risen upon the ruins of the old Whig party, that, detesting his principles and distrusting himself, they were, nevertheless, forced to secure the votes without which the election were lost in advance, by placing his name at the head of their ticket, and bearing the odious Abolitionist in triumph into the chair of the Chief Executive of the State. The impulse thus given was never wholly lost; for though the people were by no means as radical as their Governor, they gave at the next Presidential election a handsome majority to Fremont, and a year later again elected their Abolition leader.

Whether it was through a far-seeing anticipation of what was to grow out

of this antislavery struggle, or whether it was only a result of the sagacious forecast which in most things distinguished his administration, Governor Chase early began to attempt an effective organization of the militia. In this, as in his political views, he was in advance of his times. In every State west of the Alleghanies the militia had fallen into undisguised contempt. The old-fashioned militia musters had been given up; the subject had been abandoned as fit only to be the fertile theme for the ridicule of rising writers and witty stump orators. The cannon issued by the Government were left for the uses of political parties on the occasion of mass meetings or victories at the polls. The small arms were scattered, rusty, and become worthless. In Chicago a novel drill had been an inducement for the organization of the Ellsworth Zouaves; and here and there through the West the young men of a city kept up a military company; but these were the exceptions. Popular prejudice against doing military duty was insurmountable, and no name for these exceptional organizations so struck the popular fancy as that of "the Cornstalk Militia."

Governor Chase at once essayed the formation of similarly uniformed and equipped militia companies at all leading points throughout the State, with a provisional organization into regiments and brigades. At first the popular ridicule only was excited; by-and-by attention to the subject was slowly aroused. Some legislative support was secured, a new arsenal was established; an issue of new arms was obtained from the General Government; and an approximation was at last made to a military peace establishment. Such was the interest finally excited that at one time a convention of nearly two hundred officers assembled at Columbus to consult as to the best means of developing and fostering the militia system; and the next year, before going out of office, Governor Chase had the satisfaction of reviewing, at Dayton, nearly thirty companies, assembled from different parts of the State—every one of which was soon to participate in the war that was then so near and so little anticipated. His successor continued the general policy thus inaugurated, urged the Legislature to pay the militia for the time spent in drill, and enforced the necessity of expanding the system. Comparatively little was accomplished, and yet the organization of Ohio militia was far superior to that existing in any of the States to the westward. All of them combined did not possess so large a militia force as the First Ohio Regiment, then under the command of Colonel King, of Dayton.

Thus, materially prosperous and politically progressive, yet with much of the leaven of her ancient Conservatism still lingering, and with the closest affiliations of friendship and trade with the slave-holding States of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, but with the germs of a preparation for hostilities, and such a nucleus of militia as might serve to protect the border from immediate ravages, Ohio entered upon the year that was to witness the paralysis of her industry and trade, the sundering of her old friendships, her political revolution, and the devotion of her entire energies to the business of war.

CHAPTER III.

INITIAL WAR LEGISLATION—THE STRUGGLE AND SURRENDER OF PARTY.

THE legislative and executive departments of the State Government, upon which were precipitated the weightiest burdens of the war, had been chosen as representatives rather of the average antislavery progress of the Whig party, than of the more advanced positions to which ex-Governor Chase had been committing his supporters. Great pains were taken to welcome the Legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee on their visit to Columbus, and to convince them of the warm friendship borne them, not less by the Government than by the people of the State. Union-saving speeches and resolutions marked the popular current; and, as had long been usual, the Union-saving temper went largely toward the surrender to the South of everything save the absolutely vital points in controversy. The Governor, in his inaugural address, while firmly insisting upon hostility to the extension of slavery, had also advocated the colonization of the blacks in Central or South America, and faithful obedience to what were regarded as our constitutional obligations to the slave-holding States. A leading member of the party in the Senate* had introduced a bill to prevent by heavy penalties the organization or the giving of any aid to parties like John Brown's, and it had come within three votes of a passage.

More striking proof of the conciliatory disposition with which the Legislature was animated was to be given. The constitutional amendment carried through Congress by Thomas Corwin, and submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification, provided that hereafter no amendment or other change in the powers of Government should be permitted, whereby the National authorities should be enabled to interfere with slavery within its present limits. Before the beginning of actual hostilities in Charleston Harbor, it was apparent that, carrying the effort for conciliation to the furthest extreme, the heavy Republican majority in the Legislature meant to give the sanction of Ohio to this irreversible guarantee to slavery in the fundamental law of the land. Before its place on the Senate calendar was reached, however, came the bombardment of Sumter, the surrender, and the call of the President to protect the capital from the danger of sudden capture by the conspirators. On the 15th of April

*Hon. R. D. Harrison, afterward elected from the Seventh District, to succeed ex-Governor Corwin in Congress.

Columbus was wild with the excitement of the call to arms. On the 16th the feeling was even more intense; troops were arriving, the telegraphs and mails were burdened with exhortations to the Legislature to grant money and men to any extent; the very air came laden with the clamor of war and of the swift, hot haste of the people to plunge into it. On the 17th, while every pulse around them was at fever-heat, the Senators of Ohio, as a last effort, passed the Corwin constitutional amendment, only eight members out of the whole Senate opposing it.*

But this was the last effort at conciliation. Thenceforward the State strove to conquer rather than to compromise. Already, on the 16th of April, within less than twenty-four hours after the President's call for troops had been received, the Senate had matured, carried through the several readings, and passed a bill appropriating one million of dollars for placing the State upon a war-footing, and for assisting the General Government in meeting the shock of the rebellion.†

The debate which preceded the rapid passage of this bill illustrated the melting away of party lines under the white heat of patriotism. Senator Orr, the Democratic representative of the Crawford County Senatorial District, 'was opposed to the war, and even to the purposes of the bill, but he should vote for it as the best means of testifying his hostility to secession.' Judge Thomas M. Key, of Cincinnati, the ablest Democrat in the Senate, followed.‡ He, too, was in favor of the bill. 'Yet he felt it in his soul to be an unwarranted declaration of war against seven sister States. He entered his solemn protest against the line of action announced by the Executive. It was an usurpation by a President, in whom and in whose advisers he had no confidence; it was the beginning of a military despotism. He firmly believed it to be the desire of the Administration to drive off the border States, and permanently sever the Union. But he was opposed to secession, and in this contest he could do no otherwise than stand by the stars and stripes.' Next came Mr. Moore, of Butler County, conspicuous as the most conservative of those reckoned at all with the Republi-

*The eight who had the foresight to perceive that the 17th of April, 1861, was not a time to be striving to add security to slavery were, Messrs. Buck, Cox, Garfield, Glass, Monroe, Morse, Parrish, and Smith.

†Some days earlier a bill had been introduced appropriating a hundred thousand dollars for war purposes. On a hint from the Executive that perhaps other and more important measures might be needed, action was delayed. Then the million war bill was introduced, in response to a message from Governor Dennison, announcing the call from Washington, maintaining the necessity for defending the integrity of the Union, and concluding as follows:

"But as the contest may grow to greater dimensions than is now anticipated, I deem it my duty to recommend to the General Assembly of this State to make provisions proportionate to its means to assist the National authorities in restoring the integrity and strength of the Union, in all its amplitude, as the only means of preserving the rights of all the States, and insuring the permanent peace and prosperity of the whole country. I earnestly recommend, also, that an appropriation of not less than four hundred and fifty thousand dollars be immediately made for the purchase of arms and equipments for the use of the volunteer militia of the State. I need not remind you of the pressing exigency for the prompt organization and arming of the military force of the State."

‡Subsequently Colonel and Judge Advocate on McClellan's staff.

can party in the Senate; in fact as almost the ideal of the old "Silver-Gray Whig."* Hitherto he had voted consistently against all military bills, and had even avowed his readiness to surrender the Southern forts rather than bring on a collision. 'Now he felt called upon to do the most painful duty of his life. But there was only one course left. He had no words of bitterness for party with which to mar the solemnity of the hour. This only he had to say: He could do nothing else than stand by the grand old flag of the country, and stand by it to the end. He should vote for the bill.'

Thus, to recur to the figure already used, did the iron rules of party discipline and prejudice, melting beneath the white heat of patriotism, still mark in broken outline the old divisions beneath and through which the molten currents freely mingled. The bill passed by an almost unanimous vote; one Senator only, Mr. Newman, of Scioto County, voting against it.†

In the House, however, party opposition gave way more slowly. That same afternoon the bill went over from the Senate, and an effort was made to suspend the rules, so as to put it upon its passage. The Democrats demanded time for consultation. Mr. Wm. B. Woods‡ (ex-Speaker and Democratic leader) gave notice that it could not be unanimously passed without time were given. For one, he wanted to hear from his constituents. Mr. Geo. W Andrews,‖ of Auglaize County, denounced the excitement on the subject of war, here and over the country, as crazy fanaticism. Mr. Devore, of Brown County, 'regarded the interests of the country, south of the Ohio River as well as north of it. The dispatches about the danger to Washington were preposterous, and were mostly manufactured for evil purposes.' Mr. Jessup, of Hamilton County, gave notice that if the majority wanted his vote they must wait for it. And so, the Republicans agreeing to delay in the hope of securing harmony, the bill went over, after two ineffectual efforts to suspend the rules.§

The next day, the Democrats having in the meantime spent three hours in excited debate in caucus, the effort to suspend the rules again failed. But the leaders earnestly assured the House that with another day's delay there was a strong probability of the unanimous passage of the bill. A dispatch had already been received from Scioto County, denouncing Senator Newman for his vote against it in the Senate, and it was said that his son was enlisted in one of the companies then on the way to Columbus. Mr. Hutcheson, of Madison County, an extreme States-Rights Democrat, and almost a secessionist, spoke handsomely in favor of the bill, and drew out hearty applause from House and

* Subsequently Colonel of one of the hundred days' regiments.

† Under the terrible pressure of public condemnation, especially in his own district, Mr. Newman shortly afterward asked leave to change his vote.

‡ Subsequently Colonel of a three years' regiment, and Brevet Major-General of volunteers.

‖ Subsequently Colonel of the Fifteenth Ohio in the three months' service, and Lieutenant-Colonel, until after the Clarksville surrender, of the Seventy-Fourth Ohio.

§ In these efforts twenty-five Democrats voted against suspending the rules, fourteen voted with the Republicans for suspension, and eight were absent when the roll was called.

galleries. But delay was still insisted upon, and so the bill went over to the third day from the date of its introduction.

Then all were ready Ex-Speaker Woods led off in a stirring little speech, declaring his intention 'to stand by the Government in peace or in war, right or wrong.' Mr. Wm. J. Flagg, of Hamilton County, followed. 'He was glad that delay had produced unanimity. But he had been of the number that had favored instant action. He had done so because Jefferson Davis had shown no hesitation in suspending the rules, and marching through first, second, and third readings without waiting to hear from his constituents. He had ever advocated peace, but it was always peace *for* the Union. Now he was ready for peace for the Union, or war for it, love for it, hatred for it, everything for it." Mr. Andrews, of Auglaize County, had less to say of the crazy fanaticism of the excitement. 'The act of South Carolina toward the Democrats of the North was a crime for which the English language could find no description. It had forever severed the last tie that bound them together.'

Amid such displays of feeling on the part of the Opposition, the bill finally went through, on the 18th of April, by an unanimous vote; ninety-nine in its favor. It appropriated half a million dollars for the purpose of carrying into effect any requisition of the President to protect the National Government; four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of arms and equipments for the militia of the State; and the remaining fifty thousand as an extraordinary contingent fund for the Governor. The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund were authorized to borrow the money, at six per cent. interest, and to issue certificates therefor which should be free from State taxation.

Meantime the Senate, under the leadership of Mr. Garfield, had matured and passed a bill defining and providing punishment for the crime of treason against the State of Ohio. It declared any resident of the State who gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States guilty of treason against the State, to be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary at hard labor for life.*

With the passage of these bills all semblance of party opposition to necessary war measures disappeared from the proceedings of the Legislature. Mr. Vallandigham visited the capital and earnestly remonstrated with the Democrats for giving their sanction to the war; but the patriotic enthusiasm of the crisis could not be controlled by party discipline. Under the leadership of ex-Speaker Woods, a bill passed exempting the property of volunteers from execution for debt during their service. Then, as within a few days it became evident that far more troops were pressing for acceptance than were needed to fill the President's call for thirteen regiments, the Legislature acceded to the sagacious suggestion of the Governor that they should be retained for the service of the State. The bill authorized the acceptance of ten additional regiments, provided five hundred thousand dollars for their payment, and a million and a half more to be used in case of invasion of the State, or the appearance of danger of invasion. Other measures were adopted looking to the danger of

* This bill was understood at the time to be specially aimed at Mr. Vallandigham.

shipments of arms through Ohio to the South; organizing the militia of the State; providing suitable officers for duty on the staff of the Governor; requiring contracts for subsistence of the volunteers to be let to the lowest bidder; authorizing the appointment of additional general officers. No little hostility toward some members of Governor Dennison's staff was exhibited, but with the Governor himself the relations of the Legislature were entirely harmonious. In concert with him the war legislation was completed; and when, within a month after the first note of alarm from Washington the General Assembly adjourned, the State was, for the first time in its history, on a war footing.

Before the adjournment the acting Speaker had resigned to take a command in one of the regiments starting for Washington; two leading Senators had been appointed Brigadier-Generals; and large numbers of the other members had, in one capacity or another, entered the service. It was the first of the war Legislatures. It met the first shock; under the sudden pressure matured the first military laws. It labored under difficulties inseparable from so unexpected a plunge into duties so novel. But it may now be safely said that in patriotism, in zeal and ability, it was second to neither of its successors, and that in the exuberance of patriotic sentiment which wiped out party lines and united all in common efforts to meet the sudden danger, it surpassed them both.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OPENING ACTS OF DENNISON'S WAR ADMINISTRATION.

ALTHOUGH the country had been greatly excited by the acts of secession by several States, the seizure of forts, and the defiance of the General Government, there still lingered in the minds of the most a trust that in some way the matter would be adjusted, and bloodshed would be avoided. There was much war talk on the part of the young and excitable, but the influential men and the masses were slow to believe in the possibility of war. Yet the portents still grew darker and darker at the South.

> "Then a fierce, sudden flash across the rugged blackness broke,
> And with a voice that shook the land the guns of Sumter spoke;
>
> And wheresoe'er the summons came, there rose an angry din,
> As when, upon a rocky coast, a stormy tide sets in."*

Before the bombardment had ended twenty full companies were offered to the Governor of Ohio for immediate service. With the news of the surrender, and the call of the President for volunteers, the excitement became fervidly intense. Militia officers telegraphed their readiness for orders. The President of Kenyon College tendered his service in any capacity, and began by enlisting in the ranks.† The Cleveland Grays, the Rover Guards, the Columbus Videttes, the State Fencibles, the Governor's Guards, the Dayton Light Guards, the Guthrie Grays—the best known and best drilled militia companies in the State—held meetings, unanimously voted to place themselves at the disposal of the Government, and telegraphed to Columbus for orders. Portsmouth announced a company ready to march. Chillicothe asked if she should send a company that day. Circleville telegraphed, offering one or more companies, announcing that they had two thousand dollars raised to equip them. Xenia asked leave to raise a battery of artillery and a company of infantry. Canton sent up an officer, begging the acceptance of two companies. Lebanon wanted two companies accepted. Springfield wanted the same. Lancaster started a company to Columbus. Cin-

*"War Poems," by E. J. Cutler: Little, Brown & Co. 1867.

†Three months, indeed, before the fall of Sumter, foreseeing the necessity for war, President Andrews had written the Governor, offering his services whenever it should break out. He was the first citizen of Ohio to make such tender.

cinnati, Dayton, Cleveland counted their offers by the thousand. Steedman, from Toledo, pledged a full regiment in ten days. Prominent men, all over the State, telegraphed asking what they could do, and placing themselves at the disposal of the authorities. The instant, all-devouring blaze of excited patriotism was as amazing as it was unprecedented. Let it not be forgotten that among the first offers were some from colored men promising companies, and that, in obedience to the temper of those times, they were refused.

The officer upon whom the full pressure of this sudden avalanche fell had filled one-half of his term as Governor of the State. He was a man of excellent social connections, of suave, elegant manners, a master of deportment, and a favorite in polite circles. His experience in public affairs had been limited to a single term in the State Senate, and of military matters he was, like most other officials, profoundly ignorant. Among railroad managers and bank officers he had the reputation of financial ability, and of capacity for controlling large operations. But the public had not been accustomed to regard him as one of the leading men of the State, or scarcely, indeed, as one of her second-rates. Bank and railroad influences, combined with the general lack of formidable aspirants, had united to secure him the nomination for the Governorship. In the debates between himself and his Democratic antagonist before popular assemblages, the Republicans had been in great fears lest their champion should prove unequal to such a contest, and greatly delighted and surprised at the unexpected power of his performance. Still the old idea of him, as a man wholly frittered away in polish, was not entirely dispelled. His inaugural was not happy. It was severely criticised as prolix, verbose, and occasionally stilted. One luckless sentence had fastened itself in the minds of his opponents, and had been laughed at over the State, whenever his name was mentioned: "If attended with success at the threshold in dissolving the great Confederacy and creating a small one, the introduction of standing armies to confront border war on the slave and free frontiers, and to push the scheme of Southern conquests, and to maintain them, and keep down domestic insurrection, would be the succedaneum for the security conferred by a common government." Up to the period of which we write the opposition press, and even influential Republican journals, had delighted to speak of Mr. Dennison as "the succedaneum Governor." In the easy duties of his office in time of peace he had acquitted himself creditably; but, unfortunately for him and for the State, there was a general distrust of his ability to sustain the larger responsibilities now upon him, and a general disposition to judge all his actions harshly in advance.

Thus unfortunate in the public estimate of his qualifications for the task he was now essaying, he was still more unfortunate in the tools with which he had to work. We have already seen how unwisely his distinguished predecessor was liable to act in his selections of men. But as Mr. Chase had made the revival of the militia one of the features of his administration, Governor Dennison, wishing to continue the same work, found it easiest, and most consonant with his polite ways, to do it with the same staff; accepting these officers the

more readily as it was never dreamt that they would have anything of marked importance to do. It thus came about that when the bewildering mass of military business was precipitated upon him on the 15th of April, he met it with a staff in which it seemed as if the capacity of bad selection had been almost exhausted. Some of them had no executive ability; some had no tact; one was wholly unpractical; they failed to command the confidence of the gathering volunteers, and at least two of them were the butt of every joker and idle clerk about the Capitol.

We are presently to see what complications of evil these circumstances brought about.

But a single day was required to raise the first two regiments, in answer to the President's call. On the next they arrived, in separate companies, at Columbus, on their way, as it proved, to Washington. The "Lancaster Guards" were the first to report on the ground. Close behind them came the Dayton Light Guards and the Montgomery Guards; then swiftly following a score of others.

On the morning of the 18th of April the First and Second Ohio were organized from the first companies that had thus hurried to Columbus. They were mostly made up of well-known militia organizations, from leading towns and cities, as follows:

First	Ohio—	Company	A, Lancaster Guards.
"	"	"	B, Lafayette Guards (Dayton).
"	"	"	C, Dayton Light Guards.
"	"	"	D, Montgomery Guards.
"	"	"	E, Cleveland Grays.
"	"	"	F, Hibernian Guards (Cleveland).
"	"	"	G, Portsmouth Guards.
"	"	"	H, Zanesville Guards.
"	"	"	I, Mansfield Guards.
"	"	"	K, Jackson Guards (Hamilton).
Second	"	"	A, Rover Guards (Cincinnati).
"	"	"	B, Columbus Videttes.
"	"	"	C. Columbus Fencibles.
"	"	"	D, Zouave Guards (Cincinnati).
"	"	"	E, Lafayette Guards (Cincinnati).
"	"	"	F, Springfield Zouaves.
"	"	"	G, Pickaway company.
"	"	"	H, Steubenville company.
"	"	"	I, Covington Blues (Miami County).
"	"	"	K, Pickaway company.

At the outset the State Administration fell into the vicious policy of permitting the soldiers to elect their own commanders. Till an election could be held, ex-Speaker Edward A. Parrott, of the House of Representatives, was as-

signed for the First Regiment as commandant, and Lewis Wilson (who had resigned the office of chief of police in Cincinnati, to enter the service) for the Second.

There were no arms, uniforms, equipments, transportation for them. But the Government was importunate. "Send them on instantly," was the order from Washington, "and we will equip them here." Even among the civilians, then for the first time attempting the management of soldiers, there were forebodings concerning the policy of starting troops to defend a threatened city without guns or ammunition; but with wild cheers from the volunteers, and many a "God bless you" from the on-lookers, the trains bearing the unarmed crowd moved out of the Columbus depot, long before dawn, on the morning of the 19th of April. But before they started, fresh arrivals had more than filled their places in the hastily-improvised camp in the woods beyond the railroad depot, which, with a happy thought of the first advocate for the "coercion of sovereign States," Governor Dennison had named Camp Jackson.

Already had begun the first of a long series of troubles that were to cloud the career of a faithful and able administration.

The Commissary-General, Mr. Geo. W Runyan, of Cincinnati, had been called upon to provide for the troops as soon as they began to arrive. Hurrying up to Columbus, he found several companies there almost as soon as himself. Where were they to be put? How were they to be fed? For an hour or two they could march about the streets with their martial music, and for another hour or two they could be trusted to stand on grassy spots about the Capitol at a parade rest, but—what then? To this novice, and to his associates and superiors, indeed, then clustering about the Governor's table in the excited crowd at the Executive rooms, the question was almost startling. To all of them, however, the most natural suggestion was a hotel; and to the hotels accordingly, our Commissary-General sallied forth, having for aid Mr. Lucien Buttles, of Columbus. These gentlemen found the Goodale House capable of accommodating one company, and willing to reduce its charges, in aid of the common cause, to a dollar and a quarter per day. Second-class houses could take four more companies at somewhat lower rates—some even as low as seventy-five cents per day. And so the first-arriving soldiers were quartered at the hotels.

Little as they knew about army life, the authorities knew enough to understand that this could only be temporary. So next the Governor instructed the Commissary-General to see what he could do for the permanent subsistence of volunteers. He saw; reported, as the best he could do, a contract with a Mr. Butler at fifty cents per day; and, on his recommendation, the contract was straightway signed. The contractor found himself unable to provide food as fast as the troops came in. Within a few days loud complaints arose about breakfasts delayed till twelve o'clock, and the like irregularities; the volunteers, fresh from the comforts of home, and having little else to do, growled lustily; the newspapers discussed the grievance; ardent members of the Legislature presently took up the burden of constituents whom they found in the

ranks; and so, amid the enthusiasm of the people and the struggles of the Administration, rose a hoarse clamor against heartless contractors and incompetent State officials who permitted them to abuse our gallant citizen-soldiery. Other complaints presently began to be heard from Cleveland, where the subsistence contract had been given to O. C. Scoville at fifty cents per day, and from Cincinnati, where it had been given to H. F. Handy at sixty cents per day.

In the midst of this came fresh food for censure. Great bundles of round poles began to come through by express from New York in numbers that to the uneducated eye seemed absolutely enormous, consigned to the Governor. They were the tent-poles belonging to certain purchases of tents made for the State in New York. Uniforms were to be provided for the gathering troops, and contracts were hastily given out on such terms as were offered. Messrs. J. & H. Miller, of Columbus, were to furnish four thousand overcoats at nine dollars and sixty-five cents apiece; Mack & Brothers and J. H. Luken, of Cincinnati, English & Co., of Zanesville, and McDaniel, of Dayton, were each to furnish one thousand uniforms (coats and trowsers only), at sixteen dollars—one-sixth to be delivered weekly. Mr. Robinson, of Cleveland, was to furnish two thousand at the same rates. Stone & Estabrook were to furnish one thousand flannel shirts at one dollar and a half a piece. Other prices were in proportion, and on all it appeared that large profits were likely to accrue. Shipments of arms presently began to arrive, and there were stories of large purchases, at extravagant rates, in New York. These several facts and rumors were discussed in the newspapers with great severity, and the leading Republican journals were foremost in censuring the Governor's subordinates, and, impliedly, the Governor himself.

Other sources of dissatisfaction appeared. The Adjutant-General, a person of considerable and versatile ability, was an enthusiastic militiaman, but, just then, not much of a soldier. He was withal so excitable, so volatile, so destitute of method, as to involve the affairs of his office in confusion, and to bewilder himself and those about him in the fog of his own raising. He accepted companies without keeping count of them; telegraphed hither and thither for companies to come immediately forward; and soon had the town so full of troops that his associates could scarcely subsist or quarter, and he could scarcely organize them; while, when he came to reckon up, he found he had far outrun his limits, and had on hand troops for nearer thirty than thirteen regiments. Then, when he attempted to form his companies into regimental organizations, he met fresh troubles. Each one wanted to be Company A of a new regiment, and was able to prove its right to the distinction. The records of the office were too imperfect to show in most cases definitely which had been first accepted. Then Senators and Representatives must needs be called in to defend the rights of their constituents, and the Governor's room, in one end of which the Adjutant-General transacted his business, was for weeks a scene of aggravating confusion and dispute.

For a little the popular discontent fermented. Then, on the 1st of May, the House of Representatives took it up. The general regard felt—in spite of his weakness—for the Adjutant-General, spared him. But a resolution was

introduced, declaring it to be the sense of the House that the Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General were unfit for their places, and appointing a committee to wait upon the Governor and request their removal. Efforts were made to couple with this an indorsement of the Governor himself, but the House refused. One prominent Republican declared that he *hoped* the Governor was not to blame, but he 'was n't bound to say grace before mentioning his name and return thanks afterward for the privilege; he wanted those men turned out, and he wanted the Governor to know it; and he was n't disposed to mince many words over the matter.' A similar strain was adopted by others, and the resolution was passed by a vote of sixty-one to twenty-four.

The Governor assured the committee that all the subsistence contracts would be virtually annulled by the removal of the troops to other camps within the next forty-eight hours; but knowing better than they the injustice of a portion of the clamor, he gave no indication of an immediate purpose to remove the obnoxious officers.

He kept his promise by the speedy selection of a site for a large camp near Miamiville, on the Little Miami Railroad, in the south-western corner of the State, where the main portion of the force should rendezvous, and where it would be at hand for any danger threatening Cincinnati. But here again his evil genius followed him. The land was leased at high rates, and the expenditure was speedily criticised in the leading newspapers as extravagant.

The dissatisfaction thus engendered was soon increased by the reports coming back from the First and Second Regiments. They had failed to get through to Washington, had been stopped first at Harrisburg and then at Philadelphia, had encountered some hardships for want of proper equipment, and great delays in getting their uniforms and arms, and had complaints then to make as to the quality of both. In the absence of officers—their election not having been held when they started from Columbus—the Governor had placed them under the command of Mr. George W McCook, a Democratic politician of prominence, whom he constituted his own personal agent. Under his supervision all the arrangements had been made, and for his selection also the Governor was fiercely assailed. The newspapers took up the complaints of the soldiers; and the people of the State were soon made to believe that the sons they had hurriedly sent out in their eager zeal to save the National Capital were suffering from the neglect of the State authorities, and the indifference or cruelty of those placed over them.

We can now see how wickedly unjust the most of this profuse and varied censure was.

In sending the first volunteers to hotels on the day of their arrival, the Governor resorted to almost the only instant relief attainable. And besides there was a feeling then that nothing was too good for our soldiers, which would have aroused greater complaint had he done anything else. In awarding the fifty and sixty cents per day contracts for subsistence, he certainly expended more than was needful. But he acted on the avowed belief that it would not do to bring the volunteers down at the very start to army rations, in which he

was probably right. And while the price paid was large, and many men might have been found who would have furnished the same provisions for less, yet the demand was immediate, and on the instant they were *not* found. Furthermore, arrangements can not be made in a small place like Columbus (where the rates were first established) in a day for comfortably subsisting several thousand men, and for the extra exertions required, it was quite natural that an extra charge should be made. Within two weeks the whole cause of complaint was removed; and under the authorities at the new camps, the troops were fed at an average expense of less than one-third of the Columbus contract. The complaints against the operations in the Quartermaster's Department proceeded upon the same theory of expecting the very best results attainable with long practice and abundant leisure to be secured on the instant by the new machinery The sending of an agent of the Governor with the First and Second Regiments to the field to see that their wants were supplied, might, under the instructions of the General Government, have been omitted, but it was a wise and prudent precaution. The selection of Mr. McCook was one of many similar acts by which, adroitly siezing upon any prominent Democrat who could be used, the Governor, seeing plainly that the war must be a war of the people and not of one party, sought to commit the Democratic organization also to its support.

But the public mind was not in a state to look for or to comprehend these motives for the Governor's actions. We have seen that there was already a predisposition to question his competency for the weighty tasks now upon him, and to judge him harshly. Each complaint, however groundless, served, in the feverish excitement of the hour, to heighten this tendency.

From the day on which the President made his call for volunteers, the Governor had felt the want of experienced military men about him. Personally he knew nothing of military matters—could scarcely tell the field officers of a regiment. Nearly all men then in public life were in the same condition. He had about him a staff that knew something of militia but nothing of war. The best of them was the Adjutant-General, of whom we have spoken. He had attended a military school, had made some military translations from the French, and had prepared a militia manual.

From the outset, therefore, the Governor longed for some approved army officer, to whom he might turn over the matters of military detail with which he was oppressed. The first Ohio officer to offer his services was a young engineer—afterward to hold no mean rank in the greatest of the Western armies—Lieutenant O. M. Poe. But he was at the Capitol only for a few days on a temporary leave of absence. The Governor telegraphed to the Secretary of War, asking that he be detailed for service at Columbus, in the organization of troops. He asked also that Lieutenant Wm. B. Hazen, then a young Ohio officer of infantry, reputed to possess some ability, should be detailed for similar service. The Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, returned a pert reply. He had no time, he said, to be detailing Lieutenants!

But by this time the Governor had learned that he was to have the power of appointing Generals for the troops he was raising. Instantly his mind reverted to the officer of whose standing in the army he knew the most—Irvin McDowell, of the staff of Lieutenant-General Scott. He did not yet know what rank the commanding officer of the Ohio contingent would enjoy, but whatever it should be, he almost determined to bestow it upon McDowell.

Already, however, some Cincinnatians, who knew there was a General to appoint, had decided to press a candidate of their own. Mr. Larz Anderson, Hon. Wm. S. Groesbeck, and other influential gentlemen, united in a recommendation of one Captain McClellan, then an officer on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. The Governor remembered him as a young man whom he had met at a railroad convention a year or two before. He had paid but little attention to him, and should scarcely have remembered the name but for the enthusiastic praises of a Mr. Clark, who was in attendance. This gentleman had assured Mr. Dennison that Captain McClellan was a man of remarkable ability, and had taken the pains, on returning home, to send him McClellan's Report on the Organization of European Armies.

All this came back now into the Governor's memory, as he listened to the praises of the young railroad officer, from the personal friends who hurried to Columbus to urge his appointment. He hunted up the old report, sent him a year or two before, and looked through it. Finally he began to think that the man who understood the organization of armies so well would be very valuable in his office, to take charge of the organization of the Ohio army. Still, not quite willing to abandon McDowell, he determined to have a look at his rival. Accordingly he wrote to Captain McClellan, asking him to come up to Columbus and give the benefit of his advice about the fortifications then thought by the alarmed citizens of Cincinnati to be necessary to protect them from the hostile Kentuckians. The Captain replied that he was unable to come; but that he would send in his stead Captain Pope, of the regular army, who happened then to be in the city, and whose judgment about such matters was excellent.

Captain Pope came, but the Governor was not favorably impressed with him. He recommended the purchase of a considerable number of huge Columbiads, to be mounted, it would seem, on Walnut Hills, since it was then the policy to hold sacred from the tread of United States troops the soil of Kentucky In the fullness of his desire to do whatever was needed, the Governor, though with some misgivings, actually signed the order, and the Columbiads were procured.

The friends of McClellan continued their urgency, and, at last, under the high-pressure system which the enthusiasm and the emergency had created, Governor Dennison hastily wrote a second time, asking the young army officer, whom by this time he was beginning to believe almost an absolute authority on military matters, to come up to the Capitol for consultation. Judging that by this time the efforts of his friends must have paved the way for him, McClellan came. The Governor, favorably disposed already, was greatly pleased with his

appearance and demeanor. He reflected that McClellan seemed to have more reputation than McDowell, and that his appointment would be likely to have more *prestige* and exert a better influence over the gathering volunteers; and so, at length, he appointed him a Major-General of the Ohio militia, to command the forces called into the field; and sent a note to McDowell, regretting that circumstances seemed to require the retraction of the implied promise that *he* should receive the place.*

Governor Dennison's expectation now was that McClellan would remain in Columbus, and relieve him of the burdens of military administration. In this, however, he was disappointed from the outset. The new Major-General remained perhaps a couple of weeks, and gave some little advice to the legislative committees concerning some of the military legislation they had in hand. But meantime he had opened a correspondence with the War Department, and it presently appeared that he was about to be elevated to a wider command.

Before this, however, he had, only two days after his appointment, approached the Governor with a private dispatch from Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, which offered him the command of the troops of his native State. This, he said, had it come two days earlier, he would have accepted. If the Governor now chose, in view of this fact, to renew his offer to McDowell, he (McClellan) would gladly get out of the way, and go on to Pennsylvania. Dennison promptly declined. General confidence, he said, seemed to have been excited by his appointment, and he would not unsettle it by any change. McClellan accordingly wrote his reply: "Before I heard you wanted me in any position I had accepted the command of the Ohio forces. They need my services, and I am bound in honor to stand by them."

Presently came news that three years' troops were to be called out, and that their Generals were to be appointed by the President. Straightway Dennison determined to secure, if possible, the three years' appointment for the new Major-General of his making. On the 11th of May he telegraphed to Secretary Chase: "Can McClellan get a commission for three years at once, so as to make him rank over all others, and make sure of his holding the chief command here? Ohio must lead throughout the war." No immediate reply came. But on the 14th of May, while the Governor was in Cincinnati, on a hasty trip to look after the requirements of the southern border, a dispatch was handed him from Mr. Chase: "We have to-day had McClellan appointed a Major-General in the regular army" He was in a room with McClellan, Marcy, and others, and he immediately handed over the dispatch to the one whom it most concerned. Governor Dennison has since described the utter amazement that overspread the face of the young officer, and the difficulty with which he could be persuaded that so overpowering an honor had really been conferred upon him. His father-in-law and chief of staff, Major Marcy, was equally incredulous; and the next day the Governor had even to produce the dispatch again, before Mrs. McClellan could satisfy herself that her husband had been so suddenly raised so high. They all seemed to imagine that it must be some inexplicable mis-

* See *post*. Part II. Life of McDowell.

take, and that the Washington authorities could really intend nothing of the kind.*

Meanwhile, having given the chief command to a regular officer, who seemed to be thus highly appreciated by the army authorities at Washington, Governor Dennison next looked about him for influential and energetic men, anxious to enter the war, on whom he could confer the three Brigadier-Generalships. Newton Schleich, of Fairfield County, then the Democratic leader in the State Senate, was the first selected; J. H. Bates, of Cincinnati, an officer of the old militia, was the second; and J. D. Cox, one of the Republican leaders in the Senate, and a gentleman who had already made himself of great use in the Governor's office in aiding the transaction of business, was the third.

Even these appointments, in the temper to which the public mind was now brought, became subjects of complaint. The most absurd was the charge of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, a leading Democratic newspaper in the northern part of the State, which denounced the Governor for the gross partisanship of his appointments, and particularly for the "promotion of Schleich, a Republican greenhorn, to the high rank of Brigadier-General!" So easy was it by this

* It is scarcely necessary (since it is substantially intimated in the text) to add that in the above I have followed Governor Dennison's personal statements as to the circumstances attending the rapid promotion of General McClellan. Stories have been widely circulated to the effect that the original appointment as Major-General of Ohio militia was procured by the accidental discovery that Curtin intended to offer a similar position in Pennsylvania, and even that this dispatch was itself a forgery. From the numerous versions set afloat, I take this one, from the Boston Commonwealth, because it happens to be authenticated by the initials of Rev. D. A. Wasson:

"McClellan was an officer of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He managed matters so miserably as greatly to embarrass the principal roads connecting with that of which he had charge. To get rid of him became, therefore, an important desideratum with those most concerned in these roads.

"When the war broke out there was a meeting between three of the persons thus interested. Two of them said: 'Now is our time. McClellan is a military man; let us get him an appointment to the command of our State troops. He will do good service there, and we shall be rid of an ugly incumbrance.' The third demurred. 'I don't know about that,' he said. 'McClellan has given no evidence of ability as a man of business; and I see no reason to think that he would do better as a General. It would hardly be patriotic to take a load from our own shoulders and place it on those of the nation.' 'But he has been trained to the art of war,' urged the others; 'if he is not good for that, what is he good for?' The objector refused to be convinced, but the others made haste to carry their project into effect. A petition was accordingly sent to Governor Dennison, praying him to bestow command on this blocker of business—who rose from bed, it was said, at eleven in the morning. Governor Dennison hesitated. While he was considering the matter, a telegram, signed by Governor Curtin, came from Philadelphia, containing a request to McClellan to take command of the Pennsylvania troops. This indication that he was desired abroad decided the Governor to employ him at home. He was appointed accordingly.

"The Philadelphia telegram, which secured him his place, was afterward discovered to be bogus—concocted in Cincinnati for the purpose which it served!"

So far at least as this refers to any influence from Philadelphia, by means either of genuine or forged dispatches, tending to impel Governor Dennison to the appointment, the story is erroneous. The appointment was made before Governor Curtin's dispatch was heard of. As the matter was once thought of much importance, and as the appointment certainly did exercise a large and long-continued influence upon the fortunes of the war, it is well enough that the exact facts should be recorded.

time to find causes for denouncing the Governor, and so little care did influential men take to see whether there was the slightest basis for their charges.

Republicans, on the other hand, were disposed to complain that the Democrats received more than their share of the high promotions. McClellan was a Democrat, and so was Schleich, and, in fact, but one Republican had been appointed, out of the four general officers assigned to the State.

What it now remains to us to tell of the first War Administration of Ohio, constitutes the highest claim of the maligned Governor to the regard and gratitude of his State and of the country To a man of his sensitive temper and special desire for the good opinion of others, the unjust and measureless abuse to which his earnest efforts had subjected him were agonizing. But he suffered no sign to escape him, and with a single-hearted devotion, and an ability for which the State had not credited him, he proceeded to the measures most necessary in the crisis.

First of all, the loan authorized by the Million War Bill was to be placed, for without money the State could do nothing. The Common Council of Cincinnati offered to take a quarter of a million of it, and backed its offer by forwarding the money. The State Bank, full of confidence in its old officer, now at the head of the Administration, was entirely willing to take the rest; the Common Council of Columbus was willing to take a hundred thousand dollars; and offers speedily came in for smaller amounts from other quarters. The Governor was anxious, however, that a general opportunity should be given to patriotic citizens throughout the State. He, therefore, discouraged somewhat the large subscribers, and soon had the loan favorably placed.

Next after money came the demand for arms. For its twenty-three regiments already raised, the State of Ohio had only one thousand nine hundred and eighty-four muskets and rifles of all calibers and one hundred and fifty sabers. The Governor of Illinois had on hands a considerable number, of which Dennison heard. He at once resolved to procure them. Senator Garfield was at hand, ready and willing for any work to which he might be assigned. Duly armed with a requisition from the proper authorities, he was dispatched to the Illinois Capital. He succeeded in securing five thousand muskets, and shipped them straightway to Columbus. At the same time—for the Governor, in the midst of the popular abuse, had already begun to display a capacity for broad and statesmanlike views—he was instructed to lay before the Illinois Executive a suggestion as to the propriety of uniting the Illinois troops and all others in the Mississippi Valley under the Ohio Major-General. Glad to hear of an officer anywhere who knew anything about war, they joyfully consented, and so McClellan's department was, with their full approval, presently extended from West Virginia to the Mississippi.

Five thousand arms, however, were but a drop in the bucket, and accoutrements were almost wholly wanting. The supply in the entire country was quite limited; even in Europe there were not enough immediately accessible to meet the sudden demand; and it was evident that the first and most energetic in the

market would be the first to secure arms for their soldiers. Governor Dennison accordingly selected Judge-Advocate-General Wolcott of his staff,* a gentleman of fine ability and of supposed business capacity, to proceed forthwith to New York as his agent for the purchase of arms. It was under his management that the hasty shipment of tent-poles had been made, on which was based one of the earliest complaints against the State Administration. He secured at once, on terms as favorable as could then be obtained, about five thousand muskets, with equipments, knapsacks, canteens, etc., to correspond. Meeting the agent of the State of Massachusetts, just as he was about to sail for England to purchase arms, he commissioned him to purchase there for Ohio a hundred thou-thousand dollars' worth of Enfield rifles. Subsequently, Mr. Wolcott secured authority from the Ordnance office of the War Department to purchase directly on the account of the United States such arms and accoutrements as were needed for Ohio troops; and the energy and personal supervision which the Governor was thus able to secure in the transaction of the Government business for his State, went largely to aid the rapid arming and equipment of the Ohio troops. Before this, however, by the aid of another agent, General Wool had been prevailed upon to order ten thousand muskets through to Columbus, and the first needs were thus supplied.†

Next, so soon as the first rush of volunteers gave him time to look about him, he prepared to reorganize his staff by the selection of men better fitted for its duties on a war establishment. The confusion in the Adjutant-General's office, and the enormous labors actually devolving upon that overworked officer, first directed attention to the task of securing an able Assistant Adjutant-General. With this view he offered the place to Mr. Samuel Craighead, of Dayton. That gentleman visited Columbus, looked at the workings of the office and declined. Mr. C. P Buckingham, a citizen of the State, of high position, a graduate of West Point, and a gentleman of calm, methodical habits and thorough knowledge of the business, was then obtained. Next Colonel Charles Whittlesly, another old army officer, was given to the luckless Quartermaster-General as an assistant. A few days later the Commissary-General was displaced, and the new Assistant Adjutant-General was assigned to his duties, while Lieutenant J. W Sill took the place thus vacated under the Adjutant-General. Lieutenant William S. Rosecrans—a name soon to become notable in the history of the war—was made Chief Engineer.

By this time the attitude of Kentucky had become a source of alarm along

* Subsequently, and till his lamented death, Assistant Secretary of War.

† In this, and in all the other operations in the same crowded season, one of the most gratifying features was the earnest anxiety of the most prominent citizens to be of service, any way or anywhere, to the State. Foremost among them was the Hon. Noah H. Swayne (now Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States), who repeatedly visited Washington at the Governor's request, on business for the State—permitting the authorities to make no remuneration for his labors save the payment of his traveling expenses. Not less zealous were the Hon. A. F. Perry, of Cincinnati, Hon. J. R. Swan, of Columbus, Mr. Ball, of Zanesville, and such members of the Legislature as Garfield, Cox, and Flagg.

the border, and of grave apprehension with all. Her Governor had refused, with insult, the call of the President for troops. Her most influential newspaper had professed itself "struck with mingled amazement and indignation" at the audacity of such a call; declared the policy of the Administration to "deserve the unqualified condemnation of every American citizen;" and called upon the people to "take him and his Administration into their own hands." A State guard had been organized, which speedily became a convenient drill and recruit agency for the Confederate armies. And finally, on the 20th of May, Governor Magoffin had risen to the height of folly and treason involved in a proclamation, whereof this is the substance:

"Now, therefore, I hereby notify and warn all other States, separate or united, and especially the United States and Confederate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement upon Kentucky soil, or occupation of any part, post, or place therein for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the legislative and executive authorities. I especially forbid all citizens of Kentucky, whether incorporated in the State guard or otherwise, making any hostile demonstrations against any of the aforesaid authorities; to be obedient to the orders of the lawful authorities; to remain quietly and peaceably at home, when off military duty; to refrain from all words and acts likely to provoke a collision, and so otherwise conduct themselves that the deplorable calamity of invasion may be averted; but, meanwhile, make prompt and efficient preparations to assume the paramount and supreme law of self-defense, and strictly of self-defense alone."

Before the issue of this open proclamation of treason—indeed in the very first throbs of the excitement following the President's call for troops and Kentucky's refusal—Governor Dennison, alarmed lest the border should become the theater of hostilities, sent a gentleman to confer with Governor Magoffin, and to attempt to commit him to a friendly policy He was politic and sagacious in the selection of his agent. Judge Thomas M. Key, of the State Senate, was an able, earnest, and patriotic Democrat, and it was then the policy to employ in as prominent positions as possible every member of that party who could be secured. Moreover, he was a Kentuckian by birth, and like most natives of that State, he cherished a lively regard for her honor and her interest still. He was, therefore, likely to be all the more acceptable as a messenger from the Governor of the State of his adoption to the Governor of that of his birth.* Judge Key was accordingly sent to Kentucky, with a letter accrediting him as a representative of the Governor of Ohio, charged to express "the kindly and neighborly feeling" of the people of Ohio; and the earnest wish of the Governor that "the same complete devotion to the Constitution and Union of the United States should animate the action of both;" as well as "to confer freely in regard to the condition of the people upon the common border, and the proper means for removing all apprehensions of strife between them."

What view Judge Key then took of the position of the Governor of Kentucky may be inferred from the dispatch to Governor Dennison, in which he made his first report:

*It should be added that the selection of Judge Key was warmly sanctioned by Senator J. D. Cox, who was actively occupied in the aid of the Governor, and whose counsels had already become potent.

"Interview long, free, and satisfactory. Expresses purposes and policy friendly and prudent. Anxious for instant communication between Executives upon aggression by citizens of either State. Kentucky arming for defense and neutrality."

In his subsequent more extended report, Judge Key added that Governor Magoffin had dwelt particularly upon "his firm purpose to permit nothing to be done that could be viewed as menacing the city of Cincinnati," a point then calculated greatly to ease the excited apprehensions of that metropolis.*

It was on the 28th of April that Judge Key reported his free and satisfactory interview, with the assurance of the friendly and prudent purposes of the Governor of Kentucky. On the 20th of May that officer issued the proclamation above quoted.

Four days later, on the suggestion and at the earnest request of Governor Dennison, the Governors of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio met at Indianapolis, in conference, on the occasion of McClellan's review of the Indiana troops. In this conference Governor Dennison dwelt upon the position of defiance which Kentucky had assumed, and the essential service she was rendering the Confederacy. He urged the policy of seizing the prominent points in Kentucky, Louisville, Columbus, Paducah, Covington, Newport, and the railroads leading therefrom. Do this, said he, and we at once remove the possibility of war from our own borders, stop the recruiting of Confederate troops in Kentucky, prevent the possibility of the State being betrayed into the Confederacy, and greatly aid and strengthen our friends in Tennessee. To secure the action of the Government on this suggestion, he wanted it indorsed by the Governors of the three great loyal States lying north of the border. Governors Yates and Morton promptly fell in with the idea; Senator Trumbull, who was present, reduced it to writing in the form of a memorial to the Government; the three Governors signed it, and Yates and Trumbull went on to Washington to present it.

It is impossible to overestimate the change in the subsequent course of the war which the adoption of this wise suggestion would have insured. The treachery of Buckner would have been either hindered or neutralized; the fortification of Columbus and Bowling Green would have been prevented; Tennessee, after a majority of sixty-seven thousand against secession in March, could scarcely have been crowded out of the Union, in the ensuing June, by the pressure of Rebel sentiment from all quarters. But it was not till the 6th of September that Grant, acting on the policy originated and urged by Governor Dennison in May, crossed over into Kentucky and seized Paducah and Smithland. By that time the opportunity was lost. Columbus was strongly garrisoned, Buckner had consummated his treason, Bowling Green was fortified, Tennessee was gone—and Kentucky held back all the armies of the West until March, 1862.

* Five days after the presentation of this report by Judge Key, Mr. Thos. L. Crittenden, an estimable citizen of Kentucky, lifted into importance (to the country's misfortune, when he subsequently became a Major-General of volunteers) by being the son of John J. Crittenden, wrote to Governor Dennison, asking his influence to secure a truce between the General Government and the seceded States till the extra session of Congress in July.

In another direction the forecast of Governor Dennison was to receive an equally signal illustration, and with a happier result.

About the time that he opened negotiations through Judge Key with the Governor of Kentucky, his eyes were also turned to the gathering convention of Virginia Unionists at Wheeling. When the magnificent response of the people to the call for troops began to be seen, he telegraphed Mr. Jno. S. Carlile, then the leading Union man of West Virginia,* asking him and his friends to meet, at Bridgeport (opposite Wheeling, on the Ohio side), a representative of the Governor of Ohio, for conference. They promptly assented, and he sent forward as his spokesman Judge-Advocate-General Wolcott, of his staff. This gentleman bore them the assurance that if they would break off from old Virginia and adhere to the Union, Ohio would send an ample military force to protect them. It was a pledge the State was nobly to redeem.

The first note of war from the East threw Cincinnati into a spasm of alarm. Her great warehouses, her foundries and machine shops, her rich moneyed institutions were all a tempting prize to the Confederates, to whom Kentucky was believed to be drifting. Should Kentucky go, only the Ohio River would remain between the great city and the needy enemy, and there were absolutely no provisions for defense.

The first alarm expended itself, as has already been seen, in the purchase of huge Columbiads, with which it was probably intended that Walnut Hills should be fortified. There next sprang up a feverish spirit of active patriotism that soon led to complications. For the citizens, not being accustomed to draw nice distinctions, or in a temper to permit anything whereby their danger might be increased, could see little difference between the neutral treason of Kentucky to the Government and the more open treason of the seceded States. They accordingly insisted that shipments of produce, and especially shipments of arms, ammunition, or other articles contraband of war, to Kentucky should instantly cease.

The citizens of Louisville, taking alarm at this threatened blow at their very existence, sent up a large delegation to protest against the stoppage of shipments from Ohio. They were received in the Council Chamber of the City Hall, on the morning of April 23d. The city Mayor, Mr. Hatch, announced the object of the meeting, and called upon Mr. Rufus King to state the position of the city and State authorities. Mr. King dwelt upon the friendship of Ohio for Kentucky in the old strain, and closed by reading a letter which the Mayor had procured from Governor Dennison, of which the essential part was as follows:

"My views of the subject suggested in your message are these: So long as any State remains in the Union, with professions of attachment to it, we can not discriminate between that State and our own. In the contest we must be clearly in the right in every act, and I think it better that we should risk something than that we should in the slightest degree be chargeable with anything tending to create a rupture with any State which has not declared itself already out of the Union. To seize arms going to a State which has not actually seceded, could give a

* And since the most conspicuous and shameless of her renegades.

pretext for the assertion that we had inaugurated hostile conduct; and might be used to create a popular feeling in favor of secession where it would not exist, and end in border warfare, which all good citizens must deprecate. Until there is such circumstantial evidence as to create a moral certainty of an immediate intention to use arms against us, I would not be willing to order their seizure; much less would I be willing to interfere with the transportation of provisions."

"Now," said Mr. King, "this is a text to which every citizen of Ohio must subscribe, coming, as it does, from the head of the State. I do not feel the least hesitation in saying that it expresses the feeling of the people of Ohio."

But the people of Ohio did not subscribe to it. Even in the meeting Judge Bellamy Storer, though very guarded in his expressions, intimated in the course of his stirring speech the dissatisfaction with the attitude of Kentucky. "This is no time," he said, "for soft words. We feel, as you have a right to feel, that you have a Governor who can not be depended upon in this crisis, but it is on the men of Kentucky that we rely. All we want to know is whether you are for the Union without reservation. Brethren of Kentucky! the men of the North have been your friends, and they still deserve to be. But I will speak plainly. There have been idle taunts thrown out that they are cowardly and timid. The North submits; the North obeys; but beware! There is a point which can not be passed. While we rejoice in your friendship, while we glory in your bravery, we would have you understand that we are your equals as well as your friends."

To all this, the only response of the Kentuckians, through their spokesman, Judge Bullock, was that Kentucky wished to take no part in the unhappy struggle; that she wished to be a mediator, and meant to retain friendly relations with all her sister States. But he was greatly gratified with Governor Dennison's letter.

The citizens of Cincinnati were not. Four days later, when their indignation had time to take shape, they held a large meeting, whereat excited speeches were made, and resolutions passed deprecating the letter, calling upon the Governor to retract it, declaring that it was too late to draw nice distinctions between open rebellion and armed neutrality against the Union, and that armed neutrality was rebellion to the Government. At the close an additional resolution was offered which passed amid a whirlwind of applause:

"*Resolved*, That any man or set of men in Cincinnati or elsewhere who knowingly sell or ship one ounce of flour, or pound of provisions, or any arms or articles which are contraband of war, to any person or any State which has not declared its firm determination to sustain the Government in the present crisis, is a traitor, and deserves the doom of a traitor."

So clear and unshrinking was the first voice from the great conservative city on the Southern border, whose prosperity was supposed to depend on her Southern trade. They had reckoned idly, it seemed, who had counted on hesitation here. From the first day that the war was open, the people of Cincinnati were as vehement in their determination that it should be relentlessly prosecuted to victory as the people of Boston.

They immediately began the organization of Home Guards, armed and drilled vigorously, took oaths to serve the Government whenever called upon,

and devoted themselves to the suppression of any contraband trade with the Southern States. The steamboats were watched; the railroad depots were searched, and wherever a suspicious box or bale was discovered, it was ordered back into the warehouses.

After a time the General Government undertook to prevent any shipments into Kentucky, save such as should be required by the normal demands of her own population. A system of shipment permits was established, under the supervision of the Collector of the Port, and passengers on the ferry-boats into Covington were even searched to see if they were carrying over pistols or other articles contraband of war; but in spite of all efforts Kentucky long continued to be the convenient source and medium for supplies to the South-western seceded States.

Few will now doubt that Governor Dennison was wrong in the positions taken in his letter to Mayor Hatch. Yet, as being in accordance with the policy then pursued toward Kentucky by the General Government, it may be justified; and none, in any event, will be disposed to censure it harshly who remember the hurrying confusion of the times and the innumerable mistakes made by every one, from the highest to the lowest.

But the official refusal to furnish troops at the President's call was all the notice any one should have required of the exact position of Kentucky. Had she been thenceforth treated as the enemy she was, some pages of the history of the war might now bear brighter colors.

The day after the Cincinnati meeting denouncing his course relative to Kentucky, Governor Dennison, stimulated perhaps by this censure, but in accordance with a policy already formed, issued orders to the presidents of all railroads in Ohio to have everything passing over their roads in the direction of Virginia or any other seceded State, whether as ordinary freight or express matter, examined, and, if contraband of war, immediately stopped and reported to him. The order may not have had legal sanction, but in the excited state of the public mind it was accepted by all concerned as ample authority. The next day similar instructions were sent to all express companies.

A week earlier, on the 21st of April, the Governor had taken possession of the telegraph lines of the State, forbidding, as his somewhat vague order said, the passage of any news of the movements of troops from any quarter, without previous submission to and approval by him. Mr. Anson Stager, the General Superintendent of the Company under whose control were all the lines in the State, heartily seconded the Governor's efforts in this direction; but the matter was one involving numerous difficulties, and the system was never made to work satisfactorily.*

In all these orders there was a stretch of authority which only the stress of public danger could sanction, and which no exigency could keep from

*One effect of the order was to check all "Associated Press" dispatches to the newspapers of the country *in transitu* through Ohio, to eliminate from them references to troops which the newspapers of other States were freely publishing, and to delay the delivery of the dispatches.

arousing the hostility of those whom they affected. The interference with the ordinary telegraphic dispatches to the newspapers excited the most ill-feeling. As it only touched the newspapers of Ohio, its tendency was to place them behind the journals of other States in the publication of the news. As it could not extend to the mails, its only effect was to produce an aggravating delay of a few hours. Very possibly even this might, in some few instances have been beneficial to the interests of the Government; but the good was more than balanced by the ill-will excited, and by the hostility to the Governor thus intensified in the minds of the class most influential in shaping the public opinion of the State. Seeing how ill-adapted the means were to the end the Governor had in view, being familiar with the subject themselves, they conceived a very low estimate of the ability of the man who could not perceive its bearings as clearly as they.

On the whole, the only credit we can assign the Governor for this measure is the credit of being ready to assume grave responsibilities and excite the displeasure of his supporters, for the sake of what he believed to be a public necessity. On this subject he was in advance of every other Governor in the Union,* and of the Government of the United States.

When the response of the Governor of Kentucky to the call of the President for volunteers—"I say emphatically that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States"—when this response was made public, Governor Dennison immediately telegraphed the War Department, "If Kentucky will not fill her quota, Ohio will fill it for her!" He more than kept his promise. In two days two regiments were dispatched. In a week the quota of the State was more than full. Within ten days so many companies had been accepted that the State was forced to take ten extra regiments into her own pay. Before two weeks had elapsed more companies had been offered than would have filled the quota of Ohio, the quota of Kentucky, and half the quota of Virginia. Sixteen days after the President's call, Adjutant-General Carrington announced that the offers of troops from Ohio were enough to fill the full quota of seventy-five thousand men allotted to the entire country!

We can now read these statements with no emotion save that of pride at the magnificent conduct of the noble State. We can scarcely realize that they furnished at the time one of the weightiest causes for the increase of clamor against the Governor.

* It must not be understood that the above is intended as any censure of the effort to suppress publications of the movements of troops. The censure is because the measure aroused all the ill-will of that effort—far more indeed—and accomplished nothing. The means employed were utterly without adaptation to the end in view. It is due to Governor Dennison to add that it was generally understood that he was guided in this matter by the advice of a member of his staff, who, being a practical newspaper man, should have known that a revision of telegraphic dispatches in the State of Ohio alone could accomplish no conceivable good, and that even a revision in all the States, under a common authority, would have been of little avail, while the papers were free to publish whatever reached them by mail. And it is further due the Governor to add, as the common testimony of all journalists who were thus thrown in contact with him, that he discharged the task he had undertaken with unvarying courtesy and consideration.

In the flurry of his nervous excitement, as well as by reason of the rush of work and lack of assistance, Adjutant-General Carrington preserved no complete record of his operations. As hour by hour the telegraph brought him the offers of fresh companies, he promptly made answer to each, accepting them all. Presently, when it came to making up the regiments, it was found that he was unable to give the order in which he had accepted them, or sometimes even the order in which they had arrived. Then, when the thirteen regiments called for were made up, the camp was still full of troops. In perplexity, recourse was had to the Legislature, and at the same time an order was made that no more should be accepted. The Legislature authorized ten more regiments for State service. These were made up, and to the Adjutant-General's despair the camp was still full. Thirty companies accepted, and on the spot had to be disbanded; and permission given for others that had been accepted to come forward, was hastily revoked.

But the mischief was done. The disappointed and enraged volunteers went home, cursing the Governor and his staff for having taken them to Columbus on a fool's errand; and deepening the conviction that the crisis was too weighty for the management of the gentlemen at the State Capitol.

Meantime the organized regiments, as fast as they were mustered into the United States service, were sent to the new camp, selected by General Rosecrans near Cincinnati, to give a feeling of security to that city, and named by McClellan, in honor of the officer to whom he owed his appointment, and under whose management the troops were gathering, Camp Dennison.

Here new confusion began. By this time the Government had realized its first mistake, and having little further need for three months' troops, since the capital was safe, was striving to convert them into soldiers for the war. Many preferred to finish the term for which they had enlisted and get their pay for it, before entering upon another engagement. Distinctions were made between these and those who re-enlisted; discipline was still lax; there were loud (and in great measure groundless) complaints about rations; and for every mistake or wrong the whole blame was laid straightway on the officer whose name the camp bore. Yet it was entirely under the control of General McClellan, now, as we have seen, a Major-General of the United States regular army, and in no sense under the orders of Governor Dennison. The General saw the newspapers teeming with complaints against the Governor for the management in Camp Dennison; saw the man who had raised him to high office daily loaded with abuse for acts done under his own authority, by his own subordinates; and yet never once uttered even a whisper in explanation or defense.

For a time the Governor bore all this in patience. He never once mentioned to the gentlemen of the press whom he daily met that these faults at Camp Dennison were none of his—that it was an United States camp, under the exclusive control of United States officers. He reasoned that it was better for him to bear the odium—if odium there needs must be—than for McClellan

to bear it, since McClellan must by all means retain the confidence of the troops. The view may have been fallacious, but it was certainly generous.

Even the generosity never touched the Major-General he had made, who, now that his rank was secure, had grown so indifferent to the one on whom he climbed. McClellan daily read in the papers eulogies on his own brilliant capacities pointed by contrasts like that presented by Camp Dennison, which only showed, it was said, how a civilian blundered when he attempted military things. And still he made no sign. At last Governor Dennison wrote to him, somewhat sharply, saying that he ought to stop the troubles in the camp and the clamors about them, and that he suspected some of McClellan's people of fomenting both. No satisfactory reply was made, and the troubles and the clamor went on. Not till months afterward did the people of Ohio know that their Governor had been powerless in the camp, for whose mismanagement they had been loading him with censure, and that the author of the mismanagement was the man they had been loading with praises.

CHAPTER V.

WEST VIRGINIA RESCUED BY OHIO MILITIA UNDER STATE PAY.

IN the early days of the war, while communication with Washington was in peril, and sometimes cut off, and men's minds were familiarized with the idea of losing the capital, the isolated State Governors became in a measure their own strategists. To some, under these circumstances, nothing presented itself save to wait; to at least one there arose a plan of campaign for the defense of his State. Circumstances led him to dwell upon it after the initial danger to Washington had passed, and the War Department had extended its control over the whole theater of operations. He was successful in securing its adoption; it was his good fortune that he was able to furnish State militia for its execution; and thus it came about that the campaign became a part of the history of Ohio rather than of the history of the war, and that the first offering made to the General Government by the State whose Governor had been bold enough to say that "Ohio must lead throughout the war," was the offering of rescued and regenerated West Virginia.

During the dark hours of April, 1861, after the anxiety about the National Capital, came apprehensions at Columbus concerning the danger on the border. Along four hundred and thirty-six miles Ohio bounded slave States; and at every point in the whole distance was liable to invasion. On the south-eastern border lay the State of Virginia, already threatening to secede, and soon to become the main bulwark of the Rebel cause. On the southern border lay the State of Kentucky, already furnishing recruits by the regiment to the Rebel army, and soon to threaten yet greater dangers. To these States the first earnest glances of the Governor were turned.

The attitude of Virginia was the more alarming, and her geographical position made her hostility a thing of grave purport. Thrust northward into the space between Pennsylvania and Ohio like a wedge, she almost divided the loyal part of the nation into two separate fragments. Here, as an acute military critic* has since observed, was the most offensive portion of the whole Rebel frontier. Behind the natural fortification of the mountains the communication with Richmond and the whole South was secure. The mountains themselves

* Emil Schalk's "Summary of the Art of War," pp. 45, 46.

admitted of perfect defense. Beyond them it was easy, at any unexpected moment, to pour down upon the unguarded frontier; or to fall, east or west, on the exposed flank of any advancing army of the nation. Yet the people of this territory were not hostile to the Union; and indeed they were unexpectedly bitter in their opposition to their fellow-citizens of the eastern slope, both on the subject of secession and on the score of old local grievances. Seeing then the strategic importance of the region, and the disaffection of its inhabitants, there was every reason to think that the Rebel authorities would at the earliest possible moment seek to occupy it.

Now the Adjutant-General of Ohio was a man who had theorized on war, and had well learned some of its conditions. General Carrington suggested that the Ohio River was not a proper line of defense as against hostile action on the part of Virginia. It would be better, he urged, to seize the mountain ranges of Western Virginia and rally the loyal inhabitants to their defense, lest an enemy, operating from Richmond, should occupy the passes, and thence, from that secure advanced base, overawe the natural Union sentiment of the region and debouch at pleasure upon the Ohio border.

But, could the territory of Virginia, a State not yet actually seceded, be entered by the armies of the United States, or even by the militia of Ohio? The most said no. The action of the General Government said no. Rather than cross upon that sacred soil of his native State, General Scott was permitting Rebel pickets to guard the Long Bridge across the Potomac, and Rebel patrols to pace their beats within rifle range of the White House. The question arose in the discussions in the Governor's office at Columbus. "We can let no theory prevent the defense of Ohio," was his answer; an answer that itself entitles the man to the gratitude and regard of the State so long as her history shall be read. "I will defend Ohio where it costs least and accomplishes most. Above all, I will defend Ohio beyond rather than on her border."

And so, as in the case of Kentucky, Governor Dennison had united the Executives of Indiana and Illinois with himself in an earnest effort to secure the seizure of her leading strategic points, so now in the case of West Virginia he sought to bring about the prompt occupation of her territory.

As early as 19th April, only four days after the call for volunteers, he determined to begin by protecting the exposed points. Parkersburg, a Virginia town at the western terminus of one branch of the great Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was violently hostile in the tone of many of its inhabitants, and by reason of its easy railroad communication with the mountains, was thought to be the point at which the Secessionists would first aim. Across the river from Parkersburg, on the Ohio side, was Marietta, the terminus of the railroad from Cincinnati—exposed to any raid across the river, and liable to be cut off from its railroad connection by the burning of the extensive trestle-work on which the track approached it. Here, then, was the first danger.

A battery of six-pounders in good condition had been tendered by Colonel Barnett, of Cleveland. It was ordered at once to Columbus. Meantime, on Sunday, the Columbus machine shop was opened at the request of Governor

Dennison,* and before night two hundred solid shot were cast. The next day the battery arrived by special train. It went immediately on to Loveland, thence south-eastward to Marietta. It was on the border in position to defend the town, and to overawe Parkersburg, within forty-eight hours after the issue of the order and before the movement had been discovered by friend or foe.†

Lieutenant O. M. Poe of the Engineers, the first officer of the regular army to offer his services to the Governor, was next sent down to see what further measures of immediate defense were required at Marietta, at Gallipolis, and at other exposed points.

Then, on the 7th of May, Governor Dennison telegraphed to Washington, asking that the boundaries of the department they had just assigned his new General, McClellan, should be extended so as to include Western Virginia. The next day the extension was made. Then he wrote to McClellan, setting forth the request of John Hall, of Parkersburg, of a committee of gentlemen subsequently sent from the same place, and of still others who appealed in earnest letters, for the immediate crossing of the Ohio and occupation of the town. The designs of the Secessionists were explained, and the importance of forestalling them was pressed. Governor Dennison indorsed the request, and urged further reasons why the troops should immediately enter West Virginia at this point, and perhaps at others also along the border.

On more accounts than one, General McClellan's reply possesses a historic interest:

"I have carefully considered your letter of the 10th, with the accompanying letters, and many others that I have received, bearing on the same subject:

"Strange as the advice may seem from a young General, I advise *delay* for the present. I fear nothing from Western Virginia. I have written urgently to General Scott for his views as to Western Virginia. Every day I am making great progress in organization, and will soon have Camp Dennison a model establishment. We have to-day seven regiments—by Wednesday Bates's brigade will be there—the six new regiments can be received as soon as mustered in. Send me the State regiments then, and in two or three weeks they can be rendered manageable. I do not like the idea of detaching raw troops to the frontier. My view is to strike effectively when we move, and everything is progressing satisfactorily.

"Let us organize these men and make them effective—in Heaven's name do n't precipitate matters.

"Do n't let these frontier men hurry you on. I had hoped to leave for Columbus on Monday morning, but I find I must remain here to organize the secret service—it will be the most thorough and effective I have ever known, and must be attended to at once.

"I am pressed by Cairo—Yates, Morton, etc. The latter is a terrible alarmist, and not at all a cool head."‡

"From the reception of that letter," said Governor Dennison afterward, "I dated the beginnings of my doubts as to McClellan's being, after all, a man

* By John S. Hall, Esq., one of the Directors.

† As the battery entered Columbus, a committee of citizens from Marietta arrived to represent their danger to the Governor and to ask for succor. They found that his foresight had already secured them, and some of the committee, turning immediately back, reached Marietta again on the same train which bore the battery they had gone to ask.

‡ Archives Executive Department, State Capitol. Many of the preceding statements, which I have not thought it needful to credit separately, are drawn from the same source.

of action." The historian who shall seek to trace in detail the steps to the strange torpor that subsequently befel the Army of the Potomac, may indeed find in it suggestive hints. The General to whom the war in the West was then practically committed, had begun by regarding men like Oliver P Morton and Richard Yates as alarmists, and had already placed himself in the attitude of holding back.

But Governor Dennison was not disposed to yield the point. The representations of alarm along the border increased, and he continued to press on McClellan his wishes. On the 13th of May that officer again wrote him; "Most of the information *I* obtain from the frontier indicates that the moral effect of troops directly on the border would not be very good—at least until Western Virginia has decided for herself what she will do. If it is clear that the Union men will be strengthened by the movement, of course it should be made."

While thus engaged in putting off the Governor and the alarmed people on the river, General McClellan was conducting a correspondence with Lieutenant-General Scott as to a grand operation in the Kanawha Valley. He would move directly up it to the mountains, using the river for his line of supplies as far as the mouth of the Gauley; would then strike across the Alleghanies, move down the James, and thus take Richmond by the back door. The reply of the burdened but still wary and diplomatic veteran was adroit. It was a good plan, he said—bold and apparently feasible. But he had himself been considering a plan for a grand movement down the Mississippi, for the command of which he had thought of McClellan!* And so the postponement of the West Virginia project was all the easier.

But by this time matters were approaching a crisis. On the 20th of May, John S. Carlile telegraphed Governor Dennison from Wheeling that troops, under the proclamation of Letcher, were approaching—would enter Grafton that day, Clarksburg probably the day after, and Wheeling very soon. They openly avowed their intention to break up the loyal Convention at Wheeling. If the Unionists of West Virginia were to be saved, and that portion of the State was to be rescued from the rebellion, now was the time to do it.

In his anxiety lest the golden opportunity should be suffered to slip, and in the natural distrust which General McClellan's previous course had excited, the Governor now telegraphed these facts not only to McClellan, but also to Scott. Four days passed. Finally, on the 24th of May, the Secretary of War asked McClellan if he could not counteract the effect of the Rebel camp at Grafton, and save the evil effects on Wheeling and all West Virginia.

Then at last McClellan decided that it was time to move. He had wanted the State troops (*i. e.*, the ten regiments in excess of the President's call, kept in service by the State on her own responsibility) sent to Camp Dennison "for two or three weeks," that he might "render them manageable." Now he found

* It will be observed (see *post.* Part II, Life of McDowell) that this is almost precisely the language that General Scott was addressing at the same time to General McDowell in Washington. The original of General Scott's letter to McClellan is—or was once—in the hands of Governor Dennison.

that these troops which had not been sent to Camp Dennison were the only "manageable" ones in his department on whom he could instantly rely. He accordingly asked Governor Dennison for leave to use them. The Governor, overjoyed to find that his cherished movement was at last to be executed, responded by an order placing all the State troops under General McClellan's command.

On the 26th of May Adjutant-General Carrington, who had been sent down to aid in moving these troops, reported to General McClellan. The General was anxious to have a regiment sent to Marietta, opposite one western terminus of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Parkersburg, and another to Bellair opposite the other terminus, near Wheeling. He also wanted the other eight regiments to be in readiness for prompt movements. Adjutant-General Carrington at once took the cars back to Columbus. On the train he wrote the dispatches inaugurating the movement, and they were sent one by one from the several way stations along the route, as at each the train stopped for a moment:

"Fourteenth regiment, Colonel Steedman, at Zanesville: Move at once by river to Marietta to support Barnett's Battery already there, and await orders.

"Seventeenth regiment, Colonel Connell, at Lancaster: Move by rail to Zanesville to support Steedman, ordered to Marietta. Transportation ordered.

"Fifteenth regiment, Colonel Andrews, at Zanesville: Move by rail to Bellair, and await orders.

"Sixteenth regiment, Colonel Irvine, at Columbus: Move by rail to Zanesville to support Andrews, ordered to Bellair.

"Nineteenth regiment, Colonel Beatty, and Twenty-First regiment, Colonel Norton, at Cleveland: Move forthwith to Columbus for orders and immediate service.

"Senior officer of the Twentieth regiment: Complete your organization forthwith.

"To all Camp Commanders: Obey promptly all orders of Major-General McClellan; Governor Dennison puts him in command of the State troops."

At the same time dispatches were sent to the various railroad and steamboat companies concerned, to furnish transportation.

Within six hours after General McClellan had asked it, the State troops were in motion.

What followed may here be briefly told. Colonel Steedman crossed with the Fourteenth and Barnett's Artillery at Marietta, repressed with a stern hand the rising tendencies to disturbance in Parkersburg, swept directly out into the country along the railroad, rebuilt bridges (one of them sixty-five feet long and forty-five feet high), repaired the track, and brought up a subsistence train behind him. Colonel Irvine crossed with the Sixteenth at Wheeling, united with a regiment of loyal Virginians under Colonel Kelly, and moved out on the railroad, repairing it as they went. At the junction of the two tracks at Grafton the columns met, the Rebel force fleeing precipitately a few hours before their arrival. Then they pushed after them to Philippi, fought the first little skirmish of the war, drove Colonel Porterfield and his Rebel Virginia regiment out, and there rested. The great railroad lines were secured, the Wheeling Convention was protected and West Virginia was practically rescued.

Meanwhile the Twenty-First regiment had been sent to Gallipolis, opposite the mouth of the Kanawha, where it also presently crossed.

The uniforms hastily procured for the men who had thus secured a State to the Union were found to be defective; and the Adjutant-General was presently sent to the field to remedy the evil. While there, in company with Colonels Steedman and Barnett, he urged upon the General whom McClellan had sent out after the occupation, the policy of pushing on from Philippi to the Cheat Mountain passes beyond Huttonsville, and thus completing their control of the country. Lack of transportation was assigned, however, as a reason for delaying a movement which would have robbed McClellan of his early laurels, by leaving him no West Virginia campaign to fight. The delay gave the Rebels time to recover their energies. General Garnett, an accomplished officer of the old army, was sent out, troops were collected, and the Rebel advance was again pushed forward as far as Laurel Hill.

Then McClellan took the field with some regiments from Indiana and with the rest of the Ohio State troops. After some unfortunate delays he moved upon the enemy at Laurel Hill in two columns; sending one under General Morris to demonstrate on their front, while he pushed around with the other to Huttonsville in their rear. General Morris obeyed his orders to the letter; General McClellan with the other column was too late. Rosecrans (already promoted from Chief Engineer on Dennison's Staff to Colonel of one of the militia regiments, and thence to a Brigadiership in the regular army) was left with McClellan's advance to fight the battle of Rich Mountain unaided. Garnett, taking alarm at the defeat there of his outpost, hastily retreated; McClellan had not pushed up soon enough after Rosecrans's victory to intercept him. Morris did the best he could in a stern chase; Steedman, commanding *his* advance, overtook the rear-guard of Garnett's army at Carrick's Ford, had a sharp skirmish, in which Garnett himself fell, and drove the army on in a state of utter demoralization. General Hill, a General of Ohio militia, sent into the field on account of the militia regiments there, who had taken the State, and mainly fought the campaign, was expected to head it off, but the dispositions to that end had not been perfectly arranged, and so the scattered fragments escaped. West Virginia was again free from armed Rebels, from the Kanawha River to its northern boundary *

* In the above account of the rescue of West Virginia by Ohio State troops, not mustered into the United States service at all, the only effort has been to trace the steps of that rescue. The subsequent campaign, conducted mainly but not exclusively by the State troops, may be found more fully described in a more appropriate place hereafter. Part II, Lives of McClellan and Rosecrans.

It has been explained that the Fourteenth (the first of the militia regiments mustered only into the State service) was the first to cross at Parkersburg, and the Sixteenth the first to cross at Wheeling and Bellair. These, with the aid of the Virginians and Barnett's Cleveland Artillery, opened the roads and occupied the whole country from the river to Grafton—being rapidly supported by the Fifteenth, the Nineteenth, the Eighteenth, and others of the State troops, and by the gallant Seventh and Ninth Indiana. These troops saved West Virginia, fought the first skirmish of the war in the West, and decided the Union tendencies of the population. Subsequently, after unfortunate delay, General McClellan took the field with large re-enforcements.

Subsequent campaigns had for their only object to retain the territory thus won. West Virginia was already under Union control. The movement as we have seen was inaugurated, against considerable opposition at first from McClellan, by Governor Dennison. It was effected entirely by the militia of Ohio, with no assistance whatever save that derived from the Virginians themselves. When McClellan delayed reaping the fruits of their success till the Rebels had returned with re-enforcements, these militia regiments constituted the heavy majority of the fighting troops that won the campaign then required, and thus completed their conquest.

It was rightly said then, at the beginning of this chapter, that West Virginia was the gift of Ohio, through her State militia, to the Nation at the outset of the war.

Counting the column sent to the Kanawha, he had thirty regiments in all under his command in West Virginia, of which seven were Indiana regiments and one was composed of loyal Virginians. The rest were all from Ohio (with the exception of a company or two of Illinois cavalry), though two of them were credited to Kentucky. On the Rich Mountain line the only Ohio regiment in the battle was the Nineteenth, one of the State militia. On the Laurel Hill line the only regiment engaged in serious fighting was the first of the State militia, Colonel Steedman's Fourteenth. None of the other troops, either from Ohio or Indiana, lost a man killed or wounded in the action with Garnett's rear-guard at Carrick's Ford.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROGRESS AND CLOSE OF DENNISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE sagacious policy of Governor Dennison concerning an early occupation of the territory beyond the Ohio border had a full vindication in the events in West Virginia. He was doomed to see it delayed in Kentucky by the tenderness of the President toward the neutrality of his native State. The fruits that an early movement there might likewise have secured were thus measurably lost. When, however, the earnest occupation of Kentucky began, he was able to furnish here, as in West Virginia, the bulk of the army. Before he went out of office his Adjutant-General reported twenty-two Ohio three years' regiments on duty in Kentucky, besides a considerable number of others almost ready for the field, who were soon to be sent in the same direction.*

Meantime these splendid contributions to Kentucky did not diminish the helpful care extended over West Virginia. At the end of the brief campaign there which the Ohio militia had made successful, General McClellan had been called to Washington. His successor, General Rosecrans, was left with a dissolving army of three months' men. The few Ohio regiments for three years, which he had taken from Camp Dennison just before McClellan's advent, barely served to maintain his hold upon the country. By the 8th of August he was telegraphing vigorously to Governor Dennison for re-enforcements. He was none too early or too earnest. For already the Confederate Government, realizing its enormous loss in West Virginia, had sent its most trusted General, Robert E. Lee, to regain the territory. The General Government was far off and slow to hear; and so Rosecrans appealed directly to the power that had seized the State for aid, in this emergency, in holding it. Governor Dennison at once telegraphed to the forming regiments to hasten their organization. "If you, Governor of Indiana and Governor of Michigan, will lend your efforts," wrote Rosecrans again, "to get me quickly fifty thousand men, in addition to my present force, I think a blow can be struck which will save fighting the rifled-cannon batteries at Manassas. Lee is certainly at Cheat Mountain. Send all troops

* The Ohio regiments first thrown into Kentucky were the First, Second, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-First, Thirty-First, Thirty-Third, Thirty-Fifth, Thirty-Eighth, Fortieth, Forty-First, Forty-Second, Forty-Ninth, Fifty-First, Fifty-Ninth, Sixty-Fourth, and Sixty-Fifth. These were all in service in Kentucky in the fall or winter of 1861.

you can to Grafton."* But five days after the appeal, all available troops in the West were ordered to Fremont, in Missouri, and Rosecrans's plan was foiled.

Before this heavy re-enforcements had been sent to the column in the Kanawha Valley under General Cox. Six days after the appeal from Rosecrans, Cox became alarmed, and telegraphed anxiously to Governor Dennison about his command.† Then, a few days later, Rosecrans again appealed to Dennison for troops to aid him in marching across the country against Floyd and Wise, to Cox's relief. "I want to catch Floyd, while Cox holds him in front." So immediate and effective was the response to these appeals that General Rosecrans was enabled to employ twenty-three Ohio regiments‡ in the operations by which he now cleared his department of Rebels, and put an end to efforts for the recapture of the country; while, to guard the exposed railroads in South-eastern Ohio, companies of State troops were again employed.

With the aid given in this emergency the direct connection of the State Administrations with the conduct of campaigns ended.‖ The country gradually learned to make war methodically; and with the passing away of the crisis which Governor Dennison had turned to so good account, the sphere of State Executives became limited to the organization and equipment of troops and the care for sick and wounded soldiers. To this, indeed, with the most, it was practically limited all the time. But Ohio was "to lead throughout the war," and we have seen how in the initial operations in West Virginia and Kentucky she led, not only her sister States, but the Nation.

What now remains to be told of the first of our War Administrations is, therefore, a story of details in recruiting and organization.

The staff with which Governor Dennison met the first shock of the war was already undergoing a complete change. With this staff, without practical knowledge of war, without arms for a regiment, or rations for a company, or uniforms for a corporal's guard at the outset, and without the means or the needful preparations for purchase or manufacture, the Administration had, in less than a month, raised, organized, and sent to the field or to the camps of the Government an army larger than that of the whole United States three months before. Within the State the wonderful achievement was saluted with complaints about extravagance in rations, defects in uniforms, about everything which the authorities did, and about everything which they left undone. Without the State the noise of this clamor was not heard, and men saw only the splendid results. The General Government was, therefore, lavish in its praise. The Governor under whom these things were done grew to be the most influ-

* State Archives, Executive Dept., Dennison's Admr.

† 14th August, 1861.

‡ The twenty-three Ohio regiments in service in Virginia in the fall and winter of 1861, were the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twenty-Third, Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Fifth, Twenty-Sixth, Twenty-Eighth, Thirtieth, Thirty-Second, Thirty-Fourth, Thirty-Sixth, Thirty-Seventh, Forty-Fourth, and Forty-Seventh.

‖ With the notable exception of the campaign three years later, in which Ohio threw in her heavy re-enforcements of hundred days' men.

ential of all the State Executives, at Washington, at the very time when at home he was the most unpopular of all who had within the memory of a generation been elevated to that office. His staff officers were rapidly tendered better positions in the National service. His Adjutant-General was made a Colonel in the regular army, and some little time later a Brigadier-General of volunteers.* His Quartermaster-General was made a Captain of regulars.† His Engineer-in-Chief was made a Brigadier-General of regulars, and Major-General of volunteers.‡ His Judge-Advocate-General became an Assistant-Secretary in the War Department.‖ His second Commissary-General, after some faithful service as his Adjutant-General, was made Brigadier-General of volunteers, and assigned to duty in the War Department.§ Two of the assistants in his Adjutant-General's Department became respectively Major-General of volunteers, and Assistant Adjutant-General to the Army of the Cumberland.** His Surgeon-General became Colonel of a regiment, and Brigadier-General of volunteers.†† His Paymaster-General became a Colonel, and gave up his life on the field.‡‡

Some of the changes thus wrought, however, proved of great advantage to the Governor and to the service. He was able, when the troops began to return from their West Virginia campaign, to enter upon the work of recruiting for the three years' service with a better understanding of the requirements, and a more systematic preparation.

But, on the other hand, there now began to affect the service a long train of hinderances; some the result of previous misfortunes of the State administration, some the operation of extraneous causes, all combining to delay and embarrass the work.

The slanders of the State Government, in which the newspapers of both parties had indulged, produced their legitimate fruit. Men who thought of enlisting were not willing to go under the authority of a State which gave its soldiers bad rations, which allowed them to be swindled in uniforms, and badly supplied with arms, which was universally denounced as inefficient, and sometimes as worse. In consequence, they enlisted in the regiments of other States.

* Colonel H. B. Carrington, Eighteenth Infantry, United States Army.

† Captain D. L. Wood, Eighteenth Infantry, United States Army.

‡ W. S. Rosecrans. ‖ C. P. Wolcott. § C. P. Buckingham.

** Major-General Sill and Assistant Adjutant-General C. F. Goddard.

†† W. L. McMillen. ‡‡ Colonel Phelps.

The staff of Governor Dennison, as finally organized, was as follows:

Adjutant-General	Catharinus P. Buckingham.
Assistant Adjutant-General	Rodney Mason.
Quartermaster-General	George B. Wright.
Assistant Quartermaster-General	Anthony B. Bullock.
Commissary-General	Columbus Delano.
[With nine Assistant Commissaries of Subsistence, ranking as Captains and Lieutenants.]	
Judge-Advocate-General	Christopher P. Wolcott.
Surgeon-General	Wm. L. McMillen.
Aid de Camp	Adolphus E. Jones.
Aid de Camp	Martin Welker.

The very competent Adjutant-General under whom the work was now conducted (General Buckingham), officially reported that in this way the State had furnished through the latter half of 1861 not less than ten thousand soldiers to the Government for which she received no credit. The number was undoubtedly swelled by the dislike to the hard and obscure service in West Virginia, to which it seemed for a time as if all Ohio soldiers were doomed; and by the additional fact that as it happened during the latter part of the year, Ohio furnished the most of the soldiers and Indiana the most of the Generals in that field of operations.

The Camp Dennison troubles soon made their effect visible. When the camp was first occupied the only troops were those enlisted for three months. General McClellan decided not to take them out of camp till they should re-enlist for three years. Many naturally hesitated. They wanted to try the service for which they had first volunteered; and then to be paid and discharged from that before they undertook fresh obligations. They had already been demoralized by the vicious system of electing their own officers, under which electioneering, bribery, drunkenness and lax discipline sprang up. They were now, on the other hand, displeased to find that they were to be deprived of a privilege which they had come to look upon as a right, by the wise determination of the Governor to appoint the officers on his own judgment of their fitness. Under such influences many—and among them a fair share of the best material for soldiers—refused to re-enlist. Their presence among the three years' troops who were thus compelled to wait for the slow progress of recruiting to fill up the vacancies, soon led to disturbances. It was finally found necessary to separate the three months' troops altogether from those enlisted for three years. Instead of mustering them out—since it never meant to take them from camp—as the Governor urged, the War Department had them sent to their homes on furlough, without discharge and without pay. They were naturally dissatisfied with this reception of their patriotic volunteering to fight. They scattered over the whole State, telling, each in his own home-circle, the tale of the treatment they had received, and adding to the popular distrust.

Meantime their departure from Camp Dennison did not diminish the troubles there. The enthusiasm with which the men had volunteered was ill-fed by the inaction of the camp. The officers were not sufficiently attentive to the thorough occupation of the time of the men with drill and preparation for the field, and they soon found ample leisure to compare the zeal with which they rushed to the service with the dullness of their life, and to look about them for grievances. Sometimes the camp authorities furnished indifferent rations or quartermasters' stores. The discontent thus engendered was inflamed by the incendiary conduct of some of the newspapers, circulating by hundreds through the camp, which daily denounced its management, exaggerated every defect and sought for criminal motives in every mistake. Some of the regiments were still permitted to indicate their choice for officers, and in all it was well known that if the men took care to represent a certain officer as unpopular he would not be reappointed. Lax discipline on the one hand, and perpetual fault-finding on the

other, were the inevitable result. This notorious condition of Camp Dennison exerted an influence against recruiting through the whole State, both directly on the men who would have enlisted, and indirectly, by leading the whole community to still further distrust of Governor Dennison. For even yet he had been left by the United States officials to bear all the burden of their mismanagement in the camp they had named after him; and, stung by the injustice which he felt he had already received when he merited gratitude, he proudly refused to make any explanation whatever that should relieve him from this undeserved odium.

And now there came in still another cause to operate against recruiting in the time of our sore need. The Government, on realizing its mistake in limiting Ohio to thirteen regiments, and on seeing the splendid service rendered by the ten militia regiments, patriotically put into the field by the State on her own responsibility, volunteered the assurance that it would muster these men into the United States service and assume their payment and discharge. As the time approached Governor Dennison visited Washington to see that the authorities would be sure to be prepared. His precautions, however, notwithstanding the assurances he received, proved fruitless. The regiments came home to find no paymaster ready to receive them, and no mustering officer to discharge them. They had to be sent home, therefore—after a campaign brilliant and fatiguing—without pay and with no knowledge of when they would get it. Many believed they would never be paid, all were dissatisfied and displeased, and in this mood they were scattered over the whole State.* Thus was the cause of recruiting, which depended on popular approval and enthusiasm, still clouded by occurrences the best calculated to work its ruin.

The dissatisfaction and disgust thus spread throughout the State resulted in bringing the work of recruiting almost to a stand. Fortunately, when disbanding the companies in excess of the thirteen regiments for the Government and the ten for the State, raised in the first flush of the public enthusiasm, the Governor had decided to retain enough for four regiments, under drill at their respective homes. These were now accessible. So, when the Government began to press for troops, these were collected and organized, and thus the State was able, at an early period, to throw the Twenty-Third, Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Fifth, and Twenty-Sixth regiments into West Virginia at the first call of need.

When at last the evil effects of all the mistakes and misfortunes we have enumerated began to be counteracted, fresh difficulties in recruiting were encountered. The Government expected the regiments to be full and fully organized before it would receive or begin to supply them. If it took two months to recruit a regiment, the men who enlisted first must remain in camp two months without pay, without uniforms, blankets or arms, without subsistence save as the State furnished it, and without any authority over them save as they saw fit to yield to it. Not even a Lieutenant could be mustered in, to exercise a legal military command over them till their ranks were full. After a time the Gov-

* When the Government was ready it was hard to find and collect the men again, and two months and more passed before they were all paid.

ernment consented that whenever a company was half raised a Lieutenant might be mustered in. Still clothing and blankets could not be procured. Then, at the earnest solicitation of the Governor, special permission was given to muster in the Quartermaster, Adjutant, Surgeon, and Assistant-Surgeon of regiments prior to their organization. Their clothing and their sick were thus provided for. Finally, authority was procured to muster in a Lieutenant at the beginning for each company and to muster in the men as recruited.

The change was magical. Within two weeks ten thousand men were mustered into the service, and recruiting soon became again an easy task.

The Adjutant-General, however, complained of troubles still remaining. Under General Scott's influence the Government had refused to permit the State to furnish cavalry At last authority for one regiment was procured; but it was presently discovered that, under direct permission from the War Department, two more were being raised in the northern part of the State, by Messrs. Wade and Hutchins, and two more in Southern Ohio, by permission of General Fremont. Confusion was thus wrought, and considerable detriment to the infantry recruiting ensued.

Furthermore, the war which was to be ended in a single battle, opened in gloom and disaster The paralysis of Bull Run was followed by mortification from Ball's Bluff, and the like blundering defeats; general inaction ensued, and from the Potomac to the Mississippi the Rebels seemed likely to maintain their ground.

In spite of difficulties and depression the Adjutant-General was able, at the close of the year, to report forty-six regiments of infantry, four of cavalry, and twelve batteries of artillery in the field, with twenty-two more regiments of infantry and four of cavalry full or nearly full, and thirteen in process of organization. In all, the State then had in the three years' service, seventy-seven thousand eight hundred and forty-four men, besides the twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty men furnished at the first call for three months.*

For these troops Governor Dennison made the most earnest efforts to procure competent and instructed commanders. At that early day no civilians in the State had any military experience, save the few who had served in the com-

*This force may be stated more in detail as follows:

Infantry, for three years	67,546
Cavalry, for three years	7,270
Artillery, for three years	3,028
Total three years	77,844
Add twenty-two regiments three months' infantry	22,000
Two companies three months' cavalry	180
Two sections three months' artillery	80
Barnett's Battery, three months' artillery	120
Whole number of men enlisted in 1861 in Ohio	100 224

It is impossible to assign accurately to each county the number raised in it, but the follow-

paratively insignificant operations in Mexico. He sought first, therefore, for men trained at West Point, who might be supposed to be familiar, theoretically at least, with the duties of their offices. Of these he secured fourteen in all, who were at once given the command of regiments. For the rest he sought carefully for men of any, even the least, experience, of ability, zeal, and fitness for the service.

How well he succeeded may be judged, not only from the honorable record of the regiments, but from the high promotions that came to the commanders. The Colonel of the Seventh (E. B. Tyler) became a Brigadier-General of volunteers and Brevet Major-General. The Colonel of the Eighth (S. S. Carroll) received the same promotion. The Colonel of the Ninth (R. L. McCook) became a Brigadier; of the Tenth (W H. Lytle), the same; of the Thirteenth (W S. Smith), the same; of the Fourteenth (J. B. Steedman), a Major-General; of the Nineteenth (S. Beatty), a Brigadier; of the Twenty-Third (W. S. Rosecrans), a Brigadier in the regular army, Major-General of volunteers, and distinguished commander of a great department; of the Twenty-Fourth (Jacob Ammen), a Brigadier; of the Twenty-Sixth (E. P Fyffe), a Brevet Brigadier; of the Twenty-Seventh (Jno. W. Fuller), a Brigadier and Brevet Major-Gen-

ing statement of the troops raised under the seventy-five thousand and three hundred thousand calls is an approximation:

Adams	915	Hamilton	8,192	Muskingum	1,168
Allen	776	Hancock	747	Noble	617
Ashland	578	Hardin	694	Ottaway	325
Ashtabula	1,306	Harrison	459	Paulding	254
Athens	1,358	Henry	526	Perry	702
Auglaize	565	Highland	860	Pickaway	604
Belmont	1,030	Hocking	692	Pike	560
Brown	1,027	Holmes	550	Portage	721
Butler	1,141	Huron	929	Preble	857
Carroll	386	Jackson	750	Putnam	337
Champaign	828	Jefferson	666	Richland	1,087
Clark	841	Knox	913	Ross	1,457
Clermont	1,260	Lake	550	Sandusky	789
Clinton	703	Lawrence	1,263	Scioto	1,083
Columbiana	854	Licking	1,307	Seneca	928
Coshocton	806	Logan	870	Shelby	475
Crawford	448	Lorain	823	Stark	1,048
Cuyahoga	—	Lucas	1,108	Summit	969
Darke	685	Madison	406	Trumbull	1,144
Defiance	410	Mahoning	629	Tuscarawas	1,029
Delaware	894	Marion	579	Union	691
Erie	556	Medina	579	Van Wert	361
Fairfield	832	Meigs	1,292	Vinton	601
Fayette	686	Mercer	556	Warren	1,186
Franklin	980	Miami	1,405	Washington	1,381
Fulton	654	Monroe	836	Wayne	734
Gallia	696	Montgomery	1,158	Williams	682
Geauga	546	Morgan	750	Wood	740
Greene	1,074	Morrow	696	Wyandotte	759
Guernsey	775				

eral; of the Thirtieth (Hugh Ewing), a Brigadier and Brevet Major-General; of the Thirty-First (Moses B. Walker), a Brevet Brigadier; of the Thirty-Third (J W Sill), a Brigadier; of the Thirty-Fourth (A. S. Piatt), a Brigadier; of the Thirty-Fifth (Ferdinand Van Derveer), a Brigadier; of the Thirty-Sixth (George Crook), a Major-General; of the Forty-First (William B. Hazen), a Major-General; of the Forty-Second (James A. Garfield), a Major-General; of the Forty-Fifth (B. P Runkle), a Brevet Brigadier; of the Forty-Ninth (Wm. H. Gibson) a Brevet Brigadier; of the Fifty-Second (Daniel McCook), a Brigadier; of the Fifty-Fifth (Jno. C. Lee), a Brevet Brigadier; of the Sixty-Third (Jno. W Sprague), a Brigadier; of the Sixty-Fifth (C. E. Harker), a Brigadier; of the Seventy-Second (R. P Buckland), a Brigadier; of the Seventy-Fourth (Rev. Granville Moody) a Brevet Brigadier; of the Seventy-Fifth (N. C McLean), a Brigadier; of the Seventy-Sixth (Chas. R. Woods), a Major-General; of the Seventy-Eighth (M. D. Leggett), a Major-General.

Many of the subordinate officers also rose to high promotion; and although some, also, brought disgrace upon themselves and damage to the cause, yet of the entire list it may be said that it would compare favorably with the appointments from any other State.

Camps Dennison and Chase, the one near Cincinnati, the other near Columbus, were controlled by the United States authorities. On Governor Dennison fell the selection and management of other camps throughout the State, of which the following are the principal ones established during his administration:

Camp Jackson	Columbus.	Camp Putnam	at Marietta.
Camp Harrison	near Cincinnati.	Camp Wool	at Athens.
Camp Taylor	at Cleveland.	Camp Jefferson	at Bellair.
Camp Goddard	at Zanesville.	Camp Scott	at Portland.
Camp Anderson	at Lancaster.		

Until the United States undertook the task of subsisting and supplying soldiers as soon as they were recruited, these were supplied by the State Quartermaster. Of the magnitude of the other interests intrusted to this officer during Governor Dennison's administration, some idea may be formed from statements like these:

The number of rifles purchased on State account for the use of infantry was eleven thousand nine hundred.

The number of carbines and revolvers for cavalry was one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five.

The number of six-pounder bronze field guns was forty-one.

A laboratory was established at Columbus for the supply of ammunition, which the United States arsenals, before there was time for a vast enlargement of their capacities, were unable to furnish. From this laboratory two million five hundred and five thousand seven hundred and eighty musket and pistol cartridges were supplied; with sixteen thousand five hundred and thirty-seven cartridges, fixed shot, canister, and spherical case for artillery.

In the absence of a sufficient supply of rifles, the old muskets were rifled, Miles Greenwood, of Cincinnati, taking the contract. The "Greenwood rifle" thus manufactured became quite popular, being held by the troops the equal of the Enfield in precision and range, and more destructive, inasmuch as it carried a heavier weight of metal. During Dennison's administration twenty-five thousand three hundred and twenty-four of these smooth-bore muskets were thus changed, at a cost of one dollar and a quarter per gun.

The State had under its control, at the outbreak of the war, thirty-three smooth-bore six-pounders. Twenty-seven of these were likewise rifled and made equal to the best rifled guns. Twelve additional batteries were contracted for—the guns for which Miles Greenwood had already begun casting.

The office received from the Government and issued to troops fifty-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-six rifles and muskets.

It expended in the purchase of uniforms $1,117,349 35. Of none of the vast quantity of clothing thus bought were complaints ever made, except in the case of a few regiments, which in the first rush and at a time when the goods to make regulation uniforms were not in the country, received a pretty bad sample of shoddy.

We have seen that the operations of the Commissary Department were the first to arouse the clamor which continued till near its close to pursue our first War Administration. At the end of the year, however, the Commissary-General was able to report that, in issuing nearly three-quarters of a million rations the State had paid only thirteen and one-quarter cents per ration; and that in commuting four hundred and eleven thousand seven hundred and ten rations,* in the haste of the first organization, before it was possible to issue rations, and when it was unavoidable that the troops should either be quartered at hotels or otherwise boarded, the State had paid only an average of about forty-four and one-half cents per ration. Large as this last sum seemed it was small compared with that allowed by the United States Army Regulations, under which a soldier so stationed as to have no opportunity of messing, was allowed to commute at the rate of seventy-five cents per day—the highest sum paid in the State anywhere in the greatest pressure of troops just after the April call. The whole sum of expenditures by the State for subsistence of soldiers was $488,858 71.

For all these operations large sums of money were required. It was held by the Auditor† that of the three millions appropriated by the Legislature for war purposes, only half a million was available in direct aid of the United States. This was soon exhausted. Presently, however, under the effective

* "Commuting rations" is to pay money for the subsistence of soldiers instead of issuing to them rations in kind. The ration, as used in the above, means a supply of provisions for one man for one day.

† R. W. Tayler, an exceedingly scrupulous and exact financial officer, who has since been made one of the Comptrollers of the United States Treasury, to succeed Elisha Whittlesey.

financial management of Secretary Chase, the Government was able to refund the sums thus advanced. Here a new difficulty arose. The Auditor decided—and in this he was sustained by the Attorney-General—that these refunded moneys could afford the Governor no relief, since, if they once entered the treasury, they could not again be used in aid of the United States—the full appropriation of a half million dollars for that purpose having already been used. Technically there was no doubt that this was correct.

Governor Dennison at once determined to evade this technicality and employ the money Accordingly, instead of permitting it to be refunded to the State Treasury through the ordinary channels, he caused it to be collected from the Government by his personal agents, when he proceeded again to use it for the various military purposes for which it was needed. As it was again, after a time refunded, he again collected it by his personal agents, and continued to employ it so long as was needful. In this way it was eventually reported that he had kept out of the State Treasury the sum of $1,077,600. For every dollar he presented satisfactory accounts and vouchers to the Legislature. The use of this money was a bold measure, but it was vindicated by the law of public necessity, and it never cast a shadow upon the integrity of the Governor who retained it, or of the officers through whom he disbursed it.

During the fall and early winter of 1861, a cry of suffering came from the Ohio troops among the Alleghany Mountains in West Virginia. Sanitary and Christian Commissions were not then prepared to respond to such calls, and the Governor had no resource, save an appeal to the liberality of the people. In October he accordingly issued a proclamation calling upon the people for contributions of clothing, and particularly of blankets. Within a few weeks nearly eight thousand blankets and coverlets had been sent in, besides nearly ten thousand pairs of woolen socks, and proportionate quantities of other articles. The suffering in the mountains however proved to have been much exaggerated, and only a small part of the articles thus contributed was sent there. Some were used in hospitals, others were issued to troops in Kentucky, and a considerable quantity remained on hands for the next year's uses.

The annual nominating convention of his party had been held during the height of Governor Dennison's unpopularity. Most of the party leaders were already aware of the injustice with which he had been treated, and a strong disposition was felt to renominate him in spite of the odium that would thus be attached to their ticket. But reasoning as politicians will, that the party could not afford such a risk, and being moreover anxious to draw off the war wing of the Democratic party, they passed Governor Dennison by with a complimentary resolution, indorsing his administration, and bestowed their nomination upon David Tod, of the Reserve, a patriotic and prominent Democratic leader.

Governor Dennison betrayed no unseemly mortification at the result, and gave his cordial efforts to aid in the success of the ticket. In his final message

he recited the efforts made to place the State on a war footing and to furnish all the troops called for, with scarcely a reference to the misrepresentation with which he had been pursued. The facts were his conclusive vindication.

As a bank man, he protested against the policy of Secretary Chase for the destruction of State banks and the establishment of the National Bank system.* As a somewhat conservative Republican he deplored any proclamation of immediate emancipation, as a measure which would insure the extermination of the negro race. He favored confiscation of Rebel property, and advocated the establishment of a negro colony in Central America. "I do not doubt," he concluded in a manly strain, "that errors have occurred in conducting my civil and military administration; but I am solaced by the reflection that no motive has ever influenced me which did not spring from an earnest desire to promote the interests of my fellow-citizens, and preserve the honor of the State and the integrity of the Nation. I felt that I would be recreant to the duties entrusted to me, if I failed to exert all my powers and employ all the instrumentalities at my command, to support the Government in its efforts to suppress the insurrection and maintain its constitutional authority."

For this singleness of aim and purity of purpose, as well as for marked sagacity and ability in the discharge of his public duties, his fellow-citizens have long since given him credit.

It was his misfortune that the first rush of the war's responsibilities fell upon him. Those who came after were enabled to walk by the light of his painful experience. If he had been as well known to the State, and as highly esteemed two years before the outbreak of the war as he was two years afterward, his burdens would have been greatly lightened. But he was not credited with the ability he really possessed, and in their distrust, men found it very easy to assure themselves that he was to blame for everything.

That he made some mistakes is not to be disputed. Some of the early expenditures were less closely retrenched than they might have been. He was scarcely quick enough in reorganizing his peace establishment staff. He was not quite right in his policy for checking contraband goods, and his well-meant efforts to suppress contraband news were ill-considered and productive of needless irritation.

But these are small matters. He led in securing the redemption of West Virginia. He led in seeking to enforce upon the Government the need of speedy action in Kentucky. He led in pressing the necessity for a large army. He met the first shock of the contest, and in the midst of difficulties which now seem scarcely credible, organized twenty-three regiments for the three months' service and eighty-two for three years; nearly one-half the entire number of organizations sent to the field by the State during the war. He left the State

*He subsequently declared, in a welcoming speech to Mr. Chase at Columbus, that he had been wrong in this opposition, and that the Secretary was right. He pronounced him indeed the greatest financier that had controlled the finances of a great government within the century. See "Going Home to Vote," a pamphlet published by the Union Loyal League of Washington, in which this speech is given.

credited with twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty-one soldiers above and beyond all calls made by the President upon her.* He handled large sums of money beyond the authority of law and without the safeguard of bonded agents, and his accounts were honorably closed.

His fate was indeed a singular one. The honest, patriotic discharge of his duty made him odious to an intensely patriotic people. With the end of his service he began to be appreciated. He was the most trusted counsellor and efficient aid to his successor. Though no longer more than a private citizen, he came to be recognized in and out of the State as her best spokesman in the Departments at Washington. Those who followed him on the public stage, though with the light of his experience to guide them, did not (as in the case of most military men similarly situated) leave him in obscurity. Gradually he even became popular. The State began to reckon him among her leading public men, the party selected him as President of the great National Convention at Baltimore, and Mr. Lincoln called him to the Cabinet.

* From calculations in final report of United States Provost Marshal-General Fry, Vol. I, p. 161.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE FIRST YEAR OF TOD'S ADMINISTRATION.

IN January, 1862, David Tod entered upon the duties of Governor of Ohio. He had been the candidate of the Democratic party for Governor in 1844, had run ahead of his ticket, and had come within a thousand votes of election; had been a popular stump orator, the President of the National Douglas Democratic Convention at Baltimore, and for nearly five years United States Minister to Brazil. Then, for some years, he had been successfully engaged in iron manufactures, and as President of the Cleveland and Mahoning railroad. He brought, therefore, to the office the reputation of a good business man, of a political leader with experience and public honors, and an earnest patriot, ready, at the call of the country, to drop old prejudices and party connections. Thus secure in advance in the confidence of the people, he entered upon a path which the trials of his predecessor had smoothed for him. His knowledge of affairs aided him in the business details of his office. The Legislature, now thoroughly aroused to the magnitude of the war, gave him a hearty co-operation. The staff left by his predecessor was trained by the experience of the first crowded year, familiar with the work and its wants, and now able to give system to all the details of the military administration.* Governor Dennison had established military committees in every county in the State to aid and advise him in the work of recruiting, and camps for the regiments not yet complete. At the outset there was little to do, save to continue these agencies, and to fill up the regiments in camp.

* Governor Tod retained the three chief officers of Governor Dennison's staff. Judge Advocate-General Wolcott being called to the War Department, and Surgeon-General McMillen to the command of a regiment, he was compelled to fill their places with new men. His staff for the year 1862 was as follows:

Adjutant-General	C. P. Buckingham.
[Resigned April 18, 1862, to enter War Department.]	
Adjutant-General	Charles W. Hill.
Quartermaster-General	Geo. B. Wright.
Commissary-General	Columbus Delano.
Judge Advocate-General	Luther Day.
Surgeon-General	Gustave C. E. Weber.
[Resigned, from ill-health, October, 1862.]	
Surgeon-General	Samuel M. Smith.
Aid-de-Camp	Garretson J. Young.

With trained assistants, an organized system, and the work thus gradually coming upon him, Governor Tod speedily mastered his new duties. There was no opportunity for distinguishing his administration by the redemption of a State, or the appointment of officers who were soon to reach the topmost round of popular favor, or the adoption of independent war measures during a temporary isolation from the General Government. But what there was to do he did prudently, systematically, and with such judgment as to command the general approval of his constituents.

The first feature of his administration was the care for the wounded of the State, sent home from the terrible field of Pittsburg Landing. Then he exercised a general care over the troops in the field, and established the system of State agencies at important points for their benefit. The only other striking features of the first year of his incumbency were the alarm about the capital and the rapid recruiting for its defense; the filling of the State quotas under the President's calls, and the draft to complete them; the arrests which hostility to the draft provoked; the alarms along the border, first for the safety of Cincinnati when Kirby Smith threatened it, and then for the upper Kentucky and West Virginia border; and the special efforts thus required for the State defense.

The outline of these several subjects we may now seek to trace.

No great battles had, during Governor Dennison's administration, excited the sensibilities of the people in behalf of their wounded sons and brothers; and no system of supplementing the army treatment by State care for the wounded had been held necessary. The initial movements of 1862 did not lead to great losses in any of the armies over the theater of war where Ohio soldiers were now scattered. On the Potomac the quiet was still unbroken. In West Virginia the season was too inclement to permit extended operations. In Kentucky, save the battles of the Sandy Valley, of Wild Cat, and of Mill Springs, the advance to Nashville, and even to the northern border of Mississippi, was made almost without fighting. At Fort Donelson, and in the operations in Missouri, the losses of Ohio troops had been too small to arouse a general feeling of anxiety in the State.

But Pittsburg Landing was a sudden, startling shock,

"And heavy to the ground the first dark drops of battle came."

Then followed rumors of the sad slaughter and of the terrible suffering. The whole State was aroused. Men everywhere talked of it as a personal calamity, denounced its authors, and demanded haste to relieve its victims.* It was not till the afternoon of the 9th of April that authentic news of the great battles of the 6th

*It was currently believed in the West, at the time, that the first day's disaster at Pittsburg Landing had been aggravated by the drunkenness of General Grant. He was a long time very unpopular, in consequence of his management at this battle, in the States whose troops suffered the most by it; and he was never fully re-instated in public confidence in the West till after the fall of Vicksburg. It need scarcely be said that the charges of drunkenness or needless absence were gross slanders. A discussion of the real causes of the disaster may be found in the succeeding pages, part II, Life of Grant.

and 7th reached Cincinnati. The losses were reported at eighteen to twenty thousand. The Sanitary Commission at once ordered the charter of a steamboat to visit the battle-field with surgeons, nurses, and stores, and within an hour the "Tycoon" was secured. Then, as the Quartermaster-General, in a dispatch from Washington, assumed the expenses of this boat, the Commission, in the course of the afternoon, chartered another, the "Monarch."

Mayor Hatch had meantime chartered the "Lancaster No. 4" on the city's account. By dark she was equipped with supplies, hospital stores, a full corps of physicians and nurses under Doctors Blackman and Vattier, prominent members of the profession in Cincinnati, and fifty members of the city police force, under Colonel Dudley, and was rapidly steaming down the river. Governor Tod, on being advised of this action, promptly telegraphed that the State would assume the expenses of this, the first boat off to the scene of suffering; and that he had selected thirty volunteer surgeons who, with the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, would arrive in Cincinnati the next morning, in time for passage on the "Monarch."

At nine o'clock this same evening, a few hours after the departure of the "Lancaster No. 4," the "Tycoon" set out, likewise fully equipped, with twenty-three nurses, one hundred and fifty boxes of hospital supplies, and eleven physicians, at the head of whom was Dr. Mendenhall, another well-known practitioner of the city. Eight more physicians, under Dr. Comegys, were ready to go out in the morning on the "Monarch" with the thirty from Columbus.* Meanwhile the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to secure from the City Council appropriations to meet the expenses thus incurred, and the Sanitary Commission received from individuals who feared this aid, though certain, might be a few hours too late, cash contributions to the amount of over two thousand dollars for instant wants. Within a few hours citizens of Dayton swelled this sum by forwarding five hundred more; while the "sanitary supplies" in store were speedily augmented by generous shipments from Cleveland.

The system thus inaugurated was kept up so long as there appeared any necessity for it. Ohio surgeons and nurses visited the great battle-field and the hospitals along the rivers; Ohio boats removed the wounded with tender care to the hospitals at Camp Dennison and elsewhere within the State; the Ohio treasury was the sufficient warrant for any expenditures for the comfort of the sick or wounded, concerning the approval of which by the General Government there was doubt. At the close of the year it was announced in the official reports that the State had paid the expenses of eleven steamboats, sent to Pittsburg Landing and other points along the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers for sick and wounded soldiers, amounting in the aggregate to forty-seven

* Eli C. Baldwin, Charles F. Wilstach, and C. R. Fosdick were appointed a committee of the Sanitary Commission to take command of the "Tycoon." B. P. Baker, Larz Anderson, and J. H. Bates were a similar Committee for the "Monarch." Among the nurses off in the first boat, the "Lancaster No. 4," were ten Sisters of Charity.

thousand thirty-eight dollars and seventy-five cents*—a sum which the pay and expenses of nurses, volunteer surgeons, etc., increased to seven thousand six hundred and eighty-three dollars and eighty-five cents. The Surgeon-General was likewise sent with over twenty surgeons to the battle-field of Antietam, a few months later; and in the autumn, to Perryville, with eight surgeons and a corps of nurses. Special agents were likewise sent to Louisville and Cleveland to look after suffering paroled prisoners, and to the troops in the Kanawha Valley and at other points where suffering was said to exist. In much of this work Dr. Samuel M. Smith, of Columbus (who soon after became Surgeon-General), was conspicuous. He was sent no less than five times in charge of steamboats to Pittsburg Landing, as well as once to Antietam.

This system presently received a development in a new direction. We have just spoken of the agents of the Governor sent to the Kanawha Valley and elsewhere, on the reception of reports about the wants of Ohio troops in the respective localities. Another step was soon taken, of which this furnished the suggestion.

The suffering on the battle-fields, and the subsequent distress of many poor men, discharged for disability or sent home on sick leave, whose ignorance of the regulations delayed them in the settlement of their accounts, the procuring of transportation, and the scores of other things for which, in general, the soldier is accustomed to look to his officers, led to the establishment of a system of State agencies at the most important points. At first the only object contemplated was to care for and assist the sick and disabled soldiers found, unattended by friends, about the principal depots. Agencies for this purpose were established at Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Crestline, and Bellair.† Then, as the discharged soldiers seemed to have great difficulty in the settlement of their accounts—owing often to their own ignorance of the necessary details, and often to the negligence of their officers—the Quartermaster-General was charged with the duty of establishing an agency in his office, to which such soldiers could resort for gratuitous aid, and for protection from ravenous claim agents. Finally, as the excellent workings of the system were developed, and as the progress of the war increased the necessity for it, the agencies were gradually extended. Before the close of the Governor's first year in office, they had been established at Cincinnati under the care of A. B. Lyman, and at Louisville under the care of Royal Taylor. He soon afterward started others, as the varying wants of the service indicated the necessity, at Washington under J. C. Wetmore, at Memphis under F W Bingham, at Cairo and St. Louis under Weston Flint, at Nashville under Royal Taylor (who continued also to supervise the Louisville agency), and at New York under B. P Baker.

*Governor's message, 5th January, 1863, Report of Contingent Fund, p. 33. Some of the steamers made two or more trips. The names of those engaged were "Magnolia," "Glendale," "Tycoon," "Emma Duncan," "Lady Franklin," "Sunnyside," and "Lancaster No. 4."

†The expense of these agencies for the year, including the subsistence furnished by them to suffering soldiers, was only one thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven dollars and fifty-eight cents.

Gradually the care thus exerted by the State authorities over Ohio troops on the battle-field, in the hospital, and on the way to their homes, came to follow them in all their movements in the field. The General Government, for a time, allowed an insufficient number of surgeons. Under authority conferred by the Legislature, Governor Tod supplemented this want (up to the time when Congress authorized assistant regimental Surgeons), by sending State Surgeons into the field. For this species of relief an expenditure of seven thousand eight hundred and twenty-two dollars and twenty-five cents was incurred.

Presently, we find the Governor beginning to plead the case of Ohio troops in the field with the authorities. The Second Ohio Cavalry was in some trouble on the frontier. "The Kansas authorities," said Governor Tod, "do not command my confidence;" and thereupon he appealed to the Secretary of War to see to it that the court in the case should be composed of officers "noways implicated or interested in the matter."* Reports were in circulation of troubles among the paroled Union prisoners in camp near Chicago. Thereupon an agent was sent to see what number of Ohio troops were there and what was their condition.† In the alarm over Kirby Smith's invasion, raw troops, half equipped, were hurried into Kentucky. The Governor telegraphs to the Commander of the Department, begging that tents be sent them at once;‡ in a little time telegraphs again; then sends a characteristic dispatch to Secretary Stanton to the effect that it "is well he doesn't know whose fault it is, or he would whip the fellow if he were as strong as Samson;"‖ once more appeals to the Commander of the Department, and finally solicits ex-Governor Dennison to visit head-quarters and give his personal attention to the matter.§ The peculiar vein "crops out" again in a dispatch about the same time to the Cincinnati Quartermaster: "For God's sake, furnish our Ohio troops now in Kentucky with canteens,"** but the humane purpose was accomplished. A Colonel sends him, from Rosecrans's battle-field of Corinth, a bloody flag, captured from a Texas regiment by private Orrin B. Gould, of company G, in the Twenty-Seventh Ohio, who fell in the act. The Governor determines that the hero, though dead, shall be rewarded, and his family are accordingly gratified by the reception of a Captain's commission for him.††

All this was well meant and productive of good. Scarcely so much could be said for this foolish dispatch:

"The gallant people of Ohio are mortified to death over the rumored cowardice of Colonel Rodney Mason, of the Seventy-First Ohio, and in their behalf I demand that he have a fair but speedy trial; and, should he be convicted of cowardice, that the extreme penalty of the law be inflicted upon him, for in that event we can not endure even his foul carcass upon our soil."‡‡

The various forms of the efforts to raise troops and the alarm along the border, constitute the prominent remaining features of the first year of Governor Tod's administration.

When Stonewall Jackson, bursting unannounced into the Valley, scattered

*Ex. Doc. 1862. Part I, p. 67. †Ibid. ‡Ibid, p. 72. ‖Ibid, d. 77.
§Ibid, p. 74. **Ibid, p. 78. ††Ibid, p. 68. ‡‡Ibid, p. 71.

the fragmentary armies of the fragmentary department commanders who held piecemeal possession therein, and created the liveliest apprehensions for the safety of Washington itself, the War Department issued a hasty appeal for troops to protect the Capital. In obedience to this, Governor Tod, on the 26th of May, 1862, published his proclamation calling for volunteers for three months, for three years, or for temporary guard-duty within the limits of the State. The day before he had sent telegraphic dispatches to the military committees of every county in the State, announcing the "imminent danger" at Washington, assigning the number expected from each county, and urging that whoever was willing to volunteer should hurry to Camp Chase—the railroads being instructed to pass such recruits to Columbus at the State's expense.

The people responded promptly. At Cleveland a large meeting was held, and two hundred and fifty men immediately enlisted—among them twenty-seven out of the thirty-two students in attendance at the Law School. At Zanesville the fire bells rang out the alarm, and by ten o'clock a large meeting had assembled at the court-house. Three hundred men enlisted before three in the afternoon. Court was in session, but the Judge announced that it was adjourned *sine die*, as he and the lawyers were all going to join in the military movement. The Judge at Bellefontaine hastened to enlist.* At Putnam only three unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were left in the town. At Western Reserve College twenty of the college cadets volunteered on the day of the call, and more followed the next morning.

In all five thousand volunteers reported at Camp Chase under this call—the majority of them within the first and second days after its issue. The men were permitted to elect their company officers, and the field and staff were at once appointed, so that the organization was almost as sudden as the enlistment. Within ten days after the call, the first of the new regiments, the Eighty-Fourth, was dispatched to the field. The Eighty-Sixth and Eighty-Eighth soon followed; while the Eighty-Fifth and Eighty-Seventh organized for duty within the State, relieved other troops for the front, and afterward furnished from their ranks considerable numbers of volunteers for active service.

Up to this time Governor Tod had been called upon to undertake no work of importance connected with the raising of troops, save to fill up the regiments which Governor Dennison had left nearly completed. The progress that had been made in this work may be sufficiently set forth in tabular form, as follows:

43d	Infantry,	Colonel	J. L. Kirby Smith, completed 14th February, 1862.
46th	"	"	Thomas Worthington, completed 20th January, 1862.
48th	"	"	Peter J. Sullivan, completed 16th January, 1862.
53d	"	"	Jesse J. Appler, completed 3d February, 1862.
54th	"	"	Thomas Kilby Smith, completed 6th February, 1862.
55th	"	"	J. C. Lee, sent to field 25th January, 1862.
56th	"	"	Peter Kinney, sent to field 10th February, 1862.
57th	"	"	Wm. Mungen, completed 10th February 1862.

*Judge Wm. Lawrence, since member of Congress. He became Colonel of the first three months' regiment thus raised, the Eighty-Fourth Ohio.

58th	Infantry,	Colonel	Valentine Bausenwein, completed 3d February, 1862.
60th	"	"	Wm. H. Trimble, completed 25th February, 1862.
61st	"	"	N. Schleich, completed 1st May, 1862.
62d	"	"	F. B. Pond, sent to field 17th January, 1862.
63d	"	"	J. W. Sprague, sent to field 18th February, 1862.
66th	"	"	Charles Candy, sent to field 16th January, 1862.
68th	"	"	Samuel H. Steedman, sent to field 7th February, 1862.
69th	"	"	Lewis D. Campbell, completed 24th March, 1862.
70th	"	"	J. R. Cockerill, completed, 3d February, 1862.
71st	"	"	Rodney Mason, sent to field 10th February, 1862.
72d	"	"	R. P. Buckland, sent to field 15th February, 1862.
73d	"	"	Orland Smith, sent to field 23d January, 1862.
74th	"	"	Granville Moody, completed 28th February, 1862.
75th	"	"	N. C. McLean, sent to field 23d January, 1862.
76th	"	"	Charles R. Woods, completed 9th February, 1862.
77th	"	"	Jesse Hildebrand, completed 5th February, 1862.
78th	"	"	M. D. Leggett, sent to field 10th February, 1862.
80th	"	"	E. R. Eckley, sent to field 20th February, 1862.
82d	"	"	James Cantwell, sent to field 23d January, 1862.
6th	Cavalry,	"	W. R. Lloyd, sent to field 13th March, 1862.

Two or three of the attempted organizations proved unsuccessful, and the companies raised were attached to other commands. The impetus given to the others during the close of Governor Dennison's administration was sufficient, as may be seen above, to carry them to completion and into the field very soon after Governor Tod's inauguration.

Toward the close of May the Governor was beginning to prepare for raising three new regiments, when the sudden alarm about Washington interfered. There followed the hasty mustering of three months' men we have already described. Then, till the middle of July, three regiments for the war, the Forty-Fifth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-Second, had the range of the entire State for recruiting. They grew slowly, and the work of raising troops seemed to have come almost to an end.

Meantime, in June, had come the President's call for three hundred thousand, and soon after for three hundred thousand more, closely following on the failure of the peninsular campaign, and the stupor that seemed to have befallen the armies in the South-west. Under these calls (not counting the previous excess of credits) the quota of Ohio was seventy-four thousand; for thirty-seven thousand of which, under the recent legislation of Congress, the State militia was liable to draft. It was evident that some new plan must be devised for raising these troops. The community that was spending a whole summer in filling three regiments was not likely, within a couple of months, to fill ten times as many fresh ones.

From this point may be reckoned the beginning of the radical error by which all subsequent recruiting in Ohio, and in the sister States as well, was poisoned. Men had an instinctive repugnance to a draft; an unwise fondness for being able to say that all the soldiers from the State were volunteers. It followed that if actual volunteers did not present themselves, artificial stimulants must be employed to produce them. Thus it came about that the burdens

of the war rested, not equally upon all, but heaviest upon the most ardent, the most willing, and the most patriotic; and that ultimately, when this class was measurably exhausted, those to whom money, rather than patriotism, was a controlling consideration, became "volunteers" through the use of enormous bribes in the shape of bounties. Upon two classes came the whole weight of the war—the most willing and the most purchasable. There were many features about this unwise policy which commended it alike to the tenderness and the pride of public feeling. It prevented the exceptional cases of peculiar hardship which no care could have kept the draft from inflicting; it heaped upon those who were willing to fight the rewards which a grateful community felt that they deserved; it ministered to the vanity which was unwilling to acknowledge the necessity of a draft in a particular locality to secure its quota of soldiers for the war.

If at the outset the volunteering had been confined exclusively to the regiments needed under former calls, and it had been distinctly announced that a draft would be held to fill the whole quota under the new call, and no volunteers therefor would be accepted, a better system might have been inaugurated, to which a relieved treasury and a diminished tax list might even now be bearing testimony.

But the considerations in favor of the volunteering system were held conclusive. The surrounding States adhered to it. The people revolted from the idea of a draft. Some States and many communities were beginning the offer of a local bounty The Government was about to offer a National bounty. The leading newspapers were calling upon the Governor to "take the responsibility," and make a similar offer for the State.

This he did not do; but the opportunity for adopting the draft as the systematic, fair, and common mode of raising such troops as were called for was lost. Following the bent of public temper, and undoubtedly carrying out the wishes of those who had elected him, the Governor proceeded with an effort to distribute the new quota equitably among the several counties, and to secure the proper number of volunteers from each. The draft, if used at all, was only to be held as a last resort for filling irremediable deficiencies.

Up to this time it was estimated that one hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred voluntary enlistments had been made in the State, and from this number over sixty thousand three years troops were then in the field.* It was only by localizing the regiments, making the completion of each one the particular duty of a particular region, that the work could again be made popular. An order was therefore issued, on the 9th of July, making the following assignments:

FIRST DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP DENNISON.

The Seventy-Ninth and Eighty-Third Regiments will be raised in the counties of Hamilton, Warren, and Clinton; the Eighty-Ninth in Clermont, Brown, Highland, and Ross; the Ninetieth in Fayette, Pickaway, Hocking, Vinton, Fairfield, and Perrry. (Rendezvoused at Circleville.)

* Governor's Annual Message for 1862, p. 5.

SECOND DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP PORTSMOUTH.

The Ninety-First Regiment will be raised in the counties of Adams, Scioto, Lawrence, Pike, Jackson, and Gallia.

THIRD DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP MARIETTA.

The Ninety-Second Regiment will be raised in the counties of Meigs, Athens, Washington, Noble, and Monroe.

FOURTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP DAYTON.

The Ninety-Third Regiment will be raised in the counties of Butler, Preble, and Montgomery; the Ninety-Fourth in Greene, Clarke, Miami, and Darke.

FIFTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP CHASE.

The Ninety-Fifth Regiment will be raised in the counties of Champaign, Madison, Franklin, and Licking; the Ninety-Sixth in Logan, Union, Delaware, Marion, Morrow, and Knox. (Rendezvoused at Delaware.)

SIXTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP ZANESVILLE.

The Ninety-Seventh Regiment will be raised in the counties of Morgan, Muskingum, Guernsey, and Coshocton.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP STEUBENVILLE.

The Ninety-Eighth Regiment will be raised in the counties of Belmont, Tuscarawas, Harrison, Jefferson, and Carroll.

EIGHTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP LIMA.

The Ninety-Ninth Regiment will be raised in the counties of Shelby, Mercer, Auglaize, Hardin, Allen, Van Wert, Putnam, and Hancock.

NINTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP TOLEDO.

The One Hundredth Regiment will be raised in the counties of Paulding, Defiance, Henry, Wood, Sandusky, Williams, Fulton, Lucas, and Ottawa.

TENTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP MANSFIELD.

The One Hundred and First Regiment will be raised in the counties of Wyandot, Crawford, Seneca, Huron, and Erie. (Rendezvoused at Monroeville); the One Hundred and Second in Richland, Ashland, Holmes, and Wayne.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—RENDEZVOUS AT CAMP CLEVELAND.

The One Hundred and Third Regiment will be raised in the counties of Lorain, Medina, and Cuyahoga; the One Hundred and Fourth in Stark, Columbiana, Summit, and Portage. (Rendezvoused at Massillon); the One Hundred and Fifth in Mahoning, Trumbull, Geauga, Lake, and Ashtabula.

The military committees of the counties within the several districts were consulted as to the appointment of officers for their respective regiments, and the work speedily received a fresh impulse. Each community took a special interest in filling its own regiment, and in "getting clear of the draft." Morgan's invasion of Kentucky, speedily followed by that of Kirby Smith, had an excellent effect in stimulating these efforts; and the alarm along the West Virginia border very happily co-operated toward the same end. The regiments were assigned, as we have seen, on the 9th of July, 1862. How rapidly they were filled may be gathered from the following table:

100th	Regiment	rendezvoused at	Toledo; was full on 8th August.
93d	"	"	Dayton; was full on 9th August.
99th	"	"	Lima; was full on 11th August.
105th	"	"	Cleveland; was full on 11th August.
96th	"	"	Delaware; was full on 12th August.
94th	"	"	Piqua; was full on 14th August.
101st	"	"	Monroeville; was full on 14th August.
104th	"	"	Massillon; was full on 17th August.
92d	"	"	Marietta; was full on 15th August.
98th	"	"	Steubenville; was full on 15th August.
95th	"	"	Camp Chase; was full on 16th August.
102d	"	"	Mansfield; was full on 18th August.
103d	"	"	Cleveland; was full on 18th August.
89th	"	"	Camp Dennison; was full on 22d August.
90th	"	"	Circleville; was full on 22d August.
91st	"	"	Portsmouth; was full on 22d August.
97th	"	"	Zanesville; was full on 22d August.

The Hamilton County regiments, the Seventy-Ninth and Eighty-Third, were less successful. Two German ones, raised south of the National Road, the One Hundred and Sixth, Colonel Tafel, and the One Hundred and Eighth, Colonel Limberg, were however nearly filled in August, when they were ordered in their incomplete state into Kentucky, only, as it proved, to be speedily captured. The One Hundred and Seventh, Colonel Meyer, another German regiment, raised north of the National Road, was complete by 6th September. Efforts by Captain O'Dowd to raise an Irish Catholic regiment proved futile, and excited the wrath of the State Adjutant-General to such a pitch that he reported: "If the intention had been to enlist men to stay at home and be exempt from the draft, no change of proceedings would have been required to effect these objects.*

Other regiments were, about the middle of August, assigned as follows:

Recruits from Greene, Clark, Miami, and Darke, to the 110th, to rendezvous at Camp Piqua.
" " Paulding, Defiance, Henry, Wood, Sandusky, Williams, Fulton, Lucas, and Ottawa, to the 111th, to rendezvous at Toledo.
" " Montgomery, to the 112th, to rendezvous at Camp Dayton.
" " Champaign, Madison, Franklin, and Licking, to the 113th, to rendezvous at Camp Chase.
" " Fayette, Pickaway, Fairfield, Perry, Hocking, and Vinton, to the 114th to rendezvous at Camp Circleville.
" " Stark, Columbiana, Summit, and Portage, to the 115th, to rendezvous at Camp Massillon.
" " Meigs, Athens, Washington, Noble, and Monroe, to the 116th, to rendezvous at Camp Marietta.
" " Adams, Scioto, Pike, Jackson, Lawrence, and Gallia, to the 117th, to rendezvous at Camp Portsmouth.
" " the Eighth Military District, to the 118th, to rendezvous at Camp Lima.
" " Hamilton, Butler, Preble, Warren, and Clinton, to the 119th, to rendezvous at Camp Dennison.
" " Richland, Ashland, Holmes, and Wayne, to the 120th, to rendezvous at Camp Mansfield.

*Adjutant-General's Report for 1862.

Recruits from Logan, Union, Delaware, Marion, Morrow, and Knox, to the 121st, to rendezvous at Camp Delaware.
" " the Sixth Military District, to the 122d, to rendezvous at Camp Zanesville.
" " Wyandot, Crawford, Seneca, Huron, and Erie, to the 123d, to rendezvous at Camp Monroeville.
" " Medina, Lorain, and Cuyahoga, to the 124th, to rendezvous at Camp Cleveland.
" " Mahoning, Trumbull, Geauga, Lake, and Ashtabula, to the 125th, to rendezvous at Camp Cleveland.
" " Belmont, Tuscarawas, Harrison, Jefferson, and Carroll, to the 126th, to rendezvous at Camp Steubenville.

Of these the Adjutant-General was able before the end of the year, 1862, to report the majority full, as follows:

110th	Regiment	rendezvoused at	Piqua; was full* on 3d October.
111th	"	"	Toledo; was full on 27th August.
115th	"	"	Massillon; was full on 22d August.
114th	"	"	Circleville; was full on 22d August.
120th	"	"	Mansfield; was full on 10th September.
121st	"	"	Delaware; was full on 11th September.
123d	"	"	Monroeville; was full on 26th September.
122d	"	"	Zanesville; was full on 8th October.
126th	"	"	Steubenville; was full on 11th October.
116th	"	"	Marietta; was full on 28th October.
118th	"	"	Lima; was full on 5th December.

Most of the others were also in a fair way for speedy completion. Some new batteries were also raised, and the "River Regiment" (Seventh) of Cavalry, and several more organizations of each arm were begun.

Meantime this effort to fill the quota by volunteering involved a necessary but very grave evil. Recruits could not be secured save by multiplying organizations, and so making energetic recruiting agents of the new officers, whose commissions depended upon the completion of their commands. The number of regiments and of officers thus grew out of all proportion to the number of men; and the thinned ranks at the front, which most of all needed recruits, and in which these recruits could be most speedily fitted for active service, received scarcely any.

Governor Tod did his best to change this unfortunate shape of affairs; but the vice was inherent in the system. The tendency was all to the new regiments; the public excitement and effort were in regard to them; the State was filled with their agents. In the too rare cases in which the regiments in the field sent home officers to recruit, the difference in their operations was pithily stated by the Governor in one of his official letters: "The great trouble is that the recruiting officers sent home have their commissions in their pockets, and thus situated, encounter at every corner recruiting officers who have their commissions to earn." He proposed that commanders of regiments should send home non-commissioned officers or privates, with the promise of commissions, provided they should recruit a given number of men; but this sagacious hint

* In point of fact one company was missing at this date—being only partially full—but the regiment was then ordered to the field in Kentucky.

was not adopted. Then he suggested to the Secretary of War that the companies of the weakest regiments should be consolidated, and that the officers of the companies thus broken up should be sent home to recruit—their remaining in the service to be conditional upon their success. Still striving to fill up the old organizations, he next adopted the plan of giving commissions for the lower vacancies in certain regiments to men who had not hitherto been in the service, on condition that they should take with them to the field a certain number of recruits. But the well-meant effort awakened at once the most outspoken hostility. Officers in the field naturally complained that their chances for promotion were injured by this foisting in above them of men who had won rank not by fighting but by recruiting; and they took the very sensible ground that it was the duty of those who stayed at home to keep their files full. Yet they should have seen that this was impossible so long as the volunteering system made rank the reward of recruiting agents, and service at home a surer way of securing it than service at the front—in short, as we have already said, that the vice was inherent in the system.

The only serious difficulties between the Governor and the officers in the field grew out of this subject. Some refused to recognize the commissions which he had given to recruiting agents, or permit them to be mustered into the service as belonging to their regiments. Two, out of the many tart letters thus evoked, will serve to illustrate the difficulty:

THE STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Columbus, November 7, 1862.

Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Hollingsworth, Nineteenth Regiment O. V. I., Columbia, Kentucky:

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 1st inst., by Lieutenant Case, is before me. I am surprised, Colonel, that you should be so short-sighted as not to second my efforts in filling up your regiment. To save the existence of your regiment, and thereby the official existence of yourself, I appointed Lieutenant Case as Second-Lieutenant, upon condition that he recruit thirty men for your regiment, and take them with him. He could much more easily have earned a position for himself by recruiting for a new regiment, but my fear that the gallant old Nineteenth might be attached to some other old regiment, and thereby strike from the rolls its brave officers, induced me to urge him to recruit for it. Notwithstanding the bad taste of your letter, I have ordered Lieutenant Case to return to you again, and ask of you that you either assign him to duty or give him up his men, that he may find a place in some other old regiment, the officers of which may be able to appreciate that the Secretary of War will not keep regiments in the field simply to make place for officers.

Respectfully yours,
DAVID TOD, Governor.

THE STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Columbus, November 27, 1862.

Colonel J. G. Hawkins, Thirteenth Regiment O. V. I., Silver Springs, Tennessee:

SIR:—Deeply as I regret to differ with you, I can not comply with your wishes as to Lieutenant Charles Crawford.

To preserve the existence of your regiment, as I supposed, I offered this young man the position of Second-Lieutenant, upon the express condition that he recruit a given number of men within a time specified. In thus doing I supposed that I was laboring for the interests of your regiment, and therein for the best interests of the Government. Lieutenant Crawford more than performed his part of the agreement—he recruited fifty-two men—and you must not interfere with its performance on my part.

Very respectfully yours,
DAVID TOD, Governor.

In spite of these difficulties considerable numbers for the old regiments were secured by the persistent efforts of the Governor, whose sagacity was nowhere more conspicuous than in perceiving this to be the essential necessity of the recruiting service. By the end of the year it was estimated that, of the troops raised in various ways throughout the State during the last eight months, about twenty-four thousand had gone to fill the wasted ranks at the front.

A final opportunity to break away from the volunteering system was lost. When the orders of the Secretary of War for a draft were issued, many localities seemed disposed to slacken their efforts and await it. Thereupon, on the 5th of August, the Governor addressed the military committees, by means of a circular published in the newspapers:

"The recent order of the Secretary of War in relation to drafting may cause diversity of opinion and action among you. Hence I deem it proper to urge that you proceed in your efforts to complete the regiments heretofore called for, and fill up those already in the field, as though the recent order had not been promulgated; and it is hoped that the generous and liberal offers now being made all over the State, in the shape of bounties to recruits, will not be withdrawn or interfered with. It is believed that with continued vigorous efforts the regiments may be filled up by the fifteenth."

And then, as the Government found it necessary to make still further postponements of the draft, the Governor again (1st September) addressed the military committees:

"For the new regiments there are wanted about two thousand men, and for the old regiments about twenty-one thousand men, or, in all, about twenty-three thousand. Can this force be raised by voluntary enlistment, and thereby save the trouble, expense, and vexation of resorting to drafting in Ohio? It is believed that it can be. More than twice that number has been raised within the past few weeks; and surely, the gallant men of Ohio are not weary in their good work."

For the original prejudice against the draft as a systematic and permanent mode of sustaining the army, Governor Tod was not responsible. But it is thus seen how he fell in with and finally led the opposition to it.

After all, the draft came. It was postponed to the 15th of September. The number then deficient was twenty thousand four hundred and twenty-seven; and it was further postponed to the 1st of October. On the 1st of September only thirteen counties had filled their quotas. On the 1st of October only thirteen more had escaped the draft, and it was finally ordered for twelve thousand two hundred and fifty-one. The Secretary of War appointed six Provost-Marshals: Charles F. Wilstach of Cincinnati, Wells A. Hutchins of Portsmouth, M. G. Mitchell of Piqua, Henry C. Noble of Columbus, Charles T. Sherman of Mansfield, and J. L. Weatherby of Cleveland. The State was divided into six districts and assigned to these gentlemen, under whose supervision the draft proceeded—each community striving by high and higher bounties, and by every form of individual effort, continued to the last moment, to escape.

The counties that filled their quotas before the draft was ordered, and those that filled them after its first postponement, with the number of enrolled militia and the whole number of volunteers furnished in each, from the outbreak of the

war up to the 1st of October, 1862, together with the number then drafted, may be found set forth in the following table:

COUNTIES.	Number of Enrollment.	Number of Volunteers to the 1st September.	Number ordered to be drafted	Number of Volunteers and corrections to 1st October.	Number drafted.
Adams	3,920	1,428	137	164	.....
Allen	3,792	1,411	105	139	.....
Ashland	4,033	1,322	289	86	203
Ashtabula	5,945	2,129	238	146	92
Athens	4,297	1,963	.....	.....	.....
Auglaize	3,282	1,102	210	46	164
Belmont	5,973	2,217	172	71	101
Brown	5,127	1,753	294	165	129
Butler	6,544	2,759	.....	.....	.....
Carroll	2,615	850	189	64	125
Champaign	4,112	1,493	152	212	.....
Clark	4,838	1,869	75	102	.....
Clermont	6,191	2,295	177	201	.....
Clinton	3,910	1,424	139	41	98
Columbiana	5,738	1,830	465	256	209
Coshocton	4,299	1,490	227	29	198
Crawford	4,524	1,161	642	62	580
Cuyahoga	14,360	4,874	869	569	300
Darke	4,913	1,503	458	141	317
Defiance	2,535	813	202	39	163
Delaware	4,430	1,724	46	15	31
Erie	4,223	1,532	157	94	63
Fairfield	4,878	1,888	60	35	25
Fayette	3,243	1,278	18	39	.....
Franklin	7,841	3,105	31	371	.....
Fulton	2,792	931	185	90	95
Gallia	3,832	1,288	244	35	209
Geauga	2,711	983	100	42	58
Greene	5,099	1,889	150	25	125
Guernsey	3,961	1,445	138	138	.....
Hamilton	39,926	14,795	1,175	1,529	.....
Hancock	4,156	1,260	404	27	377
Hardin	3,077	1,197	35	55	.....
Harrison	3,277	1,098	215	10	205
Henry	1,559	704	78	24	54
Highland	4,755	1,711	185	4	181
Hocking	2,935	1,195	.....	.....	.....
Holmes	3,522	962	447	41	406
Huron	5,318	1,914	202	153	49
Jackson	3,221	1,058	230	172	58
Jefferson	4,379	1,856	.....	.....	.....
Knox	4,981	1,630	361	59	302
Lake	2,579	945	88	29	59
Lawrence	4,062	1,852	.....	.....	.....
Licking	6,595	2,208	430	69	361
Logan	3,924	1,635	.....	.....	.....
Lorain	5,496	1,704	493	206	287
Lucas	5,918	2,143	225	419	.....
Madison	2,909	1,095	71	43	28
Mahoning	4,895	1,501	457	80	377
Marion	3,213	929	356	116	240
Medina	3,858	1,112	431	48	383
Meigs	4,736	1,716	177	177	.....
Mercer	2,530	814	198	5	193
Miami	5,814	2,120	205	341	.....
Monroe	4,489	1,694	100	39	61
Montgomery	8,959	2,822	755	93	662
Morgan	3,872	1,309	237	65	172
Morrow	3,530	1,179	232	29	203

COUNTIES.	Number of Enrollment.	Number of Volunteers to the 1st September.	Number ordered to be drafted.	Number Volunteers and corrections to 1st October.	Number drafted.
Muskingum	7,020	2,314	489	182	307
Noble	3,617	961	483	145	339
Ottaway	1,587	575	58	21	37
Paulding	1,025	458	.....	.....	.....
Perry	3,104	1,145	96	52	44
Pickaway	4,294	1,933	.....	.....	.....
Pike	2,353	1,060	.....	.....	.....
Portage	4,420	1,261	503	190	313
Preble	3,575	1,307	124	37	87
Putnam	2,459	869	114	39	75
Richland	5,870	1,970	377	150	227
Ross	5,853	2,687	.....	.....	.....
Sandusky	4,387	1,403	351	163	188
Scioto	4,797	2,116	.....	94	.....
Seneca	5,497	2,001	190	63	127
Shelby	2,602	990	52	11	41
Stark	7,910	2,477	686	145	541
Summit	5,076	1,622	411	55	356
Trumbull	5,997	1,937	461	218	243
Tuscarawas	5,757	1,739	564	140	424
Union	3,059	1,161	62	9	53
Van Wert	2,172	685	182	31	151
Vinton	2,446	1,002	.....	.....	.....
Warren	5,352	1,842	298	246	52
Washington	6,089	2,243	193	86	107
Wayne	5,786	1,847	467	98	369
Williams	3,175	975	295	71	224
Wood	3,699	1,487	.....	.....	.....
Wyandot	3,322	1,304	15	12	3
Total	425,147	151,301	20,427	9,508	12,251

Three hundred and fifty-nine of those thus drafted were released on the ground of belonging to churches conscientiously opposed to fighting, as follows:

Ashland	8	Henry	1	Muskingum	3
Belmont	2	Holmes	72	Perry	2
Clinton	9	Jackson	1	Putnam	8
Columbiana	3	Knox	9	Richland	1
Crawford	7	Licking	2	Sandusky	1
Darke	18	Mahoning	12	Stark	16
Defiance	11	Marion	2	Summit	3
Delaware	1	Medina	3	Tuscarawas	11
Erie	2	Monroe	12	Van Wert	1
Fulton	5	Mercer	6	Warren	4
Gallia	4	Montgomery	78	Wayne	20
Greene	7	Morgan	7	Williams	2
Hancock	3	Morrow	1		
Total					359

Opposed from the outset as something discreditable, the draft naturally failed to accomplish all that its advocates had expected. Of the twelve thousand to be drafted, about four thousand eight hundred either in person or by substitute volunteered after the draft; two thousand nine hundred were for various reasons discharged; one thousand nine hundred ran away, and the old

regiments received only the beggarly re-enforcement of two thousand four hundred. How these were distributed may be seen in part from the following:

AT CAMP CLEVELAND.

November	20, 1862,	to the	6th	Regiment	O. V	Cavalry	69	men.
"	20, "	"	38th	"	"	Infantry	83	"
"	20, "	"	41st	"	"	"	11	"
"	20, "	"	42d	"	"	"	23	"
"	20, "	"	72d	"	"	"	44	"
	Total						230	

AT CAMP DENNISON.

November	19, 1862,	to the	25th	Regiment	O. V	Infantry	15	men.
"	19, "	"	30th	"	"	"	12	"
"	17, "	"	36th	"	"	"	32	"
"	19, "	"	62d	"	"	"	30	"
"	19, "	"	69th	"	"	"	11	"
"	19, "	"	70th	"	"	"	2	"
"	19, "	"	77th	"	"	"	60	"
	Total						162	

AT CAMP MANSFIELD.

November	11, 1862,	to the	16th	Regiment	O. V	Infantry	90	men.
"	12, "	"	19th	"	"	"	91	"
"	13, "	"	20th	"	"	"	116	"
"	13, "	"	21st	"	"	"	54	"
December	9, "	"	27th	"	"	"	9	"
November	11, "	"	37th	"	"	"	56	"
"	13, "	"	41st	"	"	"	26	"
"	13, "	"	42d	"	"	"	47	"
"	13, "	"	43d	"	"	"	50	"
"	13, "	"	46th	"	"	"	25	"
"	11, "	"	49th	"	"	"	77	"
"	13, "	"	51st	"	"	"	17	"
"	14, "	"	56th	"	"	"	65	"
"	13, "	"	57th	"	"	"	129	"
"	13, "	"	64th	"	"	"	93	"
"	12, "	"	76th	"	"	"	80	"
"	12, "	"	82d	"	"	"	53	"
	Total						1,078	

AT CAMP ZANESVILLE.

November	11, 1862,	to the	2d	Regiment	O. V	Infantry	19	men.
"	10, "	"	43d	"	"	"	55	"
"	11, "	"	46th	"	"	"	3	"
"	10, "	"	51st	"	"	"	34	"
"	10, "	"	65th	"	"	"	44	"
"	6, "	"	76th	"	"	"	130	"
"	11, "	"	78th	"	"	"	16	
"	10, "	"	80th	"	"	"	25	"
	Total						326	

The deficiencies from runaway drafted men were soon more than made up by voluntary enlistments, so that at the end of the year the Governor was able

to report the State ahead of all calls upon her, and his Adjutant-General to reckon up the sum of Ohio's contributions to the war at one hundred and seventy-thousand one hundred and twenty-one men—not counting the first three months' men who had re-enlisted, the recruits for the regular army, or those found in the naval service, or in organizations credited to other States.

In so far as the appointment of new officers for these troops fell upon him, Governor Tod acted upon excellent principles. As far as possible he sought to secure for the leading officers men already in the service, whose conduct had shown them worthy of promotion. Thus the Colonels of a number of new regiments were chosen as follows:

45th	Regiment,	Colonel	Runkle, late Lieutenant-Colonel 13th O. V. I.
52d	"	"	D. McCook, late Captain on General Staff.
79th	"	"	Kennett, late Lieutenant-Colonel 27th O. V. I.
83d	"	"	Moore, late Captain 5th O. V. I.
91st	"	"	Turley, late Lieutenant-Colonel 22d and 81st O. V. I.
92d	"	"	Van Vorhes, late Quartermaster 18th O. V. I.
94th	"	"	Frizell, late Lieutenant-Colonel 11th O. V. I.
98th	"	"	Webster, late Lieutenant-Colonel 25th O. V. I.
99th	"	"	Langworthy, late Captain 49th O. V. I.
100th	"	"	Groom, late Major 84th O. V. I.
103d	"	"	Casement, late Major 7th O. V. I.
105th	"	"	Hall, late Lieutenant-Colonel 24th O. V. I.
106th	"	"	Tafel, late Captain 9th O. V. I.
108th	"	"	Limberg, late Captain in Kentucky Regiment.
110th	"	"	Keifer, late Lieutenant-Colonel 3d O. V. I.
111th	"	"	Bond, late Lieutenant-Colonel 67th O. V. I.
115th	"	"	Lucy, late Captain 32d O. V. I.
115th	"	"	Washburn, late Captain 25th O. V. I.
118th	"	"	Mott, late Captain 31st O. V. I.
120th	"	"	French, late Lieutenant-Colonel 65th O. V. I.
121st	"	"	Reed, late Brigadier-General of Militia.
123d	"	"	Wilson, late Lieutenant-Colonel 15th O. V. I.
124th	"	"	Payne, late Captain in Illinois Regiment.
125th	"	"	Opdycke, late Captain 41st O. V. I.
126th	"	"	Smith, late Captain 6th U. S. I., and Colonel 1st O. V. I.

So far as possible the Governor assiduously sought to secure men for the lower offices in the same way. Many obstacles, however, were encountered, from the unwillingness of the War Department to grant furloughs to good officers in the midst of active campaigns, merely that they might go home on recruiting duty. Of course the majority of the appointments had to be taken from civil life. In the selection of these Governor Tod relied largely upon the recommendations of the county military committees. He was quite as successful as could have been anticipated; and the troops of the State thus continued to be, in the main, well-officered.

During the progress of these efforts to fill up the army, difficulties were from time to time thrown in the way by persons hostile to the war. The most conspicuous perhaps of these was Dr. Edson B. Olds of Lancaster, a Democratic politician of some local prominence. His speeches were considered by Gover-

nor Tod as calculated to discourage enlistments so seriously that he recommended the Washington authorities to arrest him, under the provisions of the proclamation suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. Dr. Olds was accordingly arrested on the evening of the 12th of August by a couple of United States officers. Some resistance was attempted by one or more members of the family, but it proved trifling, and the prisoner was conveyed with little difficulty out of town, and sent forward to Fort Lafayette, where the United States authorities continued to hold him for many months.

Arrests of some other parties of less prominence followed. In all, eleven were made—only two of which were on the Governor's recommendation.

He likewise felt constrained, in one instance, to interfere with the organization of a military force. About the time Cincinnati was threatened by the Rebel columns operating in Kentucky, a Democratic meeting was held in Butler County, in which it was resolved to form a regiment to oppose the threatened invasion of the State. Doubting, as it would seem, the entire good faith of this procedure, and unwilling, at any rate, to permit the efforts of his officers at recruiting to be embarrassed by such anomalous organizations, Governor Tod addressed a letter to Robert Christy, Esq., of Hamilton, whom the meeting had appointed to take charge of the movement, "Whether it was intended," he said in this letter, "by this proceeding to interfere with the voluntary enlistments now being made all over the State, in response to the President's recent calls for troops, is now immaterial. Believing such to be the effect, I feel it my imperative duty to direct that you, and all associated with you in the effort to raise said regiment, at once desist. It is hoped that you and your associates will give cheerful obedience to this order, and join all loyal citizens of the State in their efforts to suppress the unholy rebellion in the manner designated by the National authorities."

The state of affairs in which orders like this are necessary, and in which arrests of respectable men for interfering with the operations of the Government become common, may generally be taken as betokening a popular reaction. It was more marked now than had been expected.

The war presented, East and West, but a gloomy prospect. The peninsular campaign had ended in failure. The Army of Northern Virginia, which next essayed an advance toward Richmond, had been hurled back in disorder to the defenses of Washington. The successful Rebel army had invaded Maryland, and had only been checked, not beaten, at Antietam. The opening of the Mississippi had met with sudden check at Vicksburg. The great army that had pressed the Rebel column from Kentucky to North Alabama came hurrying back to defend the Ohio border. Cincinnati and Louisville were threatened. Along the whole Western Virginia and Kentucky border alarms about impending invasion were frequent; and, in the midst of this gloomy outlook, the President had declared his purpose to abolish slavery throughout the Rebel States (with the exception of some inconsiderable localities), by proclamation, as a war measure.

We have seen how nobly, through all discouragements, the people labored at

the good work of filling up the army. But the drain of men, the absence of large numbers of Republican voters in the field, the initial unpopularity of the Emancipation Proclamation, the embittered feelings aroused by the arrests, and the general gloom that grew out of the military situation, secured the reaction. The State which, a year before, had elected Tod Governor by a majority of fifty-five thousand, now went Democratic by a majority of five thousand five hundred and seventy-seven. Out of nineteen Representatives in Congress barely five Republicans were elected.

There might have been some legitimate ground for fears that Governor Tod, as an old Democrat, long trusted in the councils of the party and likely, from all past associations and prejudices, to revolt from the Proclamation of Emancipation, would now be drawn by this triumph of his old friends to renew his connection with them. But his patriotism was made of sterner stuff; the motives which had led him to abandon party for country at the outbreak of the war were now only strengthened. He made no allusion, in his annual message, to the Emancipation Proclamation; but he dwelt upon the necessity of sustaining the war, urged the lack of provocation for the rebellion of the insurgent States, and fully indorsed the obnoxious arrests. He recommended better provisions for soldiers' families, efficient militia organization, and the support of a military school. For the rest, he proposed to provide against another defeat at the polls by enacting that the soldiers of the State should not be longer disfranchised while fighting the battles of the Country.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SIEGE OT CINCINNATI.

IN the early days of 1862 a new name was growing at once into popular favor and popular fear among the prudent Rebels of the Kentucky border. It was first heard of in the achievement of carrying off the artillery belonging to the Lexington company of the Kentucky State Guard into the Confederate service. Gradually it came to be coupled with daring "scouts," by little squads of the Rebel cavalry, within our contemplative picket lines along Green River; with sudden dashes, like the burning of the Bacon Creek Bridge,* which the lack of enterprise, or even of ordinary vigilance on the part of some of our commanders permitted; with unexpected swoops upon isolated supply-trains or droves of army cattle; with saucy messages about an intention to burn the Yankees out of Woodsonville the next week, and the like. Then came dashes within our lines about Nashville, night attacks, audacious captures of whole squads of guards within sight of the camps and within half a mile of division head-quarters, the seizure of Gallatin, adroit impositions upon telegraph operators, which secured whatever news about the National armies was passing over the wires. Then, after Mitchel had swept down into North-

*As the burning of this Bacon Creek Bridge was once the subject of newspaper controversy, and as it is not elsewhere spoken of in this work, it may be interesting here to show what view the Rebels themselves took of it. Colonel Basil W. Duke, Morgan's second in command throughout the war, in his "History of Morgan's Cavalry," pp. 106, 107, says:

"This bridge had been destroyed at the time our forces fell back from Woodsonville. It was a small structure and easily replaced, but its reparation was necessary to the use of the road. The National army then lay encamped between Bacon and Nolin Creeks, the advance about three miles from Bacon Creek, the outposts scarcely half a mile from the bridge. A few days' labor served to erect the wood work of the bridge, and it was ready to receive the iron rails, when Morgan asked leave to destroy it. It was granted, and he started from Bowling Green on the same night with his entire command, for he believed that he would find the bridge strongly guarded, and would have to fight for it. Pressing on vigorously, he reached the bridge, and to his surprise and satisfaction found it without a guard, that which protected the workmen during the day having been withdrawn at night. The bridge was set on fire, and in three hours thoroughly destroyed, no interruption to the work being attempted by the enemy. The damage inflicted was trifling, and the delay occasioned of little consequence. The benefit derived from it by Morgan was twofold: it increased the hardihood of his men in that species of service. and gave himself still greater confidence in his own tactics."

ern Alabama, followed incursions upon his rear, cotton-burning exploits under the very noses of his guards, open pillage of citizens who had been encouraged by the advance of the National armies to express their loyalty * These acts covered a wide range of country, and followed each other in quick succession, but they were all traced to John Morgan's Kentucky cavalry; and such were their frequency and daring, that by midsummer of 1862 Morgan and his men occupied almost as much of the popular attention in Kentucky and along the border as Beauregard or Lee.

The leader of this band was a native of Huntsville, Alabama, but from early boyhood a resident of Kentucky He had grown up to the free and easy life of a slaveholding farmer's son, in the heart of the "Blue Grass country," near Lexington; had become a volunteer for the Mexican war at the age of nineteen, and had risen to a First-Lieutenancy; had passed through his share of personal encounters and "affairs of honor" about Lexington—not without wounds—and had finally married and settled down as a manufacturer and speculator. He had lived freely, gambled freely, shared in all the dissipations of the time and place, and still had retained the early vigor of a powerful constitution, and a strong hold upon the confidence of the hot-blooded young men of Lexington. These followed him to the war. They were horsemen by instinct, accustomed to a dare-devil life, capable of doing their own thinking in emergencies without waiting for orders, and in all respects the best material for an independent band of partisan rangers the country had produced. They were allied by family connections with many of the leading people of the "Blue Grass" region; and it could not but result that when they appeared in Kentucky—whatever army might be near—they found themselves among friends.

The people of Ohio had hardly recovered from the spasmodic effort to raise regiments in a day for a second defense of the capital, into which they had been thrown by the call of the Government in its alarm at Stonewall Jackson's rush through the valley. They were now, rather languidly, turning to the effort of filling the new and unexpected call for seventy-four thousand three years' men. Few had as yet been raised. Here and there through the State were the nuclei of forming regiments, and there were a few arms, but there was no adequate protection for the Border, and none dreamed that any was necessary, Beauregard had evacuated Corinth; Memphis had fallen; Buell was moving eastward toward Chattanooga; the troops lately commanded by Mitchel held Tennessee and Northern Alabama; Kentucky was mainly in the hands of her Home-Guards, and, under the supervision of a State military board, was raising volunteers for the National army.

* "The command encamped that night in a loyal neighborhood, and, mindful always of a decorous respect for the opinions of other people, Colonel Morgan made all of his men 'play Union.' They were consequently treated with distinguished consideration, and some were furnished with fresh horses, for which they gave their kind friends orders (on the disbursing officers at Nashville) for their back pay Over one store the stars and stripes were floating resplendent. The men were so much pleased with this evidence of patriotism that they would patronize no other store in the place!" Basil W. Duke's History of Morgan's Cavalry, pp. 158-9.

Suddenly, while the newspapers were still trying to explain McClellan's change of base, and clamoring against Buell's slow advances on Chattanooga, without a word of warning or explanation, came the startling news that John Morgan was in Kentucky! The dispatches of Friday afternoon, the 11th of July, announced that he had fallen upon the little post of Tompkinsville, and killed or captured the entire garrison. By evening it was known that the prisoners were paroled; that Morgan had advanced unopposed to Glasgow; that he had issued a proclamation calling upon the Kentuckians to rise; that the authorities deemed it unsafe to attempt sending through trains from Louisville to Nashville. By Saturday afternoon he was reported marching on Lexington, and General Boyle, the commandant in Kentucky, was telegraphing vigorously to Mayor Hatch, at Cincinnati, for militia to be sent in that direction.

A public meeting was at once called, and by nine o clock that evening a concourse of several thousand citizens had gathered in the Fifth Street market-space. Meantime more and more urgency for aid had been expressed in successive dispatches from General Boyle. In one he fixed Morgan's force at two thousand eight hundred; in another he said that Morgan, with one thousand five hundred, had burned Perryville, and was marching on Danville; again, that the forces at his command were needed to defend Louisville, and that Cincinnati must defend Lexington! Some of these dispatches were read at the public meeting, and speeches were made by the Mayor, Judge Saffin, and others. Finally a committee was appointed,* headed by ex-Senator Geo. E. Pugh, to take such measures for organized effort as might be possible or necessary. Before the committee could organize came word that Governor Tod had ordered down such convalescent soldiers as could be gathered at Camp Dennison and Camp Chase, and had sent a thousand stand of arms. A little after midnight two hundred men belonging to the Fifty-Second Ohio arrived.

On Sunday morning the city was thoroughly alarmed. The streets were thronged at an early hour, and by nine o'clock another large meeting had gathdred in the Fifth Street market-space. Speeches were made by ex-Senator Pugh, Thos. J. Gallagher, and Benj. Eggleston. It was announced that a battalion made up of the police force would be sent to Lexington in the evening. Arrangements were made to organize volunteer companies Charles F. Wilstach and Eli C. Baldwin were authorized to procure rations for volunteers. The City Council met, resolved that it would pay any bills incurred by the committee appointed at the public meeting, and appropriated five thousand dollars for immediate wants. Eleven hundred men—parts of the Eighty-Fifth and Eighty-Sixth Ohio from Camp Chase—arrived in the afternoon and went directly on to Lexington. The police force, under Colonel Dudley, their chief, and an artillery company, with a single piece, under Captain Wm. Glass, of the City Fire Department, also took the special train for Lexington in the evening. Similar scenes were witnessed across the river, at Covington, during the same period. While the troops were mustering, and the excited people were volunteering, it

* Consisting of Mayor Hatch, Geo. E. Pugh, Joshua Bates, Thos. J. Gallagher, Miles Greenwood, J. W. Hartwell, Peter Gibson, Bellamy Storer, David Gibson, and J. B. Stallo.

was discovered that a brother of John Morgan was a guest at one of the principal hotels. He made no concealment of his relationship, or of his sympathy with the Rebel cause, but produced a pass from General Boyle. He was detained.

Monday brought no further news of Morgan, and the alarm began to abate. Kentuckians expressed the belief that he only meant to attract attention by feints on Lexington and Frankfort, while he should make his way to Bourbon county, and destroy the long Townsend viaduct near Paris, which might cripple the railroad for weeks. The Secretary of War gave permission to use some cannon which Miles Greenwood had been casting for the Government, and Governor Morton furnished ammunition for them.* The tone of the press may be inferred from the advice of the Gazette that the "bands sent out to pursue Morgan" should take few prisoners—"the fewer the better." "They are not worthy of being treated as soldiers," it continued; "they are freebooters, thieves, and murderers, and should be dealt with accordingly."

For a day or two there followed a state of uncertainty as to Morgan's whereabouts, or the real nature of the danger. In answer to an application for artillery, the Secretary of War telegraphed that Morgan was retreating. Presently came dispatches from Kentucky that he was still advancing. Governor Dennison visited Cincinnati at the request of Governor Tod, consulted with the "Committee of Public Safety," and passed on to Frankfort to look after the squads of Ohio troops that had been hastily forwarded to the points of danger.

The disorderly elements of the city took advantage of the absence of so large a portion of the police force at Lexington. Troubles broke out between the Irish and negroes, in which the former were the aggressors; houses were fired, and for a little time there were apprehensions of a serious riot. Several hundred leading property-holders met in alarm at the Merchant's Exchange, and took measures for organizing a force of one thousand citizens for special service the ensuing night. For a day or two the excitement was kept up, but there were few additional outbreaks.

While Cincinnati was thus in confusion, and troops were hurrying to the defense of the threatened points, John Morgan was losing no time in idle debates. He had left Knoxville, East Tennessee, on the morning of the 4th of July; on the morning of the 9th he had fallen upon the garrison at Tompkinsville; before one o'clock the next morning he had possession of Glasgow; by the 11th he had possession of Lebanon. On the Sunday (13th) on which Cincinnati had been so thoroughly aroused, he entered Harrodsburg. Then, feigning on Frankfort, he made haste toward Lexington, striving to delay re-enforcements by sending out parties to burn bridges, and hoping to find the town an easy capture. Monday morning he was within fifteen miles of Frankfort; before

* The Columbus authorities were asked for ammunition, and sent word that it would be furnished only on the requisition of a United States officer commanding a post. The Indianapolis authorities furnished it on the order of the Mayor; and the newspapers commented with some severity on what they called "the difference between the red-tapeism of Columbus, and the manner of doing business at Indianapolis."

nightfall he was at Versailles—having marched between three and four hundred miles in eight days.

Moving thence to Midway, between Frankfort and Lexington, he surprised the telegraph operator, secured his office in good order, took off the dispatches that were flying back and forth; possessed himself of the plans and preparations of the Union officers at Frankfort, Lexington, Louisville, and Cincinnati; and audaciously sent dispatches in the name of the Midway operator, assuring the Lexington authorities that Morgan was then driving in the pickets at Frankfort! Then he hastened to Georgetown—twelve miles from Lexington, eighteen from Frankfort, and within easy striking distance of any point in the Blue Grass region. Here, with the Union commanders completely mystified as to his whereabouts and purposes, he coolly halted for a couple of days and rested his horses. Then, giving up all thought of attacking Lexington, as he found how strongly it was garrisoned, he decided—as his second in command naïvely tells us*—"to make a dash at Cynthiana, on the Kentucky Central Railroad, hoping to induce the impression that he was aiming at Cincinnati, and at the same time thoroughly bewilder the officer in command at Lexington regarding his real intentions." Thither, therefore, he went; and to some purpose. The town was garrisoned by a few hundred Kentucky cavalry, and some home-guards, with Captain Glass's firemen's artillery company from Cincinnati—in all perhaps five hundred men. These were routed after some sharp fighting at the bridge and in the streets; the gun was captured, and four hundred and twenty prisoners were taken; besides abundance of stores, arms, and two or three hundred horses. At one o'clock he was off for Paris, which sent out a deputation of citizens to meet him and surrender. By this time the forces that had been gathering at Lexington had moved out against him with nearly double his strength;† but the next morning he left Paris unmolested; and marching through Winchester, Richmond, Crab Orchard, and Somerset, crossed the Cumberland again at his leisure. He started with nine hundred men, and returned with one thousand two hundred—having captured and paroled nearly as many, and having destroyed all the Government arms and stores in seventeen towns.

Meanwhile the partially-lulled excitement in Cincinnati had risen again. A great meeting had been held in Court Street market-space, at which Judge Hugh J Jewett, who had been the Democratic candidate for Governor, made an earnest appeal for rapid enlistments, to redeem the pledge of the Governor to assist Kentucky, and to prevent Morgan from recruiting a large army in that State. Quartermaster-General Wright had followed in a similar strain. The City Council, to silence doubts on the part of some, had taken the oath of allegiance as a body. The Chamber of Commerce had memoralized the Council to make an appropriation for bounties to volunteers; Colonel Burbank had been

* Basile W. Duke's History of Morgan's Cavalry, p. 199. The foregoing statements of Morgan's movements are derived from the same source.

† Under General Green Clay Smith.

appointed Military Governor of the city,* and there had been rumors of martial law and a provost-marshal. The popular ferment largely took the shape of clamor for bounties as a means of stimulating volunteers. The newspapers called on the Governor to "take the responsibility," and offer twenty-five dollars bounty for every recruit. Public-spirited citizens made contributions for such a purpose—Mr. J. Cleves Short a thousand dollars, Messrs. Tyler, Davidson & Co. one thousand two hundred, Mr. Kugler two thousand five hundred, Mr. Jacob Elsas five hundred. Two regiments for service in emergencies were hastily formed, which were known as the Cincinnati Reserves.

Yet, withal, the alarm never reached the height of the excitement on Sunday, the 13th of July, when Morgan was first reported marching on Lexington. The papers said they should not be surprised any morning to see his cavalry on the hills opposite Cincinnati; but the people seemed to entertain less apprehension. They were soon to have greater occasion for fear.

For the invasion of Morgan was only a forerunner. It had served to illustrate to the Rebel commanders the ease with which their armies could be planted in Kentucky, and had set before them a tempting vision of the rich supplies of the "Blue Grass."

July and August passed in comparative gloom. McClellan was recalled from the Peninsula. Pope was driven back from the Rapidan, and after a bewildering series of confused and bloody engagements, was forced to seek refuge under the defenses at Washington. In the South-west our armies seemed torpid, and the enemy was advancing. In the department in which Ohio was specially interested there were grave delays in the long-awaited movement on Chattanooga, and finally it appeared that Bragg had arrived there before Buell.

Presently vague rumors of a new invasion began to be whispered, and at last while Bragg and Buell warily watched each the other's maneuvers, Kirby Smith, who had been posted at Knoxville, broke camp and marched straight for the heart of Kentucky with twelve thousand men and thirty or forty pieces of artillery † With the first rumors of danger, Indiana and Ohio had both made strenuous exertions to throw forward the new levies, and Indiana in particular had hastily put into the field in Kentucky a large number of perfectly raw troops, fresh from the camps at which they had been recruited.

Through Big Creek and Rogers's Gaps Kirby Smith moved without molestation; passed the National forces at Cumberland Gap without waiting to attempt a reduction of the place, and absolutely pushed on into Kentucky unopposed, till within fifteen miles of Richmond and less than three times that distance from Lexington itself, he fell upon a Kentucky regiment of cavalry under Colonel Metcalf and scattered it in a single charge. The routed cavalry-

*This was done in response to a dispatch requesting it from Mayor Hatch, Captain J. H. Dickerson (then Post-Quartermaster, U. S. A.), and Joshua H. Bates, Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety.

†This statement of Smith's strength follows the account of Colonel Basil W. Duke, History Morgan's Cavalry, p. 235. He says Smith had in East Tennessee about twenty thousand, and that he left eight thousand in front of Cumberland Gap.

men bore back to Richmond and Lexington the first authentic news of the Rebel advance. The new troops were hastily pushed forward, in utter ignorance of the strength of the enemy, and apparently without any well-defined plans; and so, as the victorious invaders came up toward Richmond, they found this force opposing them. Smith seems scarcely to have halted, even to concentrate his command, but precipitating the advance of his column upon the raw line that confronted him, scattered it again at a charge.* General Manson, who commanded the National troops, had been caught before getting his men well in hand. A little farther back, he essayed the formation of another line, and the check of the rout: but while the broken line was steadying, Smith again came charging up, and the disorderly retreat was speedily renewed. A third and more determined stand was made, almost in the suburbs of the town, and some hard fighting ensued; but the undisciplined and ill-handled troops were no match for their enthusiastic assailants, and when they were this time driven, the rout became complete.† The cavalry fell upon the fugitives, whole regiments were captured and instantly paroled; those that escaped fled through fields and by-ways, and soon poured into Lexington with the story of the disaster.

Thither now went hurrying General H. G. Wright, the commander of the department. A glance at the condition of such troops as this battle of Richmond had left him, showed that an effort to hold Lexington would be hopeless. Before Kirby Smith could get up he evacuated the place, and was falling back in all haste on Louisville, while the railroad company was hurrying its stock toward the Cincinnati end of the road; the banks were sending off their specie; Union men were fleeing, and the predominant Rebel element was throwing off all disguise.

On the 1st of September General Kirby Smith entered Lexington in triumph. Two days later he dispatched Heath with five or six thousand men against Covington and Cincinnati; the next day he was joined by John Morgan, who had moved through Glasgow and Danville; and the overjoyed people of the city thronged the streets and shouted from every door and window their welcome to the invaders.‡ A few days later Buell was at Nashville, Bragg was moving into Kentucky, and the "race for Louisville," as it has sometimes been called, was begun. So swift was the Rebel rush upon Kentucky and the Ohio Border; so sudden the revolution in the aspect of the war in the South-west.

We have told the simple story of the Rebel progress. It would need more

*29th August, 1862.

†General William Nelson arrived in time to command at this last struggle, and to exert all his influence in striving to check the rout. He subsequently claimed that the battle was brought on by disobedience to orders on the part of General Manson, and that his instructions, if obeyed, would have secured such a disposition of the troops as would have kept the Rebels from crossing the Kentucky River. He was himself wounded. But one Ohio regiment was in the action, the Ninety-Fifth. Its share may be found more fully described in Vol. II, pp. 527–28.

‡Duke's History Morgan's Cavalry, pp. 233–34. Pollard says the bells of the city were rung, and every possible manifestation of joy was made.

vivid colors to give an adequate picture of the state into which Cincinnati and the surrounding country were thereby thrown.

News of the disaster at Richmond was not received in Cincinnati till a late hour Saturday night.* It produced great excitement, but the full extent of its consequences was not realized. There were soldiers in plenty to drive back the invaders, it was argued, only a few experienced officers were needed. The Sanitary Commission hastened its shipments of stores toward the battle-field, and the State authorities began preparations for sending relief to the wounded; while the newspapers gave vent to the general dissatisfaction in severe criticisms on the management of the battle, and in wonders as to what Buell could be doing. Thus Sunday passed. Monday afternoon rumors began to fly about that the troops were in no condition to make any sufficient opposition—that Lexington and Frankfort might have to be abandoned. Great crowds flocked about the newspaper offices and army head-quarters to ask the particulars, but all still thought that in any event there were plenty of troops between the invaders and themselves. By dusk it was known that instead of falling back on Cincinnati the troops were retreating through Frankfort to Louisville—that between Kirby Smith's flushed regiments and the banks and warehouses of the Queen City stood no obstacle more formidable than a few unmanned siege guns back of Covington, and the easily-crossed Ohio River.

The shock was profound. But none thought of anything save to seek what might be the most efficient means of defense. The City Council at once met in extra session—pledged the faith of the city to meet any expenses the military authorities might require in the emergency; authorized the Mayor to suspend all business, and summon every man, alien or citizen, who lived under the protection of the Government, to unite in military organizations for its defense; assured the General commanding the department† of their entire confidence, and requested him to call for men and means to any extent desired, no limit being proposed save the entire capacity of the community.

While the municipal authorities were thus tendering the whole resources of a city of a quarter of a million people, the Commander of the Department was sending them a General. Lewis Wallace was a dashing young officer of volunteers, who had been among the first from Indiana to enter the field at the outbreak of the war, and had risen to the highest promotion then attainable in the army. He was notably quick to take responsibilities, full of energy and enthusiasm, abundantly confident in his own resources, capable of bold plans. When the first indications of danger in Kentucky appeared he had waived his rank and led one of the raw regiments from his State into the field. Then, after being for a short time in charge of the troops about Lexington, he had, on being relieved by General Nelson, returned to Cincinnati. Here the Commander of the Department seized upon him for service in the sudden emergency, summoned him first to Lexington for consultation; then, when himself hastening to Louisville, ordered Wallace back to Cincinnati, to assume command and defend the town with its Kentucky suburbs. He arrived at nine o'clock in the evening.

*30th August. † Major-General Horatio G. Wright.

The Mayor waited upon him at once with notice of the action of the City Council. The Mayors of Newport and Covington soon came hurrying over. The few army officers on duty in the three towns also reported; and a few hours were spent in consultation.

Then, at two o'clock, the decisive step was taken. A proclamation of martial law was sent to the newspapers. Next morning the citizens read at their breakfast-tables—before yet any one knew that the Rebels were advancing on Cincinnati, two days in fact before the advance began—that all business must be suspended at nine o'clock, that they must assemble within an hour thereafter and await orders for work; that the ferry-boats should cease plying, save under military direction; that for the present the city police should enforce martial law; that in all this the principle to be adopted was: "Citizens for labor, soldiers for battle." It was the boldest and most vigorous order in the history of Cincinnati or of the war along the Border.*

"If the enemy should not come after all this fuss," said one of the General's friends, "you will be ruined." "Very well," was the reply, "but they will come, or, if they do not, it will be because this same fuss has caused them to think better of it." †

The city took courage from the bold course of its General; instead of a panic there was universal congratulation. "From the appearance of our streets," said one of the newspapers the next day, in describing the operations of martial law, "a stranger would imagine that some popular holiday was being celebrated. Indeed, were the millennium suddenly inaugurated, the populace could hardly seem better pleased." All cheerfully obeyed the order, though there was not military force enough present to have enforced it along a single street. Every business house was closed; in the unexpectedly scrupulous obedience to the

* The following is the text of this remarkable order, which practically saved Cincinnati:

"The undersigned, by order of Major-General Wright, assumes command of Cincinnati, Covington, and Newport.

"It is but fair to inform the citizens that an active, daring, and powerful enemy threatens them with every consequence of war; yet the cities must be defended, and their inhabitants must assist in the preparations. Patriotism, duty, honor, self-preservation, call them to the labor, and it must be performed equally by all classes.

"First. All business must be suspended. At nine o'clock to-day every business house must be closed.

"Second. Under the direction of their Mayor, the citizens must, within an hour after the suspension of business (ten o'clock A. M.), assemble in their convenient public places ready for orders. As soon as possible they will then be assigned to their work. This labor ought to be that of love, and the undersigned trusts and believes that it will be so; anyhow, it must be done. The willing shall be properly credited, the unwilling promptly visited.

"The principle adopted is: Citizens for the labor, soldiers for the battle.

"Martial law is hereby proclaimed in the three cities, but until they can be relieved by the military, the injunction of this proclamation will be executed by the police.

"The ferry-boats will cease plying the river after four o'clock, A. M., until further orders.

"LEWIS WALLACE,
"Major-General Commanding."

† "The Siege of Cincinnati," by Thomas Buchanan Read, in Atlantic Monthly, No. 64, February, 1863. Mr. Read served during the siege on General Wallace's staff.

letter of the proclamation, even the street-cars stopped running, and the teachers, closing their schools, reported for duty. But few hacks or wagons were to be seen save those on Government service. Working parties of citizens had been ordered to report to Colonel J. V. Guthrie; companies of citizen-soldiery to Major Malcom McDowell. Meetings assembled in every ward; great numbers of military organizations were formed; by noon thousands of citizens in fully-organized companies were industriously drilling. Meanwhile, back of Newport and Covington, breastworks, rifle-pits, and redoubts had been hastily traced, guns had been mounted, pickets thrown out. Toward evening a sound of hammers and saws arose from the landing; by daybreak a pontoon bridge stretched from Cincinnati to Covington, and wagons loaded with lumber for barracks and material for fortifications were passing over.

In such spirit did Cincinnati herself confront the sudden danger. Not less vigorous was the action of the Governor. While Wallace was writing his proclamation of martial law and ordering the suspension of business, Tod was hurrying down to the scene of danger for consultation. Presently he was telegraphing from Cincinnati to his Adjutant-General to send whatever troops were accessible without a moment's delay. "Do not wait," he added, "to have them mustered or paid—that can be done here—they should be armed and furnished ammunition." To his Quartermaster he telegraphed: "Send five thousand stand of arms for the militia of this city, with fifty rounds of ammunition. Send also forty rounds for fifteen hundred guns (sixty-nine caliber)." To the people along the border through the press and the military committees he said:

"Our southern border is threatened with invasion. I have therefore to recommend that all the loyal men of your counties at once form themselves into military companies and regiments to beat back the enemy at any and all points he may attempt to invade our State. Gather up all the arms in the county, and furnish yourselves with ammunition for the same. The service will be of but a few days' duration. The soil of Ohio must not be invaded by the enemies of our glorious Government."

To Secretary Stanton he telegraphed that he had no doubt a large Rebel force was moving against Cincinnati, but it would be successfully met. The commander at Camp Dennison he directed to guard the track of the Little Miami Railroad against apprehended dangers, as far up as Xenia.

The rural districts were meanwhile hastening to the rescue. Early in the day—within an hour or two after the arrival of the Cincinnati papers with news of the danger—Preble and Butler counties telegraphed offers of large numbers of men. Warren, Greene, Franklin, and half a score of others, rapidly followed. Before night the Governor had sent a general answer in this proclamation:

"CINCINNATI, September 2, 1862.

"In response to several communications tendering companies and squads of men for the protection of Cincinnati, I announce that all such bodies of men who are armed will be received. They will repair at once to Cincinnati, and report to General Lew. Wallace, who will complete their further organization. None but armed men will be received, and such only until the 5th instant. Railroad companies will pass all such bodies of men at the expense of the State. It is not desired that any troops residing in any of the river counties leave their counties. All such are requested to organize and remain for the protection of their own counties.

"DAVID TOD, Governor."

POWER ON BRIDGE OVER THE OHIO

Before daybreak the advance of the men that were thenceforward to be known in the history of the State as the "Squirrel Hunters," were filing through the streets. Next morning, throughout the interior, church and fire-bells rang; mounted men galloped through neighborhoods to spread the alarm; there was a hasty cleaning of rifles, and molding of bullets, and filling of powder-horns, and mustering at the villages; and every city-bound train ran burdened with the gathering host.

While these preparations were in progress perhaps Cincinnati might have been taken by a vigorous dash of Kirby Smith's entire force, and held long enough for pillage. But the inaction for a day or two at Lexington was fatal to such hopes. Within two days after the proclamation of martial law the city was safe beyond peradventure.

Then, as men saw the vast preparations for an enemy that had not come, they began, not unnaturally, to wonder if the need for such measures had been imperative. A few business men complained. Some Germans began tearing up a street railroad track, in revenge for the invidious distinction which, in spite of the danger, had adjudged the street cars indispensable, but not the lager-beer shops. The schools had unintentionally been closed by the operation of the first sweeping proclamation, and fresh orders had to be issued to open them; bake-shops had been closed, and the people seemed in danger of getting no bread; the drug-stores had been closed, and the sick could get no medicines. Such oversights were speedily corrected, but they left irritation.* The Evening Times newspaper, giving voice to a sentiment that undoubtedly began to find expression among some classes, published a communication which pronounced the whole movement "a big scare," and ridiculed the efforts to place the city in a posture of defense.†

To at least a slight extent the Commander of the Department would seem

*The following order, issued by the Mayor, with the sanction of General Wallace, obviated the difficulties involved in the literal suspension of all business in a great city:

"1st. The banks and bankers of this city will be permitted to open their offices from one to two P. M.

"2d. Bakers are allowed to pursue their business.

"3d. Physicians are allowed to attend their patients.

"4th. Employees of newspapers are allowed to pursue their business.

"5th. Funerals are permitted, but only mourners are allowed to leave the city.

"6th. All coffee-houses and places where intoxicating liquors are sold are to be closed and kept closed.

"7th. Eating and drinking houses are to close and keep closed.

"8th. All places of amusement are to close and keep closed.

9th. All drug-stores and apothecaries are permitted to keep open and do their ordinary business.

"GEORGE HATCH,
"Mayor of Cincinnati."

†Within an hour or two after this publication, General Wallace suppressed the Times; for this article, as was generally supposed, although it was subsequently stated that the offensive matter was an editorial reviewing the military management on the Potomac. The zealous loyalty of the paper had always been so marked that General Wallace was soon made to feel the popular conviction of his having made a grave mistake, and the next day the Times was permitted to appear again as usual.

to have entertained the same opinion. After two days of martial law and mustering for the defense of the city, he directed, on his return from Louisville, a relaxation of the stringency of the first orders, and notified Governor Tod that no more men from the interior were wanted. The next day he relieved General Wallace of the command in Cincinnati, and sent him across the river to take charge of the defenses; permitted the resumption of all business save liquor-selling, only requiring that it should be suspended each afternoon at four o'clock, and that the evenings should be spent in drill; systematized the drain upon the city for labor on the fortifications, by directing that requisitions be made each evening for the number to be employed the next day, and that these be equitably apportioned among the several wards.*

The day before the issue of this order had witnessed the most picturesque and inspiring sight ever seen in Cincinnati. From morning till night the streets resounded with the tramp of armed men marching to the defense of the city. From every quarter of the State they came, in every form of organization, with every species of arms. The "Squirrel Hunters," in their homespun, with powder-horn and buckskin pouch; half-organized regiments, some in uniform and some without it, some having waited long enough to draw their equipments and some having marched without them; cavalry and infantry; all poured out from the railroad depots and down toward the pontoon bridge. The ladies of the city furnished provisions by the wagon-load; the Fifth Street market-house was converted into a vast free eating saloon for the Squirrel Hunters; halls and warehouses were used as barracks.

On the 4th of September Governor Tod was able to telegraph General Wright: "I have now sent you for Kentucky twenty regiments. I have twenty-one more in process of organization, two of which I will send you this week, five or six next week, and the rest the week after, I have no means of knowing what number of gallant men responded to my call (on the militia) for the protection of Cincinnati, but presume they now count by thousands." And the next day he was forced to check the movement."

* This order, which was hailed by the business community as sensible and timely, and which certainly gave great mitigation to the embarrassments caused by the suspension of business, was as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
"*Cincinnati*, September 6, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDER No. 11.

"The resumption of all lawful business in the city of Cincinnati, except the sale of liquor, is hereby authorized until the hour of four o'clock, P. M., daily.

"All druggists, manufacturers of breadstuffs, provision dealers, railroad, express, and transfer companies, persons connected with the public press, and all persons doing business for the Government, will be allowed to pursue their vocations without interruption.

"By command of Major-General WRIGHT.

"N. H. McLEAN,
"Assistant-Adjutant General and Chief of Staff."

"COLUMBUS, September 5, 1862.

"TO THE PRESS:

"The response to my proclamation asking volunteers for the protection of Cincinnati was most noble and generous. All may feel proud of the gallantry of the people of Ohio. No more volunteers are required for the protection of Cincinnati. Those now there may be expected home in a few days. I advise that the military organizations throughout the State, formed within the past few days, be kept up, and that the members meet at least once a week for drill. Recruiting for the old regiments is progressing quite satisfactorily, and with continued effort there is reason to believe that the requisite number may be obtained by the 15th instant. For the want of proper accommodations at this point, recruiting officers are directed to report their men to the camp nearest their locality, where they will remain until provision can be made for their removal. Commanding officers of the several camps will see that every facility is given necessary for the comfort of these recruits.

"DAVID TOD, Governor."

The exertions at Cincinnati, however, were not abated. Judge Dickson, a well-known lawyer of the city, of Radical Republican politics, organized a negro brigade for labor on the fortifications, which did excellent and zealous service. Full details of white citizens, three thousand per day—judges, lawyers, and clerks, merchant-prince and day-laborer, artist and artisan, side by side—were also kept at work with the spade, and to all payment at the rate of a dollar per day was promised. The militia organizations were kept up, "regiments of the reserve" were formed, and drilling went on vigorously. The Squirrel Hunters were entertained in rough but hearty fashion, and the ladies continued to furnish bountiful supplies of provisions.

Across the river regular engineers had done their best to give shape to the hasty fortifications. The trenches were manned every night, and after an imperfect fashion a little scouting went on in the front. General Wallace was vigilant and active, and there was no longer a possibility that the force under Kirby Smith could take the city.

At last this force began to move up as if actually intending attack. One or two little skirmishes occurred, and the commander of the Department, deceived into believing that now was the hour of his greatest peril, appealed hastily to Governor Tod for more militia. The Governor's response was prompt:

"COLUMBUS, September 10, 1862.

"TO THE PRESS OF CLEVELAND:

"TO THE SEVERAL MILITARY COMMITTEES OF NORTHERN OHIO.

"By telegram from Major-General Wright, Commander-in-Chief of Western forces, received at two o'clock this morning, I am directed to send all armed men that can be raised immediately to Cincinnati. You will at once exert yourselves to execute this order. The men should be armed, each furnished with a blanket, and at least two days' rations.

"Railroad companies are requested to furnish transportation of troops to the exclusion of all other business.

"DAVID TOD, Governor."

The excitement in the city once more sprang up. Every disposition was made for defense and the attack was hourly expected. The newspapers of September 11th announced that before they were distributed the sound of artillery might be heard on the heights of Covington; assured readers of the safety of the city, and exhorted all to "keep cool." Business was again suspended, and

the milita companies were under arms. The intrenchments back of Covington were filled; and, lest a sudden concentration might break through the lines at some spot and leave the city at the mercy of the assailants, the roads leading to it were guarded, and only those provided with passes could travel to or fro, while the river was filled with gunboats, improvised from the steamers at the wharves.

But the expected attack did not come. As we now know, Kirby Smith had never been ordered to attack, but only to demonstrate; and about this very time the advance of Buell seemed to Bragg so menacing that he made haste to order Smith back to his support. General Wallace gradually pushed out his advance a little and the Rebel pickets fell back. By the 11th all felt that the danger was over. On the 12th Smith's hasty retreat was discovered. On the 13th Governor Tod checked the movement of the Squirrel Hunters, announced the safety of Cincinnati, and expressed his congratulations.*

On this bright Saturday afternoon the "Regiments of the Reserve" came marching across the pontoon bridge, with their dashing commander at the head of the column. Joyfully these young professional and business men traced their way through Front, Broadway, and Fourth Streets to the points where they were relieved from the restraints of military service, and permitted to seek the pleasures and rest of home! An examination of the dockets and day-books of that eventful fortnight, will show that the citizens of Cincinnati were absent from their usual avocations; but Monday, the 15th, brought again to the counting-rooms and work-shops the busy hum of labor.

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* "COLUMBUS, September 13, 1862, eight o'clock A. M.

"TO THE PRESS OF CLEVELAND:

"Copy of dispatch this moment received from Major-General Wright at Cincinnati: 'The enemy is retreating. Until we know more of his intention and position do not send any more citizen troops to this city. (Signed) H. G. Wright, Major-General.' In pursuance of this order all volunteers en route for Cincinnati will return to their respective homes. Those now at Cincinnati may be expected home so soon as transportation can be secured. The generous response from all parts of the State to the recent call, has won additional renown for the people of Ohio. The news which reached Cincinnati, that the patriotic men all over the State were rushing to its defense, saved our soil from invasion, and hence all good citizens will feel grateful to the patriotic men who promptly offered their assistance. It is hoped that no further call for minute-men will be necessary; but should I be disappointed in this, it is gratifying to know that the call will be again cheerfully and gallantly responded to. Railroad companies will pass all volunteers to their homes, at the expense of the State. The Captains of each squad, or company, are requested to give certificates of transportation to the superintendents or conductors of the railroads over which they may pass. I avail myself of this opportunity to renew the request heretofore made, that the several military volunteer organizations, formed within the past few days, be maintained, meeting for drill as often as once a week at least. I have further to request, that the commanders of said squads or companies report by letter to the Adjutant-General, the strength of their respective commands. "DAVID TOD, Governor."

"COLUMBUS, September 13, 1862.

"TO HON. E. M. STANTON, SEC'Y. OF WAR, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

"The minute-men or Squirrel Hunters responded gloriously to the call for the defense of Cincinnati. Thousands reached the city, and thousands more were en route for it. The enemy having retreated, all have been ordered back. This uprising of the people is the cause of the retreat. You should acknowledge publicly this gallant conduct. Please order Quartermaster Burr to pay all transportation bills, upon my approval.

"DAVID TOD, Governor.

THE SQUIRREL HUNTER—KIRBY SMITH'S RAID.

General Wallace took his leave of the city he had so efficiently served in a graceful, and manly address:

"*To the People of Cincinnati, Newport, and Covington:*—For the present, at least, the enemy have fallen back, and your cities are safe. It is the time for acknowledgments, I beg leave to make you mine. When I assumed command there was nothing to defend you with, except a few half-finished works, and some dismounted guns; yet I was confident. The energies of a great city are boundless; they have only to be aroused, united and directed. You were appealed to. The answer will never be forgotten.

"Paris may have seen something like it in her revolutionary days, but the cities of America never did. Be proud that you have given them an example so splendid. The most commercial of people, you submitted to a total suspension of business, and without a murmur adopted my principle: 'Citizens for labor, soldiers for battle.'

"In coming time strangers, viewing the works on the hills of Newport and Covington, will ask, 'Who built these intrenchments?' You can answer, 'We built them.' If they ask, 'Who guarded them?' you can reply, 'We helped in thousands.' If they inquire the result, your answer will be, 'The enemy came and looked at them, and stole away in the night.'

"You have won much honor; keep your organizations ready to win more. Hereafter be always prepared to defend yourselves.

"LEWIS WALLACE,
"Major-General Commanding."

He had done some things not wholly wise, and had brought upon the people much inconvenience not wholly necessary. But these were the inevitable necessities of the haste, the lack of preparation, and the pressure of the emergency. He took grave responsibilities; adopted a vigorous and needful policy; was prompt and peremptory when these qualities were the only salvation of the city He will be held therefor in grateful remembrance so long as Cincinnati continues to cherish the memory of those who do her service.

As the regiments from the city were relieved from duty, so the Squirrel Hunters were disbanded and sought the routes of travel homeward, carrying with them the hearty thanks of a grateful populace.*

While the attack was expected, there were many in Cincinnati who thought that the enemy might really be amusing the force on the front while preparing to cross the river at Maysville, above, and so swoop down on the city on the undefended side. To the extent of making a raid into Ohio at least, such an intention was actually entertained, and was subsequently undertaken by Colonel Basil W. Duke, of John Morgan's command, who was left to occupy the forces near Cincinnati as long as possible after Kirby Smith's withdrawal. He went so far as to enter Augusta, on the river above Cincinnati, where he was encountered by a determined party of home-guards, and given so bloody a reception that after a desperate little street fight he was glad to abandon his

* The Legislature at its next session adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio,* That the Governor be and he is hereby authorized and directed to appropriate out of his contingent fund, a sufficient sum to pay for printing and lithographing discharges for the patriotic men of the State, who responded to the call of the Governor, and went to the southern border to repel the invader, and who will be known in history as the Squirrel Hunters.

"JAMES R. HUBBELL,
"Speaker of the House of Representatives.
"P HITCHCOCK,
"President *pro tem* of the Senate."

COLUMBUS, March 11, 1863.

movement, and fall back in haste to Falmouth, and thence, soon after, toward the rest of the retreating forces.

Work on the fortifications was prudently continued, and some little time passed before the city lapsed into its accustomed ways; but the "Siege of Cincinnati" was over. The enemy was before it about eight days—at no time twelve thousand strong.

The following summary of persons in charge of some of the various duties connected with the sudden organization for the defense of the city may here be given:

STAFF OF MAJOR-GENERAL LEWIS WALLACE.

Chief of Staff..... Colonel J. C. Elston, jr.
Chief of Artillery..... Major C. M. Willard.

Aid-de-Camps: Captains James M. Ross, A. J. Ware, jr., James F Troth, A. G. Sloo, G. P Edgar, E. T. Wallace.

Volunteer Aid-de-Camps: Colonel J. V Guthrie; Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Neff; Majors Malcom McDowell, E. B. Dennison; Captains James Thompson, A. S. Burt, Thomas Buchanan Read, S. C. Erwin, J. J. Henderson, J. C. Belman.

NEGRO BRIGADE—CAMP SHALER.

Commander..... Judge Dickson.
Commissary..... Hugh McBirney.
Quartermaster..... J. S. Hill.

FATIGUE FORCES.

In Charge..... Colonel J. V Guthrie.
Commissary..... Captain Williamson.
Quartermaster..... Captain George B. Cassilly.
Camp Mitchel, under..... Captain Titus.
" Anderson, under..... Captain Storms.
" Shaler, (back of Newport) under..... Major Winters.

RIVER DEFENSE.

In Charge..... R. M. Corwine.
Aid..... Wm. Wiswell, jr.

Men in Millcreek, Green, Storrs, Delhi, Whitewater, Miami, Columbia, Spencer, and Anderson Townships, subject to orders of above.

COLLECTION OF PROVISIONS.

Committee appointed by General Wallace: Wm. Chidsey, T. F. Rogers, T. Horton, T. F. Shaw, and A. D. Rogers.

IN COMMAND OF CINCINNATI.

Military Commander..... Lieut. Col. S. Burbank, U. S. A.
Aid..... John D. Caldwell.
Provost-Marshal..... A. E. Jones.

EMPLOYMENT OF LABORERS FOR FORTIFICATIONS.

Hon. A. F. Perry, assisted by Hon. Benjamin Eggleston, Charles Thomas, and Thomas Gilpin.

About the same time and throughout the autumn, there was much alarm along the West Virginia and the upper part of the Kentucky border Governor Tod was energetic in sending troops to the exposed points, and in enforcing upon all officers the duty of preventing invasion. "Stand firm," he telegraphed to one Captain commanding a post; "if you fall I will escort your remains home." At one time the danger from Guyandotte seemed imminent; but in spite of sad reverses and barbarities in West Virginia it passed away.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF VALLANDIGHAM.

FROM the outbreak of the war, two Representatives in Congress from Ohio were the most conspicuous leaders of the Opposition to Mr. Lincoln's Administration, and to the policy of the party in power. Both were able and outspoken.

One, a gentleman by birth and by education, maintained a relentless hostility to the prosecution of the war; but, withal, he brought to his discussions of the subject such enlarged views, and so accustomed himself to the moderation of language habitual with fair-minded men, who, penetrated with strong convictions themselves, respect the strength of opposite convictions in others, that he was generally popular even among his political antagonists.

To the other life had been a rougher struggle, and there was, moreover, something in the texture of the man's mind that inclined him to the rancor and virulence of the most intemperate partisanship. He cherished a boundless ambition, and it was not more his natural fondness for producing sensations and saying things that should attract attention, than a shrewd calculation of the value of extravagance in times of high excitement as a means of retaining party favor, that led to the peculiarly aggressive and defiant nature of his opposition to the war. We must not fail to add that he was sincere in his position; that all his past political course, and the prejudices of his whole life, combined with the natural vehemence of his character to make a zealot of him in his advocacy of peace by compromise.

He had been in Congress for six years, but at the election in 1862, in spite of the general triumph of his party, he had been defeated by a soldier in the field. From the last session of the Congress to which he had been elected he returned, therefore, in the spring of 1863, a soured politician out of place, whom it behooved to be all the more vehement lest he should be gradually forgotten.

The first ardor with which the people of Ohio had rushed into the war seemed to have passed away. The pressure of its burdens displeased some; the gloomy prospects in the field discouraged many more. The armies of the South-west were still foiled before Vicksburg; Rosecrans had lain in seeming exhaustion ever since his victory at Stone River; the Rebel invasion of Maryland had been followed by the slaughter about Fredericksburg, and new threats

of an advance into Pennsylvania. Their success at the late election had greatly encouraged those Democrats who opposed the war, and as a new draft began to be talked about, there was much popular ferment, with some hints of resistance. Mr Vallandigham naturally became the spokesman for the irritated and disaffected people. He expressed himself with great boldness of utterance, denounced the war, denounced the draft, stirred up the people with violent talk, and particularly excited them and himself over alleged efforts on the part of the military authorities to interfere with freedom of speech and of the press, which he conjured them to defend under any circumstances and at all hazards.

Possibly with some reference to Mr. Vallandigham, certainly with direct reference to the state of public feeling which he was helping to bring about, and to the acts that were growing out of it, the new Commander of the Department finally felt constrained to issue an order that was to be a noted one in the history of the State. This commander was Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside, an officer of distinguished personal gallantry, of the most loyal devotion to the cause of the country, of great zeal, not always according to knowledge, and of very moderate intellectual capacity. He was fresh from the field of a great disaster incurred under his management; and this fact helped to increase the bitterness with which his efforts to subdue the sympathizers with the South were received. His "General Order No. 38," some results of which we are now to trace, was understood at the time to have the approval of the State and National authorities. It was as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
"*Cincinnati*, April 13, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 38.

"The Commanding General publishes, for the information of all concerned, that hereafter all persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country, will be tried as spies or traitors, and, if convicted, will suffer death. This order includes the following class of persons:

"Carriers of secret mails.

"Writers of letters sent by secret mails.

"Secret recruiting officers within the lines.

"Persons who have entered into an agreement to pass our lines for the purpose of joining the enemy.

"Persons found concealed within our lines belonging to the service of the enemy, and, in fact, all persons found improperly within our lines, who could give private information to the enemy.

"All persons within our lines who harbor, protect, conceal, feed, clothe, or in any way aid the enemies of our country.

"The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this Department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends.

"It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this Department.

"All officers and soldiers are strictly charged with the execution of this order.

"By command of Major-General BURNSIDE.

"LEWIS RICHMOND,
"Assistant Adjutant-General.

"Official: D. R. LARNED, Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General."

The publication of this order was the signal for a stream of invective from

the bolder of the exponents of the Peace Democratic feeling, in the press and on the stump. Mr. Vallandigham was, of course, bitter and outspoken. Some of his more intemperate remarks were reported to General Burnside. Regarding them as a soldier, and with the tendency to magnify his office common to all professions, the General resolved, on the repetition of the offense, to arrest this leader of the discontented party and bring him to trial. Presently Mr. Vallandigham was announced to speak at Mount Vernon, in Knox County, to a Democratic mass meeting. A couple of military officers were at once ordered to repair thither, and, without attracting attention to their presence, to observe what was said.

The meeting was on Friday, the 1st of May. On the ensuing Monday, after hearing the reports of the officers, General Burnside gave orders for Captain Hutton, of his staff, with a company of the One Hundred and Fifteenth Ohio, to proceed to Mr. Vallandigham's residence in Dayton, arrest him as quietly as possible, and to return to Cincinnati by special train before daylight the next morning. Everything had been managed with great caution thus far, but on attempting to make the arrest, Captain Hutton found the popular agitator apparently suspicious of his impending fate. When, approaching Mr. Vallandigham's door after midnight, he aroused the inmates and explained his errand, he was refused admission, while the object of his visit, thrusting his head from the second story bed-chamber window, shouted, "Asa, Asa, Asa." Signals, supposed to be in answer to this call, were heard, and presently the fire-bells of the city began ringing. Fearing an attempt at rescue, the officer waited no longer to parley, but, battering in the front door, he entered the house with his soldiers, forced two other doors which Mr. Vallandigham had fastened in his way, and finally made the arrest. Then, returning to the railroad depot, he departed with his prisoner in the special train before the crowds gathering in answer to the signals were large enough to make any resistance.

The unusual circumstances of the arrest were of themselves enough to produce great excitement in a community so evenly divided in political sentiment, and with such bitterness of feeling on each side as in that of Dayton. It was believed by many at the time that secret societies, formed for purposes hostile to the Government, had also much to do in fomenting the agitation. The streets were crowded all day with the friends and adherents of Mr. Vallandigham; liquor seemed to flow among them freely and without price; and the tone of the crowds was very bitter and vindictive. In the afternoon the journal formerly edited by Mr. Vallandigham, the Dayton Empire, appeared with the following inflammatory article:

"The cowardly, scoundrelly Abolitionists of this town have at last succeeded in having Honorable C. L. Vallandigham kidnapped. About three o'clock this morning, when the city was quiet in slumber, one hundred and fifty soldiers, acting under orders from General Burnside, arrived here on a special train from Cincinnati, and, like thieves in the night, surrounded Mr. Vallandigham's dwelling, beat down the doors, and dragged him from his family. The frantic cries of a wife, by this dastardly act almost made a maniac; the piteous tears and pleadings of a little child for the safety of its father, were all disregarded, as a savage would disregard the cries of a helpless infant he was about to brain. All forms and manner of civil law were disregarded.

Overpowered by one hundred and fifty soldiers, and with pickets thrown out, so as to prevent any alarm being giving to his friends, they tore him forcibly from his home and family, and marched with all possible speed to a special train in waiting, and before it was known to any of his friends they were off like cowardly scoundrels, fearing, as they had reason to, the vengeance of an outraged people.

"Mr. Vallandigham, nor his friends, would have offered no resistance to his arrest by due process of law. He had told them, time and again, that if he was guilty of treason under the Constitution, he was at all times ready to be tried by that instrument. But they have disregarded law, and all usage of law, in this arrest. No charges were preferred; he was not told for what crime he was dragged, in the dead hour of night, from his family and his friends. He was simply informed that Burnside had ordered it. Does Burnside, or any other man, hold the life and liberty of this people in his hands? Are we no longer freemen, but vassals and serfs of a military despotism? These are questions that will now be decided. If the spirit of the men who purchased our freedom through the fiery ordeal of the Revolution still lives in the heart of the people, as we believe it does, then all will yet be well, for it will hurl defiance to military despotism, and rescue through *blood and carnage*, if it must be, our endangered liberties. Cowards are not deserving of liberty, brave men can not be enslaved. In our opinion the time is *near* at at hand, much nearer than unthinking men suppose, when it will be decided whether we are to remain free, or bare our necks to the despot's heel. The contest will be a fearful one. It will involve the loss of many lives, and immense destruction of property. Men in affluence to-day will be beggars to-morrow; there will be more orphans and widows, tears and moans, and suffering. But the men who love liberty will emulate the spirit and daring of the immortal heroes of the Revolution, and make the willing sacrifice. Let cowards, and all who are willing to be slaves, seek safety in flight. Let them cast aside the Constitution, and never again look with pride upon the glorious folds of that starry banner of freedom; it can awake no glorious feeling of emotion within their craven hearts. The men who feel that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,' are men for the times; and, regardless of every consideration, will, in the spirit of the immortal Patrick Henry, exclaim, 'Give me liberty or give me death.'

"The kidnapping of Mr. Vallandigham interests every lover of freedom in the land. It was against these illegal and arbitrary arrests that the voice of a mighty people was heard in thunder tones at the fall elections. That voice carried terror and dismay to the hearts of the despots at Washington. It opened the prison bars of the bastiles, and gave liberty to hundreds of outraged men, who had been imprisoned merely for opinion's sake. Has that warning lesson been so soon forgotten by the despots at Washington, and their satraps and minions throughout the country? Must they have a more severe and emphatic lesson taught them? It would seem so. They have taken the initiative, and upon them and their tools in this city and elsewhere must rest the fearful responsibility of what follows.

"We know the men who have been mainly instrumental in having this hellish outrage perpetrated; and, by the Eternal, they will yet rue the day they let their party malice lead them as accomplices into the scheme of depriving, by force, as loyal a citizen as they dare be of his liberty. It has come to a pretty pass, when the liberty of Democrats in this city and county and district is in the hands, and subject to the caprice of such a petty upstart as Provost-Martial Ed. Parrott. Abolition leaders of this town, having some influence with Burnside, have worked out the kidnapping of Mr. Vallandigham. He has not been arrested for any offense against the laws of his country, for he has committed none. Personal and party malice is at the bottom of it all. It is a direct blow at the Democratic party, and the personal liberty of every member of that organization. Will they quietly submit to it? That's the question to be settled now. Is safety to be coveted more than freedom? Is property, or even life, more to be prized than liberty? Had the heroes of the Revolution so believed and acted, we, their children, never would have enjoyed the priceless boon of freedom; and perhaps it would have been called to feel and mourn over its loss. If justice is still abroad in this unhappy country, if truth and right is still powerful to combat error and wrong, there is a terrible retribution in store, not far distant, for the guilty scoundrels who, possessed of 'a little brief authority,' are seeking to crush out the last vestige of American liberty."

This, of course, tended to aggravate the mob spirit that had already dis-

played itself in numerous personal assaults. About dark a swivel was fired in front of the Empire office, around which a crowd soon gathered. They presently moved across the street to the office of the Republican newspaper, the Dayton Journal, and began assailing it with stones and occasional pistol shots. Then a rush was made, the doors were burst open, whatever was easily accessible was destroyed, and finally the building was set on fire in several different places. The flames spread to neighboring houses, and threatened for a time to end in a terrible conflagration. The fire companies found their hose cut in dozens of places, and their engines unmanageable, while others were held back by force by the rioters, so that the Journal office and several adjacent buildings were completely destroyed before anything could be done.

The next day General Burnside promptly proclaimed martial law in Montgomery County, and sent up Major Keith, of the One Hundred and Seventeenth Ohio, to act as Provost-Martial, with an ample military force to back him. No further disturbances were attempted.

From his confinement in Cincinnati, Mr. Vallandigham, the next day, issued the following address to the Democracy of Ohio:

"I am here in a military bastile,* for no other offense than my political opinions, and the defense of them and of the rights of the people, and of your constitutional liberties. Speeches made in the hearing of thousands of you, in denunciation of the usurpations of power, infractions of the Constitution and laws, and of military despotism, were the causes of my arrest and imprisonment. I am a Democrat; for Constitution, for law, for the Union, for liberty; this is my only crime. For no disobedience to the Constitution, for no violation of law, for no word, sign, or gesture of sympathy with the men of the South, who are for disunion and Southern independence, but in obedience to their demand, as well as the demand of Northern abolition disunionists and traitors, I am here in bonds to-day; but

"'Time, at last, sets all things even.'

"Meanwhile, Democrats of Ohio, of the North-west, of the United States, be firm, be true to your principles, to the Constitution, to the Union, and all will yet be well. As for myself, I adhere to every principle, and will make good, through imprisonment and life itself, every pledge and declaration which I have ever made, uttered, or maintained from the beginning. To you, to the whole people, to time, I again appeal. Stand firm. Falter not an instant!

"C. L. VALLANDIGHAM."

A Military Commission, of which General R. B. Potter was President, was then in session in Cincinnati, under General Burnside's orders. Before this Mr. Vallandigham was brought to trial on the day after the arrest, on the following charge and specifications:

"*Charge.*—Publicly expressing, in violation of General Orders No. 38, from Head-quarters Department of the Ohio, sympathy for those in arms against the Government of the United States, and declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions, with the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion.

"*Specification.*—In this, that the said Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of the State of Ohio, on or about the 1st day of May, 1863, at Mount Vernon, Knox County, Ohio, did publicly

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*At first Mr. Vallandigham was confined in the military prison on Columbia Street, but it was soon seen that there was no danger of attempted rescue, and the military bastile in which he was then immured was the Burnet House.

address a large meeting of citizens, and did utter sentiments in words, or in effect, as follows, declaring the present war 'a wicked, cruel, and unnecessary war;' 'a war not being waged for the preservation of the Union;' 'a war for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism;' 'a war for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites;' stating 'that if the Administration had so wished, the war could have been honorably terminated months ago;' that 'peace might have been honorably obtained by listening to the proposed intermediation of France;' that 'propositions by which the Northern States could be won back and the South guaranteed their rights under the Constitution, had been rejected the day before the late battle of Fredericksburg, by Lincoln and his minions,' meaning thereby the President of the United States, and those under him in authority; charging 'that the Government of the United States was about to appoint military marshals in every district, to restrain the people of their liberties, to deprive them of their rights and privileges;' characterizing General Orders No. 38, from Head-quarters Department of the Ohio, as 'a base usurpation of arbitrary authority,' inviting his hearers to resist the same, by saying, 'the sooner the people inform the minions of usurped power that they will not submit to such restrictions upon their liberties, the better;' declaring 'that he was at all times, and upon all occasions, resolved to do what he could to defeat the attempts now being made to build up a monarchy upon the ruins of our free government;' asserting 'that he firmly believed, as he said six months ago, that the men in power are attempting to establish a despotism in this country, more cruel and more oppressive than ever existed before.'

"All of which opinions and sentiments he well knew did aid, comfort, and encourage those in arms against the Government, and could but induce in his hearers a distrust of their own Government, sympathy for those in arms against it, and a disposition to resist the laws of the land."

The prisoner was attended by eminent counsel, Hon. Geo. E. Pugh, Hon. Geo. H. Pendleton, and others, but he preferred to submit no defense to a tribunal which he declared to have no right to try him, and contented himself with a cross-examination of the few witnesses summoned. The specifications were clearly sustained, save that, in order to avoid the delay involved in summoning Mr. Fernando Wood, of New York, by whom Mr. Vallandigham wished to prove the nature of the propositions for peace which he had charged Mr. Lincoln with refusing, this item was abandoned. The testimony of one of the witnesses set forth the intemperate language in some detail, as follows:

["The witness stated that, in order to give his remarks in the order in which they were made, he would refresh his memory from manuscript notes made on the occasion. These the witness produced and held in his hands.]

"The speaker commenced by referring to the canopy under which he was speaking—the stand being covered by an American flag—'the flag which,' he said, 'had been rendered sacred by Democratic Presidents—the flag under the Constitution.'

"After finishing his exordium, he spoke of the designs of those in power being to erect a despotism; that 'it was not their intention to effect a restoration of the Union; that previous to the bloody battle of Fredericksburg an attempt was made to stay this wicked, cruel, and unnecessary war.' That the war could have been ended in February last. That, a day or two before the battle of Fredericksburg, a proposition had been made for the readmission of Southern Senators into the United States Congress, and that the refusal was still in existence over the President's own signature, which would be made public as soon as the ban of secrecy enjoined by the President was removed. That the Union could have been saved, if the plan proposed by the speaker had been adopted; that the Union could have been saved upon the basis of reconstruction; but that it would have ended in the exile or death of those who advocated a continuation of the war; that 'Forney, who was a well-known correspondent of the Philadelphia Press, had said that some of our public men (and he, Forney, had no right to speak for any others than those connected with the Administration), rather than bring back some of the seceded States, would

submit to a permanent separation of the Union.' He stated that 'France, a nation that had always shown herself to be a friend of our Government, had proposed to act as a mediator;' but 'that her proposition, which, if accepted, might have brought about an honorable peace, was insolently rejected.' It may have been 'instantly rejected;' that 'the people had been deceived as to the objects of the war from the beginning;' that 'it was a war for the liberation of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites. We had been told that it would be terminated in three months—then in nine months, and again in a year—but that there was still no prospect of its being ended. That Richmond was still in the hands of the enemy; that Charleston was theirs, and Vicksburg was theirs; that the Mississippi was not opened, and would not be so long as there was cotton on its banks to be stolen, or so long as there were any contractors or officers to enrich.' I do not remember which word, contractors or officers, he used. He stated that a Southern paper had denounced himself and Cox, and the 'Peace Democrats,' as having 'done more to prevent the establishment of a Southern Confederacy than a thousand Sewards.' That 'they proposed to operate through the masses of the people, in both sections, who were in favor of the Union.' He said that 'it was the purpose or desire of the Administration to suppress or prevent such meetings as the one he was addressing.' That 'military marshals were about to be appointed in every district, who would act for the purpose of restricting the liberties of the people;' but that 'he was a freeman;' that he 'did not ask David Tod, or Abraham Lincoln, or Ambrose E. Burnside for his right to speak as he had done, and was doing. That his authority for so doing was higher than General Orders No. 38—it was General Orders No. 1—the Constitution. That General Orders No. 38 was a base usurpation of arbitrary power; that he had the most supreme contempt for such power. He despised it, spit upon it; he trampled it under his feet.' That only a few days before, a man had been dragged down from his home in Butler County, by an outrageous usurpation of power, and tried for an offense not known to our laws, by a self-constituted court-martial—tried without a jury, which is guaranteed to every one; that he had been fined and imprisoned. That two men had been brought over from Kentucky, and tried, contrary to express laws for the trial of treason, and were now under the sentence of death. That an order had just been issued in Indiana, denying to persons the right to canvass or discuss military policy, and that, if it was submitted to, would be followed up by a similar order in Ohio. That he was resolved never to submit to an order of a military dictator, prohibiting the free discussion of either civil or military authority. 'The sooner that the people inform the minions of this usurped power that they would not submit to such restrictions upon their liberties, the better.' 'Should we cringe and cower before such authority?' That 'we claimed the right to criticise the acts of our military servants in power' That there never was a tyrant in any age who oppressed the people further than he thought they would submit to or endure. That in days of Democratic authority, Tom Corwin had, in face of Congress, hoped that our brave volunteers in Mexico 'might be welcomed with bloody hands to hospitable graves,' but that he had not been interfered with. It was never before thought necessary to appoint a captain of cavalry as provost-marshal, as was now the case in Indianapolis, or military dictators, as were now exercising authority in Cincinnati and Columbus. He closed by warning the people not to be deceived. That 'an attempt would shortly be made to enforce the conscription act;' that 'they should remember that this was not a war for the preservation of the Union;' that 'it was a wicked Abolition war, and that if those in authority were allowed to accomplish their purposes, the people would be deprived of their liberties, and a monarchy established; but that, as for him, he was resolved that he would never be a priest to minister upon the altar upon which his country was being sacrificed.'"

The prisoner, in the cross-examination, brought out the facts that, notwithstanding his violent language, he had cautiously added that the remedy for these evils was at the ballot-box and in the courts; that he had denounced the cheers for Jefferson Davis which some of his remarks had evoked; that he had professed his firm adherence to the Union, his desire to try by compromise to restore it as the fathers made it, and his determination not to take any part in agreeing to its dissolution. These extenuating circumstances he proposed to

prove a so by other witnesses, but the Judge-Advocate admitted them all without further testimony

When the trial was begun, Mr. Vallandigham refused to enter any plea, denying the jurisdiction of the Court. At the close of the evidence he simply read to the Court this protest, with which he submitted the case:

"Arrested without due 'process of law,' without warrant from any judicial officer, and now in a military prison, I have been served with a 'charge and specifications,' as in a court-martial or military commission.

"I am not in either 'the land or naval forces of the United States, nor in the militia in the actual service of the United States,' and therefore am not triable for any cause, by any such court, but am subject, by the express terms of the Constitution, to arrest only by due process of law, judicial warrant, regularly issued upon affidavit, and by some officer or court of competent jurisdiction for the trial of citizens, and am now entitled to be tried on an indictment or presentment of a grand jury of such court, to speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State of Ohio, to be confronted with witnesses against me, to have compulsory process for witnesses in my behalf, the assistance of counsel for my defense, and evidence and argument according to the common laws and the ways of judicial courts.

"And all these I here demand as my right as a citizen of the United States, and under the Constitution of the United States.

"But the alleged 'offense' is not known to the Constitution of the United States, nor to any law thereof. It is words spoken to the people of Ohio in an open and public political meeting, lawfully and peaceably assembled, under the Constitution and upon full notice. It is words of criticism of the public policy of the public servants of the people, by which policy it was alleged that the welfare of the country was not promoted. It was an appeal to the people to change that policy, not by force, but by free elections and the ballot-box. It is not pretended that I counseled disobedience to the Constitution, or resistance to laws and lawful authority. I never have. Beyond this protest I have nothing further to submit.

"C. L. VALLANDIGHAM."

The Judge-Advocate replied that he had nothing to say as to the jurisdiction of the Court—that question having been decided by the authority convening it; and that as to counsel and witnesses, the prisoner had been enabled to have any witnesses he wished summoned, and had three counsel of his own choice in an adjacent room, whom he had not chosen, for reasons unknown, to bring into the Court.

And so, after a two days' trial, the case was left to the Court. Eight days later the findings were approved by the General Commanding, and published in general orders. Mr. Vallandigham was found guilty of the charge and specifications (with the exception of the words, "That propositions by which the Northern States could be won back, and the South guaranteed their rights under the Constitution, had been rejected the day before the late battle of Fredericksburg, by Lincoln and his minions," meaning thereby the President of the United States, and those under him in authority, and the words, "asserting that he firmly believed, as he asserted six months ago, that the men in power are attempting to establish a despotism in this country, more cruel and more oppressive than ever existed before"), and was sentenced to close confinement in some United States fort during the continuance of the war. General Burnside named Fort Warren in Boston harbor, as the place of confinement; and forwarded the proceedings in the case to the President.

There was a general fear that the result of the trial would be to exalt Mr. Vallandigham in public estimation as a martyr to the cause of free speech. On this account the entire proceedings had been generally disapproved at the East; and even among the supporters of the Government within the State were very many who regretted that any notice whatever had been taken of the Mount Vernon speech. Now that the thing was done, it was held that the least objectionable course out of the difficulty would be to send Mr. Vallandigham through the lines to the South, there to remain "among his friends," as the newspapers phrased it, till the end of the war. To this view the President acceded. He accordingly ordered General Burnside to send Mr. Vallandigham under secure guard to the head-quarters of General Rosecrans, to be put by him beyond the military lines. In case of his return he was to be arrested and punished in accordance with the original sentence. This order was promptly obeyed; and, under a flag of truce, Mr. Vallandigham was sent over into the Rebel lines in Tennessee.

We shall have occasion in reciting the events speedily following in the State's history to see what course he took, and what was the final result of all these proceedings upon the popular action in favor of the prosecution of the war.

Two days after the close of Mr. Vallandigham's trial before the Military Commission, Hon. George E. Pugh, of his counsel, applied to Judge Leavitt of the United States Circuit Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The application was ably argued—by Mr. Pugh for the prisoner, and by Mr. Aaron F. Perry, and the United States District-Attorney, Mr. Flamen Ball, in behalf of General Burnside.

The Clerk had been directed to notify General Burnside of the application and of the day on which it would be heard. He appeared, not only by counsel, but in the following personal statement, which was presented for him by the District-Attorney:

"If I were to indulge in wholesale criticisms of the policy of the Government, it would demoralize the army under my command, and every friend of his country would call me a traitor. If the officers or soldiers were to indulge in such criticism, it would weaken the army to the extent of their influence; and if this criticism were universal in the army, it would cause it to be broken to pieces, the Government to be divided, our homes to be invaded, and anarchy to reign. My duty to my Government forbids me to indulge in such criticisms; officers and soldiers are not allowed so to indulge, and this course will be sustained by all honest men.

"Now, I will go further. We are in a state of civil war. One of the States of this department is at this moment invaded, and three others have been threatened I command the department, and it is my duty to my country, and to this army, to keep it in the best possible condition; to see that it is fed, clad, armed, and, as far as possible, to see that it is encouraged. If it is my duty and the duty of the troops to avoid saying any thing that would weaken the army, by preventing a single recruit from joining the ranks, by bringing the laws of Congress into disrepute, or by causing dissatisfaction in the ranks, it is equally the duty of every citizen in the department to avoid the same evil. If it is my duty to prevent the propagation of this evil in the army, or in a portion of my department, it is equally my duty in all portions of it; and it is my duty to use all the force in my power to stop it.

"If I were to find a man from the enemy's country distributing in my camps speeches of

their public men that tended to demoralize the troops or to destroy their confidence in the constituted authorities of the Government, I would have him tried, and hung if found guilty, and all the rules of modern warfare would sustain me. Why should such speeches from our own public men be allowed?

"The press and public men, in a great emergency like the present, should avoid the use of party epithets and bitter invectives, and discourage the organization of secret political societies, which are always undignified and disgraceful to a free people, but now they are absolutely wrong and injurious; they create dissensions and discord, which just now amount to treason. The simple names 'Patriot' and 'Traitor' are comprehensive enough.

"As I before said, we are in a state of civil war, and an emergency is upon us which requires the operations of some power that moves more quickly than the civil.

"There never was a war carried on successfully without the exercise of that power.

"It is said that the speeches which are condemned have been made in the presence of large bodies of citizens, who, if they thought them wrong, would have then and there condemned them. That is no argument. These citizens do not realize the effect upon the army of our country, who are its defenders. They have never been in the field; never faced the enemies of their country; never undergone the privations of our soldiers in the field; and, besides, they have been in the habit of hearing their public men speak, and, as a general thing, approving of what they say; therefore, the greater responsibility rests upon the public men and upon the public press, and it behooves them to be careful as to what they say. They must not use license and plead that they are exercising liberty. In this department it can not be done. I shall use all the power I have to break down such license, and I am sure I will be sustained in this course by all honest men. At all events, I will have the consciousness, before God, of having done my duty to my country, and when I am swerved from the performance of that duty by any pressure, public or private, or by any prejudice, I will no longer be a man or a patriot.

"I again assert, that every power I possess on earth, or that is given me from above, will be used in defense of my Government, on all occasions, at all times, and in all places within this department. There is no party—no community—no State Government—no State Legislative body—no corporation or body of men that have the power to inaugurate a war policy that has the validity of law and power, but the constituted authorities of the Government of the United States; and I am determined to support their policy. If the people do not approve that policy, they can change the constitutional authorities of that Government, at the proper time and by the proper method. Let them freely discuss the policy in a proper tone; but my duty requires me to stop license and intemperate discussion, which tends to weaken the authority of the Government and army: whilst the latter is in the presence of the enemy, it is cowardly to so weaken it. This license could not be used in our camps—the man would be torn in pieces who would attempt it. There is no fear of the people losing their liberties; we all know that to be the cry of demagogues, and none but the ignorant will listen to it: all intelligent men know that our people are too far advanced in the scale of religion, civilization, education, and freedom, to allow any power on earth to interfere with their liberties; but this same advancement in these great characteristics of our people teaches them to make all necessary sacrifices for their country when an emergency requires. They will support the constituted authorities of the Government, whether they agree with them or not. Indeed, the army itself is a part of the people, and is so thoroughly educated in the love of civil liberty, which is the best guarantee for the permanence of our republican institutions, that it would itself be the first to oppose any attempt to continue the exercise of military authority after the establishment of peace by the overthrow of the rebellion. No man on earth can lead our citizen-soldiery to the establishment of a military despotism, and no man living would have the folly to attempt it. To do so would be to seal his own doom. On this point there can be no ground for apprehension on the part of the people.

"It is said that we can have peace if we lay down our arms. All sensible men know this to be untrue. Were it so, ought we to be so cowardly as to lay them down until the authority of the Government is acknowledged?

"I beg to call upon the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, relatives, friends, and neighbors of the soldiers in the field to aid me in stopping this license and intemperate discussion, which is discouraging our armies, weakening the hands of the Government, and thereby strengthening the enemy. If we use our honest efforts, God will bless us with a glorious peace

and a united country. Men of every shade of opinion have the same vital interest in the suppression of this rebellion; for, should we fail in the task, the dread horrors of a ruined and distracted nation will fall alike on all, whether patriots or traitors.

"These are substantially my reasons for issuing 'General Order No. 38;' my reasons for the determination to enforce it, and also my reasons for the arrest of Hon. C. L. Vallandigham for a supposed violation of that order, for which he has been tried. The result of that trial is now in my hands.

"In enforcing this order I can be unanimously sustained by the people, or I can be opposed by factious, bad men. In the former event, quietness will prevail; in the latter event, the responsibility and retribution will attach to the men who resist the authority, and the neighborhoods that allow it.

"All of which is respectfully submitted.

"A. E. BURNSIDE, MAJOR-GENERAL,
"Commanding Department of the Ohio."

Mr. Pugh complained that this was in effect a return to the writ, avowing the facts detailed in the petition therefor; and that yet, without having the body of the petitioner in court, or without any order compelling General Burnside to stay the execution of sentence, he was required to proceed with his duties as an advocate. The *habeas corpus*, he maintained, was a writ of right, under which, whenever it appeared on affidavit, that the prisoner was unlawfully imprisoned the Court had no choice, no latitude, no right even of postponement. After fortifying this position, asserting that the only question was whether upon the allegations of the petition, Mr. Vallandigham was lawfully or unlawfully imprisoned, and, quoting the preamble and enacting clause of the Constitution, he continued:

"There can be no UNION except as intended by that compact. The people have not agreed to any other; and without their consent, it is impossible that any other should be legitimately established. The justice to be administered in this court, and in all other tribunals, military and civil, must be such as the Constitution requires. Domestic tranquillity is a condition greatly to be envied; but it must be secured by observing the Constitution in letter and in spirit. General Burnside admonishes us of a certain 'quietness' which might prevail as the consequence of enforcing his military order: I answer him that quietness attained by the sacrifice of our ancestral rights, by the destruction of our constitutional privileges, is worse than the worst degree of confusion and violence. Touch not the liberty of the citizen; and we. in Ohio, at least, will be unanimous. We may not concur as to the causes which induced so mighty a rebellion; we may differ as to the best methods of subduing or of mitigating it; we may quarrel as partisans, or even as factionists; but we will, nevertheless, with one accord, sustain the General in the darkest hour of his despondency as well as in the day of triumph—sustain him by our counsels, by all our means, and, if necessary, at the expense of our lives. But we can not give him our liberties. That sacrifice would be of no advantage to him; and it would render us and our posterity forever miserable. It is not necessary to the common defense; it would not—it can not—promote the common welfare."

He quoted the clause of the Constitution prohibiting Congress from passing any law abridging freedom of speech, or the right of peaceable assembly, to protest against grievances, and continued:

"General Burnside holds an office created by act of Congress alone—an office which Congress may, at any time, abolish. His title, his rank, his emoluments, his distinction above his fellow-citizens, are all derived from that source. I take it to be absolutely certain, therefore, that he can make no 'law' which Congress could not make. He can not abridge the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people to assemble and to consider of their grievances.

And yet, sir, of what does he accuse Mr. Vallandigham? Let the specification of Captain Cutts answer: Of having addressed a public assembly of the electors of Ohio, at Mount Vernon, in Knox County, on the first day of this month. Nothing more; nothing whatsoever. It was an assembly of the people to deliberate upon their grievances, and to advise with each other in what way those grievances could be redressed. Into that forum—the holiest of holies in our political system—has General Burnside intruded his military dictation. Need I say more? What avails a right of the people to assemble, or to consult of their public affairs, if, when assembled, and that peaceably, they have no freedom of speech?"

He pointed out the difference between General Burnside's relation to the President as his military Commander-in-Chief, bringing him under the Articles of War, which forbid disrespectful language of his superior officers, and that of Mr. Vallandigham, as simply a citizen. He answered the complaint as to the effect of Mr Vallandigham's language on the people, by saying in effect that the people must do their own thinking after their own fashion, and with such aid in the way of speeches as they should choose for themselves; and the complaint as to the effect upon the soldiers, thus:

"O!—but the effect on the soldiers. Well, sir, let us inquire into that. The soldiers have been citizens; they have been in the habit of attending public meetings, and of listening to public speakers. They are not children, but grown men—stalwart, sensible, and gallant men—with their hearts in the right place, and with arms ready to strike whenever and wherever the cause of their country demands. The General assures us of more, even than this: 'No man on earth,' 'he says, 'can lead our citizen-soldiery to the establishment of a military despotism.' And are these the men to be discouraged, and, especially, to feel weary in heart or limb—unable to cope with an enemy in the field because Mr. Vallandigham, or any other public speaker, may have said something, at Mount Vernon or elsewhere, with which they do not agree? The soldiers have not chosen me for their eulogist; but I will say, of my own accord, that they are no such tender plants as General Burnside imagines. They know, exactly, for what they went into the field; they are not alarmed, nor dissatisfied, nor discouraged, because their fellow-citizens, at home, attend public meetings, and listen to public speeches, as heretofore; they have no serious misgivings as to the estimation in which they are holden by the people of the Northern and North-western States, without any distinction of sects, parties, or factions.

"Let the officers, and especially those of highest degree, observe their military duties; let them see to it, as General Burnside has well said, and as, I doubt not, he has well done, so far as his authority extends, that the soldiers are 'fed, clad, and armed,' and 'kept in the best possible condition' for service. Allow them to vote as they please; allow them to read whatever newspapers they like; cease any attempt to use them for a partisan advantage: I do not accuse General Burnside of this—but others, and too many, have been guilty of the grossest tyranny in regard to it. Protect the soldier against the greed of jobbers and knavish contractors—against dealers in shoddy, in rotten leather, in Belgian muskets, in filthy bread and meat—against all the hideous cormorants which darken the sky and overshadow the land in times of military preparation. Let the party in administration discharge these duties; and my word for it, sir, that the volunteers from Ohio, from Indiana, from Illinois, from every other State, will do and dare as much, at least, as the best and bravest soldiers in the world can accomplish."

Reviewing the several specifications in the arraignment of Mr. Vallandigham before the Military Commission, he sought to show how none of the words quoted, even in the disjointed, unconnected shape in which they were given, passed the lawful latitude of free discussion; asked how mere words could, in General Burnside's language, "amount to" treason; and discussed at considera-

ble length the question of constructive treason, and arrayed a formidable presentment of authorities on the subject, concluding:

"But, sir, what become of our safeguards—what avails the experience of seven hundred years—where is that CONSTITUTION which declares itself to be the supreme law of the land—if a Major-General commanding the Department of the Ohio, or any other officer, civil or military, can create and multiply definitions of treason at his pleasure? The ancient Ruminalis put forth new leaves when all men supposed it to be dying; whether the tree of American liberty will be able to supply the place of that splendid foliage which has been stripped from its branches, and scattered beneath our feet, by this rude blast of arbitrary and unlimited authority, is a question hereafter to be determined. That question does not concern my distinguished client any more than it concerns every other citizen. The partisans in power to-day will be the partisans in opposition to-morrow; then military command will be shifted from those who oppress to those who have been oppressed; and so, with the mutations of political fortune, must the personal rights and rights of property, and even the lives, of all be in constant hazard. I pray that my learned friends upon the other side will consider this in time; that they will use their influence not only with the defendant, but with those to whom at present he is amenable, to revoke—ere it be too late—the dreadful fiat of tyranny, of hopeless confusion, of ultimate anarchy, which has been sounded in our midst."

Then, saying that the argument for the prisoner might well be here concluded, he nevertheless, under his instruction, must proceed to present the bearings of another article of the Constitution; that guaranteeing the right of the people against unreasonable searches and seizures, and forbidding the issue of warrants but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation. Arraying the authorities on this subject, and enumerating the requisites for arrest and trial, he then concluded:

"And yet, sir, to that we have come—in the first century of our Republic, with a written Constitution less than eighty years old, in a country professing to be civilized, intelligent, refined, and (strangest of all) to be free! It is *our* case—if your Honor please—your own case and mine; and not merely the case of Clement L. Vallandigham. He is the victim to-day; but there will be, and must be, other victims to-morrow. What rights have we, or what security for any right, under such a system as this?

"'Every minist'ring spy
That will accuse and swear, is lord of you,
Of me, of all our fortunes and our lives.
Our looks are call'd to question, and our words,
How innocent soever, are made crimes;
We shall not shortly dare to tell our dreams,
Or think, but 't will be treason.'

"And the excuse for it, as given by General Burnside, is that a rebellion exists in Tennessee, in Arkansas, in Louisiana, in Mississippi, in Alabama, in other States a thousand miles distant from us. Does any rebellion exist here? President Lincoln, by his proclamation of January 1, 1863, has undertaken to 'designate' the States, and even 'parts' of States, at present in rebellion; but I do not find the State of Ohio, nor the county of Montgomery, nor the city of Dayton so designated. How can the Rebels, in addition to disclaiming their own rights under the Constitution of the United States, also forfeit the rights of my client? I ask General Burnside, or his counsel, to answer me that question; because, until it has been answered, and answered satisfactorily, there can be no excuse, no apology, not the least degree of palliation, for such extraordinary proceedings as have been avowed here, and vainly attempted to be justified.

"You have presided in this court almost thirty years; and, during that time, have heard and determined a vast number and variety of important controversies. But never, as I venture to affirm, have you been called to the discharge of a greater duty than upon this occasion. I had supposed, in the simplicity of my heart and understanding, that all the propositions for which I

have contended were too firmly established in America, as well as in England, to be disturbed or even doubted. It seems otherwise; and, therefore, at unusual length, and without as lucid an order and as close an argument as I could wish, have I descanted upon the mighty themes of contest, in all past ages, between the supporters of arbitrary power and the defenders of popular rights. I pray that you will command the body of my client to be brought before you, in this court of civil judicature, and in the open light of day; to the end that he may be informed here of what he is accused, and may be tried on that accusation, whatever it be, in due form of law. Let us know the worst any man has to allege against him; and then let him stand before a jury of his countrymen, in the face of all accusers, for deliverance, or, if guilty, for condemnation.

"I ask this, sir, in the interest of that Constitution which has been violated by his arrest and imprisonment—in the interest of that Union, the fortunes of which now depend on the arbitrament of the sword—in the interest of that army which we have sent into the field to maintain our cause—in the interest of peace at home, and of unanimity in waging a battle so bloody and so hazardous—in the interest of liberty, of justice, of ordinary fairness between man and man.

"I have tried to say what ought to be said, and no more, in vindication of the rights of the petitioner. God help me if I have said anything which ought to have been omitted, or omitted anything which ought to have been said!"

Mr. Perry began his reply as follows:

"MAY IT PLEASE THE COURT: When General Burnside requested me to assist the District Attorney on this occasion, he forebore to give me any instructions, except to present such considerations to the judgment of the court as should seem to me right and proper. I have a distinct impression that he has no preference that the questions here presented should be heard before any other jurisdiction or tribunal rather than this; and that he wishes his proceedings to be here discussed by his counsel, chiefly on the broad basis of their merits; that they should be made to rest on the solid ground of the performance of a high and urgent public duty. The main argument which I shall present to the court will, therefore, be founded on the obligations, duties, and responsibilities of General Burnside as a Major-General in command of an army of the United States, in the field of military operations, for the purposes of war, and in the presence of the enemy. I shall not place it on any ground of apology, excuse, or palliation, but strictly and confidently on the ground of doing what he had a lawful, constitutional right to do; and on the ground of performing a duty imposed upon him as one of the necessities of his official position. I shall make no plea of an exigency in which laws are suspended, and the Constitution forgotten, but shall claim that the Constitution is equal to the emergency, and has adequately provided for it; that the act complained of here is an act fully warranted by law, and authorized by the Constitution. I shall support this claim by references to more than one opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, and to other authorities."

After dwelling upon some defects in the application for the writ, and ridiculing its rhetorical features, he laid down the principle that the *habeas corpus* could not meddle with arrests legally made, and that arrests under the laws of war were legal as well as those under the ordinary forms. Without relying upon the President's Proclamation of 24th September, 1862, suspending the writ and delaring martial law, he proceeded to maintain that, with the privilege of the writ admitted to be still in full force, the application should not be granted:

"I claim, then, that the facts before this court show that the arrest of Clement L. Vallandigham, by Ambrose E. Burnside, a Major-General in the United States service, commanding in the Department of the Ohio, was a legal and justifiable arrest. For the facts showing its legality I rely—1. On the petition and affidavit of the prisoner; 2. On facts of current public history of which the Court is bound to take judicial cognizance. Among the facts of public history I need recall but few. Unfortunately, the country is involved in dangers so many and so critical, that its people neither do nor can divert their thoughts to other topics."

"The power and wants of the insurrection are not all nor chiefly military. It needs not only food, clothing, arms, medicine, but it needs hope and sympathy. It needs moral aid to sustain it against reactionary tendencies. It needs argument to represent its origin and claims to respect favorably before the world. It needs information concerning the strength, disposition, and movements of government force. It needs help to paralyze and divide opinions among those who sustain the government, and needs help to hinder and embarrass its councils. It needs that troops should be withheld from government, and its financial credit shaken. It needs that government should lack confidence in itself, and become discouraged. It needs that an opinion should prevail in the world that the government is incapable of success, and unworthy of sympathy. Who can help it in either particular I have named, can help it as effectually as by bearing arms for it. Wherever in the United States a wish is entertained to give such help, and such wish is carried to its appropriate act, there is the place of the insurrection. Since all these helps combine to make up the strength of the insurrection, war is necessarily made upon them all, when made upon the insurrection. Since each one of the insurrectionary forces holds in check or neutralizes a corresponding government force, and since government is in such extremity as not safely to allow any part of its forces to withdraw from the struggle, it has no recourse but to strike at whatever part of the insurrection it shall find exposed. All this is implied in war, and in this war with especial cogency. 'If war be actually levied—that is, if a body of men be actually assembled for the purpose of effecting by force a treasonable purpose—all those who perform any part, however minute, or however remote from the scene of action, and who are actually leagued in the general conspiracy, are to be considered as traitors.' 4 Cranch, 126."

Eulogizing the Generals in command (Burnside and Cox), he then asked:

"Why are these men here? Have they, at any time since the war begun, sought any other but the place of danger? They are here; they are sent here for war: to lay the same military hand upon this insurrection, wherever they can find it, in small force or large force, before them or behind them, which they have laid upon it elsewhere. They are not here to cry peace, when there is no peace; not here to trifle with danger, or be trifled with by it. They are patriot Generals, commanding forces in the field in the presence of the enemy, constrained by their love of country, and in the fear of God only, to strike. Are they to fold their arms and sleep while the incitements to insurrection multiply around them, and until words shall find their way to appropriate acts? Are they to wait until the wires shall be cut, railroad tracks torn up, and this great base of supplies, this great thoroughfare for the transit of troops, this great center and focus of conflicting elements, is in a blaze, before they can act? Must they wait until apprehended mischief shall become irremediable before they can attempt a remedy? Jefferson Davis would answer, 'Yes!' Traitors and abettors of treason would everywhere answer, 'Yes!' I seem to hear a solemn accord of voices rising from the graves of the founders of the Constitution saying, 'No!' And I seem to hear the response of loyal and true friends of liberty everywhere swelling to a multitudinous and imperative 'Amen!'"

"I understood the learned counsel to intimate that Government would receive the unanimous support of the people of Ohio, if it would do nothing which displeased any of them. 'Touch not the liberty of the citizen, and we, in Ohio, at least, will be unanimous.' May it please your Honor, the liberty of the citizen is touched when he is compelled, either by a sense of duty or by conscription, to enter the army. The liberty of the citizen is touched when he is forbidden to pass the lines of any encampment. The liberty of the citizen is touched when he is forbidden to sell arms and munitions of war, or to carry information to the enemy. Learned counsel is under a mistake. We, in Ohio, could not be unanimous in leaving such liberties untouched. The liberty to stay at home from war is at least as sacred as the liberty to make popular harangues. But since all these liberties are assailed by war, they must be defended by war. We, in Ohio, never could be unanimous in approving the action of a government which should force one portion of the population to enter the army, and allow another portion of it to discourage, demoralize, and weaken that army. Unanimity, on such conditions, is impossible. But this suggestion of unanimity is not quite new. The zeal of the advocate, the charming voice, the stirring elocution with which it is now reproduced, do all that is possible to redeem it from its early associations. But we can not forget that the same thing has played a conspicuous part in the his-

tory of the last few years. At the last presidential election it happened, as it had on all precedin similar occasions, that a majority of lawful votes, constitutionally cast, elected a President of th United States, and placed the federal administration in the hands of persons agreeing in opinion, o appearing to agree with that majority. It happened, as it had ordinarily happened before, that th minority did not agree with the majority, either as to principles or as to the men selected. It claime to believe the majority in the wrong, and no minority could find provocation or excuse for being i the minority, unless it did believe the majority in the wrong. It is not now necessary to inquir which were right in their preferences and opinions. The minority were fatally wrong in this, tha they refused the arbitrament provided in the Constitution for the settlement of such controversies The new Administration must yield, because the minority found itself unwilling to yield. Th old Constitution must be changed by new conditions, or run the risk of overthrow. In othe words, it must be overthrown in its most vital principles, by compelling a majority to accep terms from a minority, accompanied by threats of war, or it might be nominally kept alive b consenting to abdicate its functions. All that the secession leaders proposed was, that they should be allowed to administer the Government when elected, and, also, when not elected. They were willing to respect the constitutional rights of elections, provided it should be conceded that if they were beaten they should go on with public affairs the same as if they had been elected. They were willing to take the responsibility of judging what they would like to do, and all they asked was the liberty to do it. 'Touch not our liberties, and we can be unanimous!' The same old fallacy reappears in every phase of the insurrection; sometimes with and sometimes without disguise. Neither change of wigs, nor change of clothing, nor presence nor absence of burnt cork, can hide its well-known gait and physiognomy. The insurrection will support the Government, provided the Government will support the insurrection; but the Government must consent to abdicate its functions, and permit others to judge what ought to be done, before it can be supported. One of its favorite disguises is to desire to support the Government, provided it were in proper hands; but to be unable to support it in its present hands. The proper hands, and the only proper hands for Government to be in, are the hands in which the Constitution places it. If the whole country should believe any particular hands to be the most suitable, those hands would be chosen. He who can not support the Government on the terms pointed out in the Constitution, by recognizing as the proper hands for its administration the hands in which the law places it, is not a friend, but an enemy of the Constitution. What he means by liberty is not that qualified liberty in which all may share, but a selfish, tyrannical, irresponsible liberty to have his own way, without reference to the wishes or convenience of others. This notion of selfish and irresponsible liberty is an unfailing test and earmark of the insurrection. Whatever other appearances it may put on, it can always be known and identified by this. No darkness can conceal, no dazzling light transform it. Wherever it may be found, there is insurrection, in spirit at least, and according to different grades of courage, in action also. This kind of liberty can not live at the same time with the liberty which our Constitution was ordained to secure. Government must lay hands upon it or die. Dangerous as its hostility may be, its embrace would be more fatal. Its hostility may, in time, destroy the Government, but any government consenting to make terms with it is already dead."

He noticed the claim that Mr. Vallandigham's violent language and appeals for resistance pointed only to resistance at the ballot-box and in the courts. Reading the specifications, he continued:

"It appears from this that he publicly addressed a large meeting of citizens. He was not expressing in secresy and seclusion his private feelings or misgivings, but seeking publicity and influence. The occasion and circumstances show the purpose to have been to produce an effect on the public mind, to mold public feeling, to shape public action. In what direction? The charge says, by expressing his sympathies for those in arms against the Government of the United States, by declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions. He declared the war to be wicked and cruel, and unnecessary, and a war not waged for the preservation of the Union: a war for crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism. What is this but saying that those who fight against the United States are in the right, and that it would be cowardly and dishonorable not to fight against the United States? In what more plain or cogent language could he urge his audience themselves

to take up arms against their Government? If those who heard him could not be incited to fight against a Government by persuading them it was making an unjust and cruel war to crush out liberty, how else could he expect to incite them? If he did not hope to persuade them to join their sympathies and efforts with the enemies of the United States, by convincing them that these enemies are in the right, fighting and suffering to prevent the overthrow of liberty, standing up against wickedness and cruelty, what must he have thought of his audience? What else but the legitimate result of his argument can we impute fairly as the object of his hopes? To whatever extent they believe him, they must be poor, dumb dogs not to rally, and rally at once, for the overthrow of their own Government, and for the support of those who make war upon it. But he did not leave it to be inferred. He declared it to be a war for the enslavement of the whites and *the freedom of the blacks.* Which of the two was, in his opinion, the greater outrage, he does not appear to have stated. It is one of the unmistakable marks of insurrection, by which it can always be identified, that its declarations for liberty are for a selfish and brutal liberty, which includes the liberty of injuring or disregarding others. If his white audience were not willing to be enslaved, that is to say, not willing to endure the last and most degrading outrage possible to be inflicted on human nature, they must, so far as they believed him, resist their own Government. If he himself believed what he said, he must take up arms to resist the Government, or stand a confessed poltroon. A public man, who believes that his Government is guilty of the crimes he imputed, and will not take up arms against it, is guilty of unspeakable baseness. If his audience believed what he told them, they must have looked upon advice not to take up arms as insincere or contemptible. No public man, no private man, can make such charges and decently claim not to mean war. All insurrections have their pretexts. The man who furnishes these is more guilty than the man who believes them and acts on them. If the statements of Vallandigham were true, the pretexts were ample, not merely as pretexts, but as justification of insurrection. They were more: they were incitements which it would be disgraceful to resist, and which human nature generally has no power to resist. The place where such things are done is the place of insurrection, or there is not and can not be a place of insurrection anywhere. If these laboratories of treason are to be kept in full blast, they will manufacture traitors faster than our armies can kill them. This cruel process finds no shelter under the plea of political discussion. Whatever might be said about ballots and elections, the legal inference is that it is intended to produce the results which would naturally flow from it. If the President, with all the army and navy, and his 'minions,' is at work to overthrow liberty and enslave the whites, every good man must fear to see that army victorious, and hail its disasters with joy. Every good man must strike to save himself from slavery now while he can. The elections are far off, and may be too late. It can not be claimed that the motive was to influence elections, because the argument does not fit that motive. It fits to insurrection, and that only. He pronounced General Orders No. 38 to be a base usurpation, and invited his hearers to resist it. How resist it? How could they resist it, unless by doing what the order forbade to be done?

"What was there to be complained of except by persons wishing to do, or to have done by others, the acts by that order prohibited? He invited to resist the order. The order thus to be resisted prohibited the following acts, viz.: Acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country, such as carrying of secret mails; writing letters sent by secret mails; secret recruiting of soldiers for the enemy inside our lines; entering into agreements to pass our lines for the purpose of joining the enemy; the being concealed within our lines while in the service of the enemy; being improperly within our lines by persons who could give private information to the enemy; the harboring, protecting, concealing, feeding, clothing, or in any way aiding the enemies of our country; the habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy; treason. These are the things prohibited in Order No. 38, which Mr. Vallandigham invited his audience to resist. 'The sooner,' he told them, 'the people inform the minions of usurped power that they will not submit to such restrictions on their liberties, the better.' The 'minions' here referred to were the commanding General of the Department and others charged with official duties under their own Government. The 'liberties' not allowed to be restricted were liberties to aid the enemies of the United States. He declared his own purpose to do what he could to defeat the attempt now being made to build up a monarchy upon the ruins of our free Government. The resistance could mean nothing but resistance to his own Government, which he had before declared to be making attempts to enslave the whites. These appeals to that large public meeting are charged to have been made '*for the*

purpose of weakening the power of his own Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion,' all of which opinions and sentiments '*he well knew did aid, comfort, and encourage those in arms against the Government,* and could but induce in his hearers a distrust of their own Government, and sympathy for those in arms against it, *and a disposition to resist the laws of the land.*' Not one syllable of all this is denied, and yet the arrest is complained of as unconstitutional."

He denied the claim that the laws of war could only apply to military men, and that, under them, only those in the military service could be arrested; showed how fatal to all war-making power would be such an admission, and that even Rebels in arms, not being in the military service of the Government could not be arrested; drew the distinction between military and martial law, and arrayed the authorities thereon; dwelt particularly on the opinion of the Supreme Court in cases growing out of the Dorr rebellion, concluding this branch of his argument as follows:

"May it please your Honor! I have pursued this branch of the argument at some length. If the view of the Constitution here presented be, as it appears to me, well grounded in reason, and sustained by authority, the main proposition on which the petitioner rests his application is overthrown, and, with it, the claim to a writ of *habeas corpus.*

"I did not understand counsel to argue that, in the case of Vallandigham, there were circumstances to render this arrest illegal or unnecessary, provided such arrests can in any case be justified. I did distinctly understand him to disclaim the idea that the Constitution permits a military arrest to be made, under any circumstances, of a person not engaged in the military or naval service of the United States, nor in the militia of any State called into actual service; and to rest his case on that broad denial. The whole petition is framed on this idea, for none of the charges are denied.

"Upon first impression, your Honor may have inclined to the belief that petitioner had assumed an unnecessary burden, and might have more easily made a case by putting General Burnside to show the propriety of this arrest; admitting the general right to make such arrest as were indicated by the necessities of the service, but denying any ground for this arrest. But your Honor will find that no mistake has been made by learned counsel on the other side, in this particular. The circumstances shown justify the arrest, if any arrest of the kind can be justified. If General Burnside might have arrested him for making the speech face to face with his soldiers, the distance from them at which it was uttered can make little difference. He might make it in camp; and unless he could be arrested, there would be no way to prevent it. The right of publication, of sending by mail and telegraph, are of the same grade with freedom of speech. If utterance of the speech could not be checked, its transmission by mail and telegraph could not be. And I so understand the argument of the counsel of Vallandigham. It appears to claim, and go the whole length of claiming that it can do the army no harm to read such addresses; nor, of course, to hear them. It is necessary the argument should not stop short of that in order to meet the question, and it does not. Yet this is not the whole extent to which it must go to avail the petitioner. It must go to the extent of showing that this Court is authorized to determine that such addresses may be heard by the army, the opinion of the commanding General to the contrary notwithstanding. It goes and must go the extent of transferring all responsibility for what is called the *morale* and discipline of the army from its commanding General to this Court. It is not certain that if these addresses shall persuade nobody, their authors will be disappointed? It is not certain that any soldier persuaded to believe that his Government is striving to overthrow liberty, and for that purpose is waging a wicked and cruel war, can no longer, in good conscience, remain in the service? The argument leads to one of two conclusions. We are to be persuaded by the men who make the speeches, that the speeches will not produce the effect they intend—a persuasion in which their acts contradict their words—or we are to consent to the demoralization of the army. The Constitution authorizes and even requires the army to be formed, but at that stage of the transaction interposes an imperative prohibition against the usual means of making it effective.

"It is said, however, that the charges against Vallandigham are triable in the civil tribu-

nals. So are a large proportion of all the charges which can be brought against any one engaged in an insurrection. No Rebel soldier has been captured in this war, no guerrilla, who was not triable in the civil tribunals. The argument in this, as in other particulars, necessarily denies the applicability of the laws of war to a state of war."

Then, after maintaining the irrelevancy of much of Mr. Pugh's argument to the case in hand, he concluded:

"May it please your Honor! I must bring this argument to a close. Are we in a state of war or not? Did the Constitution, when it authorized war to be made, without limitations, mean war, or something else? The judicial tribunals provided for in the Constitution, throughout twelve States of the Union, have been utterly overthrown. In several other States they are maintaining a feeble and uncertain hold of their jurisdiction. None of them can now secure to parties on trial the testimony from large portions of the country, to which they are entitled by the Constitution and laws. The records of none of them can be used in the districts dominated by the insurrection. They are all struck at by this insurrection. Counsel tells us that, except the Union provided for in the Constitution, there is no legal Union. Yet that Union is, temporarily I hope, but for the present, suspended and annulled. This Court can have no existence except under that Union, and that Union now, in the judgment of those who have been intrusted by the Constitution with the duty of preserving it, depends upon the success of its armies. The civil administration can no longer preserve it.

"The courts which yet hold their places, with or without military support, may perform most useful functions. Their jurisdiction and labors were never more wanted than now. But they were not intended to command armies. When Generals and armies were sent here, they were sent to make war according to the laws of war. I have no authority from General Burnside to inquire, and I have hesitated to inquire, but, after all, will venture to inquire, whether an interference by this Court with the duties of military command must not tend to disturb that harmony between different branches of government, which, at this time, is most especially to be desired?

"Counsel expresses much fear of the loss of liberty, through the influence of military ascendency. Are we, on that account, to so tie the hands of our Generals, as to assure the overthrow of the Constitution by its enemies? I do not share that fear. It has been the fashion of society in many countries to be divided into grades, and topped out with a single ruling family. In such societies the laws and habits of the people correspond with its social organization. The two elements of power—intelligence and wealth—are carefully secured in the same hands with political power. It has happened in a number of instances, that a successful General gained power enough to push the monarch from his throne and seat himself there. In such instances the change was chiefly personal. Little change was necessary in the social organization, laws, or habits. It has also happened that democracies or republics, which have, by a long course of corruption, lost the love and practice of virtue, have been held in order by a strong military hand. But in this country no man can gain by military success a dangerous ascendency, because the change would require to be preceded by a change in the whole body of laws, in the habits, opinions, and social organization. History furnishes no example of a successful usurpation under similar circumstances, and reason assures me it would prove impossible. Our society has no element on which usurpation could be founded. My sleep is undisturbed, and my heart quite fearless in that direction. I do not fear that we shall lose our respect for the laws of peace by respecting the laws of war; nor our love for the Constitution by the sacrifices we make to uphold it. I do not fear any loss of democratic sympathies by the brotherhood of camps. I do not fear any loss of the love of peace by the sufferings of war. I am not zealous to preserve, to the utmost punctilio, any civil right at the risk of losing all, when all civil rights are in danger of overthrow. The question of civil liberty is no longer within the arbitrament of our civil tribunals. It has been taken up to a higher court, and is now pending before the God of Battles. May he not turn away from the sons whose fathers he favored! As he filled and strengthened the hearts of the founders of our liberty, so may he fill and strengthen ours with great constancy! Now, while awaiting the call of the terrible docket, while drum-beats roll from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, while the clear sound of bugles reaches far over our once

peaceful hills and valleys; now, when the hour of doom is about to strike, let us lose all sense of individual danger; let us lay upon a common altar all private griefs, all personal ambitions; let us unite in upholding the army, that it may have strength to rescue from unlawful violence, and restore to us the body of the American Union—*E Pluribus Union!* Above all, O Almighty God! if it shall please thee to subject us to still more and harder trials; if it be thy will that we pass further down into the darkness of disorder, yet may some little memory of our fathers move thee to a touch of pity! Spare us from that last human degradation! Save! O save us from the littleness to be jealous of our defenders!"

A briefer argument was made by District-Attorney Ball, and Mr. Pugh rejoined.

The decision of Judge Leavitt was awaited with much interest by all classes. He took the case briefly under advisement, and finally denied the writ—giving an opinion, which we quote in full:

"This case is before the Court on the petition of Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of Ohio, alleging that he was unlawfully arrested, at his home in Dayton, in this State, on the night of the 5th of May, instant, by a detachment of soldiers of the army of the United States, acting under the orders of Ambrose E. Burnside, a Major-General in the army of the United States, and brought against his will, to the city of Cincinnati, where he has been subject to a trial before a military commission, and is still detained in custody, and restrained of his liberty. The petitioner also avers that he is not in the land or naval service of the United States, and has not been called into active service in the militia of any State; and that his arrest, detention and trial, as set forth in his petition, are illegal, and in violation of the Constitution of the United States. The prayer is that a writ of *habeas corpus* may issue, requiring General Burnside to produce the body of the petitioner before this Court, with the cause of his caption and detention. Accompanying the petition is a statement of the charges and specifications on which he alleges he was tried before the Military Commission. For the purposes of this decision it is not necessary to notice these charges specially, but it may be stated in brief that they impute to the prisoner the utterance of sundry disloyal opinions and statements in a public speech, at the town of Mt. Vernon, in the State of Ohio, on the 1st of May, instant, with the knowledge 'that they did aid and comfort and encourage those in arms against the Government, and could but induce, in his hearers, a distrust in their own Government, and sympathy for those in arms against it, and a disposition to resist the laws of the land.' The petitioner does not state what the judgment of the Military Commission is, nor is the Court informed whether he has been condemned or acquitted on the charges exhibited against him.

"It is proper to remark here, that, on the presentation of the petition, the Court stated, to the counsel of Mr. Vallandigham, that, according to the usage of the Court, as well as of other courts of high authority, the writ was not grantable of course, and would only be allowed on a sufficient showing that it ought to issue. The Court is entirely satisfied of the correctness of the course thus indicated. The subject was fully examined by the learned Justice Swayne, when present, the presiding Judge of this Court, on a petition for *habeas corpus*, presented at the last October term; a case to which further reference will be made. I shall now only note the authorities on this point, which seem to be entirely conclusive.

"In case *Ex parte* Watkins (3 Peters, 193), which was an application to the Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, Chief-Justice Marshall entertained no doubt as to the power of the court to issue the writ, and stated that the only question was whether it was a case in which the power ought to be exercised. He says, in reference to that case, 'the cause of imprisonment is shown as fully by the petitioner as could appear on the return of the writ; consequently, the writ ought not to be awarded, if the court is satisfied the prisoner would be remanded to prison.' The same principle is clearly and ably stated by Chief-Justice Shaw, in the case *Ex parte* Sims, before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. (7 Cushing's Rep. 285). See, also, Hurd on *hab. corpus*, 223, et seq.

"I have no doubt of the power of this Court to issue the writ applied for. It is clearly conferred by the fourteenth section of the Judiciary Act of 1789; but the ruling of this Court in

the case just referred to, and the authorities just cited, justify the refusal of the writ, if satisfied the petitioner would not be discharged upon a hearing after its return. The Court, therefore, directed General Burnside to be notified of the pendency of the petition, to the end that he might appear, by counsel, or otherwise, to oppose the granting of the writ.

"That distinguished General has accordingly presented a respectful communication to the Court, stating, generally and argumentatively, the reasons of the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham, and has also authorized able counsel to represent him in resistance of the application for the writ. And the case has been argued at great length, and with great ability, on the motion for its allowance.

"It is proper to remark, further, that when the petition was presented, the Court made a distinct reference to the decision of this Court in the case of Bethuel Rupert, at October term, 1862, before noticed, as an authoritative precedent for its action on this application. On full reflection, I do not see how it is possible for me, sitting alone in the Circuit Court, to ignore the decision, made upon full consideration by Justice Swayne, with the concurrence of myself, and which, as referable to all cases involving the same principle, must be regarded as the law of this Court until reversed by a higher court. The case of Rupert was substantially the same as that of the present petitioner. He set out in his petition, what he alleged to be an unlawful arrest by the order of a military officer, on a charge imputing to him acts of disloyalty to the Government, and sympathy with the rebellion against it, and an unlawful detention and imprisonment as the result of such order. The application, however, in the case of Rupert differed from the one now before the Court, in this, that affidavits were exhibited tending to disprove the charge of disloyal conduct imputed to him; and also in this, that there was no pretense or showing by Rupert that there had been any investigation or trial by any court of the charges against him.

"The petition in this case is addressed to the *judges* of the Circuit Court, and not to a single judge of that Court. It occurs, from the absence of Mr. Justice Swayne, that the District Judge is now holding the Circuit Court, as he is authorized to do by law. But thus sitting, would it not be in violation of all settled rules of judicial practice, as well as of courtesy, for the District Judge to reverse a decision of the Circuit Court, made when both judges were on the bench? It is well known that the District Judge, though authorized to sit with the Circuit Judge in the Circuit Court, does not occupy the same official position, and that the latter judge, when present, is *ex officio*, the presiding judge. It is obvious that confusion and uncertainty, which would greatly impair the respect due to the adjudications of the Circuit Courts of the United States, would result from the assumption of such an exercise of power by the District Judge. It would not only be disrespectful to the superior judge, but would evince in the District Judge an utter want of appreciation of his true official connection with the Circuit Court.

"Now, in passing upon the application of Rupert, Mr. Justice Swayne, in an opinion of some length, though not written, distinctly held that this Court would not grant the writ of *habeas corpus*, when it appeared that the detention or imprisonment was under military authority. It is true, that Rupert was a man in humble position, unknown beyond the narrow circle in which he moved; while the present petitioner has a wide-spread fame as a prominent politician and statesman. But no one will insist that there should be any difference in the principles applicable to the two cases. If any distinction were allowable, it would be against him of admitted intelligence and distinguished talents.

"I might, with entire confidence, place the grounds of action I propose in the present case upon the decision of the learned judge, in that just referred to. Even if I entertained doubts of the soundness of his views, I see no principle upon which I could be justified in treating the decision as void of authority. But the counsel of Mr. Vallandigham was not restricted in the argument of this motion to this point, but was allowed the widest latitude in the discussion of the principles involved. It seemed due to him that the Court should hear what could be urged against the legality of the arrest, and in favor of the interposition of the Court in behalf of the petitioner. And I have been greatly interested in the forcible argument which has been submitted, though unable to concur with the speaker in all his conclusions.

"If it were my desire to do so, I have not now the physical strength to notice or discuss at length the grounds on which the learned counsel has attempted to prove the illegality of General Burnside's order for the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham, and the duty of the Court to grant the writ applid for. The basis of the whole argument rests on the assumption that Mr. Vallandigham, not

being in the military or naval service of the Government, and not, therefore, subject to the Rules and Articles of War, was not liable to arrest under or by military power. And the various provisions of the Constitution, intended to guard the citizen against unlawful arrests and imprisonments, have been cited and urged upon the attention of the Court as having a direct bearing on the point. It is hardly necessary to quote these excellent guarantees of the rights and liberties of an American citizen, as they are familiar to every reader of the Constitution. And it may be conceded that if, by a just construction of the constitutional powers of the Government, in the solemn emergency now existing, they are applicable to and must control the question of the legality of the arrest of the petitioner, it can not be sustained, for the obvious reason that no warrant was issued 'upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation,' as is required in ordinary arrests for alleged crimes. But are there not other considerations of a controlling character applicable to the question? Is not the Court imperatively bound to regard the present state of the country, and, in the light which it throws upon the subject, to decide upon the expediency of interfering with the exercise of the military power as invoked in the pending application? The Court can not shut its eyes to the grave fact that war exists, involving the most imminent public danger, and threatening the subversion and destruction of the Constitution itself. In my judgment, when the life of the Republic is imperiled, he mistakes his duty and obligation as a patriot who is not willing to concede to the Constitution such a capacity of adaptation to circumstances as may be necessary to meet a great emergency, and save the nation from hopeless ruin. Self-preservation is a paramount law, which a nation, as well as an individual, may find it necessary to invoke. Nothing is hazarded in saying that the great and far-seeing men who framed the Constitution of the United States supposed they were laying the foundation of our National Government on an immovable basis. They did not contemplate the existence of the state of things with which the nation is now unhappily confronted, the heavy pressure of which is felt by every true patriot. They did not recognize the right of secession by one State, or any number of States, for the obvious reason that it would have been in direct conflict with the purpose in view in the adoption of the Constitution, and an incorporation of an element in the frame of the Government which would inevitably result in its destruction. In their glowing visions of futurity there was no foreshadowing of a period when the people of a large geographical section would be guilty of the madness and the crime of arraying themselves in rebellion against a Government under whose mild and benignant sway there was so much of hope and promise for the coming ages. We need not be surprised, therefore, that, in the organic law which they gave us, they made no specific provision for such a lamentable occurrence. They did, however, distinctly contemplate the possibility of foreign war, and vested in Congress the power to declare its existence, and 'to raise and support armies,' and 'provide and maintain a navy.' They also made provision for the suppression of insurrection and rebellion. They were aware that the grant of these powers implied all other powers necessary to give them full effect. They also declared that the President of the United States 'shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service,' and they placed upon him the solemn obligation 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' In reference to a local rebellion, in which the laws of the Union were obstructed, the act of the 28th of February, 1795 was passed, providing, in substance, that whenever, in any State, the civil authorities of the Union were unable to enforce the laws, the President shall be empowered to call out such military force as might be necessary for the emergency. Fortunately for the country, this law was in force when several States of the Union repudiated their allegiance to the National Government, and placed themselves in armed rebellion against it. It was sufficiently comprehensive in its terms to meet such an occurrence, although it was not a case within the contemplation of Congress when the law was enacted. It was under this statute that the President issued his proclamation of the 15th of April, 1861. From that time the country has been in a state of war, the history and progress of which are familiar to all. More than two years have elapsed, during which the treasure of the nation has been lavishly contributed, and blood has freely flowed, and this formidable rebellion is not yet subdued. The energies of the loyal people of the Union are to be put to further trials, and, in all probability, the enemy is yet to be encountered on many a bloody field.

"It is not to be disguised, then, that our country is in imminent peril, and that the crisis demands of every American citizen a hearty support of all proper means for the restoration of the

Union and the return of an honorable peace. Those placed by the people at the head of the Government, it may well be presumed, are earnestly and sincerely devoted to its preservation and perpetuity. The President may not be the man of our choice, and the measures of his Administration may not be such as all can fully approve. But these are minor considerations, and can absolve no man from the paramount obligation of lending his aid for the salvation of his country. All should feel that no evil they can be called on to endure, as the result of war, is comparable with the subversion of our chosen Government, and the horrors which must follow from such a catastrophe.

"I have referred thus briefly to the present crisis of the country as having a bearing on the question before the Court. It is clearly not a time when any one connected with the judicial department of the Government should allow himself, except from the most stringent obligations of duty, to embarrass or thwart the Executive in his efforts to deliver the country from the dangers which press so heavily upon it. Now, the question which I am called upon to decide is, whether General Burnside, as an agent of the executive department of the Government, has transgressed his authority in ordering the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. If the theory of his counsel is sustainable, that there can be no legal arrest except by warrant, based on an affidavit of probable cause, the conclusion would be clear that the arrest was illegal. But I do not think I am bound to regard the inquiry as occupying this narrow base. General Burnside, by the order of the President, has been designated and appointed to take the military supervision of the Department of the Ohio, composed of the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. The precise extent of his authority, in this responsible position, is not known to the Court. It may, however, be properly assumed, as a fair presumption, that the President has clothed him with all the powers necessary to the efficient discharge of his duties in the station to which he has been called. He is the representative and agent of the President within the limits of his Department. In time of war the President is not above the Constitution, but derives his power expressly from the provision of that instrument, declaring that he shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. The Constitution does not specify the powers he may rightfully exercise in this character, nor are they defined by legislation. No one denies, however, that the President, in this character, is invested with very high powers, which it is well known have been called into exercise on various occasions during the present rebellion. A memorable instance is seen in the emancipation proclamation, issued by the President as Commander-in-Chief, and which he justifies as a military necessity. It is, perhaps, not easy to define what acts are properly within this designation, but they must, undoubtedly, be limited to such as are necessary to the protection and preservation of the Government and the Constitution, which the President has sworn to support and defend. And in deciding what he may rightfully do under this power, where there is no express legislative declaration, the President is guided solely by his own judgment and discretion, and is only amenable for an abuse of his authority by impeachment, prosecuted according to the requirements of the Constitution. The occasion which justifies the exercise of this power exists only from the necessity of the case; and when the necessity exists there is a clear justification of the act.

"If this view of the power of the President is correct, it undoubtedly implies the right to arrest persons who, by their mischievous acts of disloyalty, impede or endanger the military operations of the Government. And, if the necessity exists, I see no reason why the power does not attach to the officer or General in command of a military department. The only reason why the appointment is made is, that the President can not discharge the duties in person. He, therefore constitutes an agent to represent him, clothed with the necessary power for the efficient supervision of the military interests of the Government throughout the Department. And it is not necessary that martial law should be proclaimed or exist, to enable the General in command to perform the duties assigned to him. Martial law is well defined by an able jurist to be 'the will of a military commander, operating, without any restraint save his judgment, upon the lives, upon the persons, upon the entire social and individual condition of all over whom this law extends.' It can not be claimed that this law was in operation in General Burnside's Department when Mr. Vallandigham was arrested. Nor is it necessary that it should have been in force to justify the arrest; the power is vested by virtue of the authority conferred by the appointment of the President. Under that appointment General Burnside assumed command of this Department. That he was a man eminently fitted for the position there is no room for a doubt.

He had achieved, during his brief military career, a national reputation as a wise, discreet, patriotic, and brave General. He not only enjoyed the confidence and respect of the President and Secretary of War, but of the whole country. He has nobly laid his party preferences and predilections upon the altar of his country, and consecrated his life to her service. It was known that the widely-extended Department, with the military supervision of which he was charged, was one of great importance, and demanded great vigilance and ability in the administration of its military concerns. Kentucky was a border State, in which there was a large element of disaffection toward the National Government, and sympathy with those in rebellion against it. Formidable invasions have been attempted, and are now threatened. Four of the States have a river border, and are in perpetual danger of invasion. The enforcement of the late conscription law was foreseen as a positive necessity. In Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois a class of mischievous politicians had succeeded in poisoning the minds of a portion of the community with the rankest feelings of disloyalty. Artful men, disguising their latent treason under hollow pretensions of devotion to the Union, were striving to disseminate their pestilent heresies among the masses of the people. The evil was one of alarming magnitude, and threatened seriously to impede the military operations of the Government, and greatly to protract the suppression of the rebellion. General Burnside was not slow to perceive the dangerous consequences of these disloyal efforts, and resolved, if possible, to suppress them. In the exercise of his discretion he issued the order—No. 38—which has been brought to the notice of the Court. I shall not comment on that order, or say anything more in vindication of its expediency. I refer to it only because General Burnside, in his manly and patriotic communication to the Court, has stated fully his motives and reasons for issuing it; and also that it was for its supposed violation that he ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. He has done this under his responsibility as the commanding General of this Department, and in accordance with what he supposed to be the power vested in him by the appointment of the President. It was virtually the act of the Executive Department under the power vested in the President by the Constitution; and I am unable to perceive on what principle a judicial tribunal can be invoked to annul or reverse it. In the judgment of the commanding General, the emergency required it, and whether he acted wisely or discreetly is not properly a subject for judicial review.

"It is worthy of remark here that this arrest was not made by General Burnside under any claim or pretension that he had authority to dispose of or punish the party arrested, according to his own will, without trial and proof of the facts alleged as the ground for the arrest, but with a view to an investigation by a Military Court or Commission. Such an investigation has taken place, the result of which has not been made known to this Court. Whether the Military Commission for the trial of the charges against Mr. Vallandigham was legally constituted and had jurisdiction of the case, is not a question before this Court. There is clearly no authority in this Court on the pending motion, to revise or reverse the proceedings of the Military Commission, if they were before the Court. The sole question is, whether the arrest was legal; and, as before remarked, its legality depends on the necessity which existed for making it; and of that necessity, for the reason stated, this Court can not judicially determine. General Burnside is unquestionably amenable to the executive department for his conduct. If he has acted arbitrarily and upon insufficient reasons, it is within the power, and would be the duty of the President, not only to annul his acts, but to visit him with decisive marks of disapprobation. To the President, as commander-in-chief of the army, he must answer for his official conduct. But, under our Constitution, which studiously seeks to keep the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the Government from all interference and conflict with each other, it would be an unwarrantable exercise of the judicial power to decide that a co-ordinate branch of the Government, acting under its high responsibilities, had violated the Constitution, in its letter or its spirit, by authorizing the arrest in question. Especially in these troublous times, when the national life is in peril, and when union and harmony among the different branches of the Government are so imperatively demanded, such interference would find no excuse or vindication. Each department of the Government must, to some extent, act on a presumption that a co-ordinate branch knows its powers and duties, and will not transcend them. If the doctrine is to obtain, that every one charged with, and guilty of, acts of mischievous disloyalty, not within the scope of criminal laws of the land, in custody under the military authority, is to be set free by courts or judges on *habeas corpus*, and that there is no power by which he may be temporarily placed where he can not perpetrate

mischief, it requires no argument to prove that the most alarming conflicts must follow, and the action of the Government be most seriously impaired. I dare not, in my judicial position, assume the fearful responsibility implied in the sanction of such a doctrine.

"And here, without subjecting myself to the charge of trenching upon the domain of political discussion, I may be indulged in the remark, that there is too much of the pestilential leaven of disloyalty in the community. There is a class of men in the loyal States who seem to have no just appreciation of the deep criminality of those who are in arms, avowedly for the overthrow of the Government, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. They have not, I fear, risen to any right estimate of their duties and obligations, as American citizens, to a Government which has strewn its blessings with a profuse hand, and is felt only in the benefits it bestows. I may venture the assertion that the page of history will be searched in vain for an example of a rebellion so wholly destitute of excuse or vindication, and so dark with crime, as that which our bleeding country is now called upon to confront, and for the suppression of which all her energies are demanded. Its cause is to be found in the unhallowed ambition of political aspirants and agitators, who boldly avow as their aim, not the establishment of a government for the better security of human rights, but one in which all political power is to be concentrated in an odious and despotic oligarchy. It is, indeed, consolatory to know that in most sections of the North those who sympathize with the rebellion are not so numerous or formidable as the apprehensions of some would seem to indicate. It may be assumed, I trust, that in most of the Northern States reliable and unswerving patriotism is the rule, and disloyalty and treason the exception. But there should be no division of sentiment upon this momentous question. Men should know, and lay the truth to heart, that there is a course of conduct not involving overt treason, or any offense technically defined by statute, and not, therefore, subject to punishment as such, which, nevertheless, implies moral guilt and gross offense against their country. Those who live under the protection and enjoy the blessings of our benignant Government, must learn that they can not stab its vitals with impunity. If they cherish hatred and hostility to it, and desire its subversion, let them withdraw from its jurisdiction, and seek the fellowship and protection of those with whom they are in sympathy. If they remain *with* us, while they are not *of* us, they must be subject to such a course of dealing as the great law of self-preservation prescribes and will enforce. And let them not complain, if the stringent doctrine of military necessity should find them to be the legitimate subjects of its action. I have no fears that the recognition of this doctrine will lead to an arbitrary invasion of the personal security or personal liberty of the citizen. It is rare, indeed, that a charge of disloyalty will be made upon insufficient grounds. But if there should be an occasional mistake, such an occurrence is not to be put in competition with the preservation of the life of the nation. And I confess I am but little moved by the eloquent appeals of those who, while they indignantly denounce violations of personal liberty, look with no horror upon a despotism as unmitigated as the world has ever witnessed.

"But I can not pursue this subject further. I have been compelled by circumstances to present my views in the briefest way. I am aware there are points made by the learned counsel representing Mr. Vallandigham, to which I have not adverted. I have had neither time nor strength for a more elaborate consideration of the questions involved in this application. For the reasons which I have attempted to set forth, I am led clearly to the conclusion that I can not judically pronounce the order of General Burnside for the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham as a nullity, and must, therefore, hold that no sufficient ground has been exhibited for granting the writ applied for. In reaching this result, I have not found it necessary to refer to the authorities which have been cited, and which are not controverted, for the obvious reason that they do not apply to the theory of this case, as understood and affirmed by the Court. And I may properly add here, that I am fortified in my conclusion by the fact, just brought to my notice, that the Legislature of Ohio, at its last session, has passed two statutes, in which the validity and legality of arrests in this State under military authority are distinctly sanctioned. This is a clear indication of the opinion of that body, that the rights and liberties of the people are not put in jeopardy by the exercise of the power in question, and is, moreover, a concession that the present state of the country requires and justifies is exercise. It is an intimation that the people of our patriotic State will sanction such a construction of the Constitution as, without a clear violation of its letter, will adapt it to the existing emergency.

"There is one other consideration to which I may, perhaps, properly refer, not as a reason

for refusing the writ applied for, but for the purpose of saying that, if granted, there is no probability that it would be available in relieving Mr. Vallandingham from his present position. It is, at least, morally certain, it would not be obeyed. And I confess I am somewhat reluctant to authorize a process, knowing it would not be respected, and that the Court is powerless to enforce obedience. Yet, if satisfied there were sufficient grounds for the allowance of the writ, the consideration to which I have adverted would not be conclusive against it.

"For these reasons I am constrained to refuse the writ."*

The Democratic party assailed this judicial decision with unwonted bitterness; and the correctness of parts of the opinion was doubted by many earnest supporters of the Government. It stood however as the law of the land; and under its influence the utterance of the sentiments to which Mr. Vallandigham had given so free expression, became much more guarded. A strong popular reaction set in in favor of the Government, and the soldiers had thenceforward less reason to complain of the "fire in the rear."

Since the war a subject similar in some of its features has been brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the Indiana Conspirators. The decision was adverse to some of the positions assumed by Judge Leavitt; and, freed from technical terms, was substantially that, in States not in rebellion, where the civil courts were in session and the territory was not the actual theater of war, such cases should be tried, not before military commissions, but in the ordinary tribunals, and with the accustomed forms of law.

*The above opinion, and the extracts from the speeches and other documents, have all been carefully revised by their respective authors. We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. R. W Carroll, whose publishing house brought them out in book form, for permission to use them here.

CHAPTER X.

ARMED RESISTANCE TO THE AUTHORITIES.

THE excited feeling among the Peace Democrats, of which Mr. Vallandigham's inflammatory speech at Mount Vernon was an exponent, continued for some months. One outbreak that threatened for a little time to prove serious had occurred in Noble County, before his arrest. Two occurred afterward; one, that in Dayton, growing immediately from it; the other arising in Holmes County out of resistance to the enrollment for a draft.

None of these were so serious or so wide-spread as the similar movements about the same time, in Indiana on the West, or in Pennsylvania and New York on the East; but they nevertheless rose to the importance of organized and armed efforts to resist the authorities; and no regard for the fair fame of the State should now lead to their concealment.

It was near the middle of March, 1863, that what the newspapers of the day called "the speck of war in Noble County" made its appearance. This county, in the south-eastern part of the State near the Virginia line, is rough, hilly, and sparsely peopled—in great part by an uneducated community of Virginia and Kentucky origin. Peace Democracy was the general political faith at that time, and the citizens had been not a little excited by seditious teachings, by their hostility to a draft, and by the indications that the fortune of war was going steadily against the Government.

Mr. Flamen Ball, then the United States District-Attorney for Southern Ohio, came into possession in February, of a letter written by F W Brown, a school-teacher in the village of Hoskinsville, Noble County, to Wesley McFarren, a private soldier of company G, Seventy-Eighth Ohio Infantry, denouncing the Administration, expressing opposition to the war, and urging McFarren to desert. The soldier did desert, and found harbor and concealment near Hoskinsville.

A Deputy United States Marshal and a corporal's guard from the One Hundred and Fifteenth Ohio, were thereupon dispatched from Cincinnati to arrest the deserter and the instigator of desertion. This force presently returned with the report that, at Hoskinsville, they had found the men they sought under the protection of nearly a hundred citizens, armed with shot guns, rifles, and muskets, and regularly organized and officered. The Captain pleasantly

proposed to the Deputy United States Marshal and squad, that they surrender and be paroled as prisoners of the Southern Confederacy!

On the 16th of March an order was thereupon issued by the post commandant at Cincinnati* to Captain L. T. Hake, to report with companies B and H, One Hundred and Fifteenth Ohio, with ten days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition, to United States Marshal A. C. Sands, to serve as his posse in making arrests in Noble County. On the evening of the 18th they reached Cambridge, the seat of justice of the adjoining county, where they received all possible aid and information from the inhabitants. Leaving the railroad, they now marched across the country to Hoskinsville. On the way word was received that the people were still in arms, and were determined to continue their resistance to the officers. But, on their arrival on the afternoon of the 20th, they found no force to meet them. The men had secreted themselves in the woods, and only a few frightened women and children were to be found. The business of searching for and arresting the parties concerned in the previous resistance to the Deputy Marshal was then begun, on the strength of an affidavit, before United States Commissioner Halliday, by Moses D. Hardy, giving names of some of them, as follows:

"William McCune, James McCune, Joseph McCune, Mahlon Belford, Absalom Willey, William Willey, Curtis Willey, Wesley Willey, Asher Willey, Milton Willey, Edmund G. Brown, William Campbell, Henry Campbell, William Pitcher, Joshua Pitcher, Joseph Pitcher, Andrew Coyle, John Coyle, Thomas Racey, John Racey, George A. Racey, Peter Racey, William Cain, Samuel Cain, Abel Cain, A. G. Stoneking, Samuel McFarren, Richard McFarren, Joel McFarren, David McFarren, Lewis Fisher, Milvin M. Fisher, James McKee, Benton McKee, William Archer, James Harkens, George Ziler, Peter Rodgers, William Lowe, Andrew Lowe, Samuel Marquis, Arthur Marquis, John Marquis, M. Norwood, Robert Boggs, Elisha Fogle, Abner Davis, William Davis, Taylor Burns, John Manifold, George Manifold, Henry Engle, Joshua Hillyer, Benton Thorle, Richard Burlingame, George Willey, H. Jones, Joseph Jones, Gordon Westcoll, G. E. Gaddis, William Engle, Jacob Trimble, Charles Brown, Andrew J. Brown, William Barnhouse."

The expedition remained, making arrests and searching for the guilty parties through the 20th, 21st, and 22d. It then marched to Sharon, then to Caldwell, the county seat, and thence to Point Pleasant—halting for the night and making arrests at each place. After thus marching over nearly the entire district in which the disaffection had been fomented, the command returned with its prisoners to Cambridge, where they were welcomed at a public banquet. Messrs. F. Clatworthy and E. Henderson acted as aids to the Marshal throughout.

Subsequently the following prisoners, thus arrested, were brought before the United States Court in Cincinnati, Judges Swayne and Leavitt presiding:

"Andrew Coyle, George Willey, Henry Engle, Lewis Fisher, Charles Brown, Andrew Brown, William Barnhouse, Gordon Westcoll, William Engle, Jacob Trimble, Samuel Marquis, William McCune, Joseph McCune, James McCune, Joshua Hillyer, Benton Thorle, Richard Burlingame, Samuel Cain, John Racey, William Norwood, Robert Boggs, Richard McFarren, Thomas Racey, George A. Racey, William Campbell, Henry Campbell, Harrison Jones, Joel McFarren, G E. Gaddis, William Lowe, John Willey, James McKee, James Harkens, Mahlon Belford, Samuel McFarren."

* Then Lieutenant-Colonel Eastman.

These were arraigned on indictment for obstructing process, and those of them named below plead guilty, and were fined and imprisoned:

"Samuel McGennis, Benton Thorle, William McCune, John Willey, James Harkins, William Lowe, Joel McFarren, Lewis Fisher, Mahlon Belford."

In the cases of Samuel McFarren, John Wesley McFarren, Curtis Willey, John Racey, Alexander McBride, Benton McKee, Tertullus W Brown, Andrew Coyle, Peter Racey, and James McKee, indictments for conspiracy were found; and Samuel McFarren, John Racey, and Andrew Coyle, were convicted, sentenced, and fined five hundred dollars each. T. W Brown made his escape, as did many others implicated, a number of them going to the territories.

The Noble County Republican (newspaper) stated that, at a meeting held by the men engaged in the protection of the deserter, resolutions had been passed, declaring, 1st, that they were in favor of the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is; 2d, that they would oppose all arbitrary arrests on the part of the Government; 3d, opposition to the enforcement of the conscription act; 4th, recommending the raising of money, by contribution, for the purchase of arms to enable them successfully to resist a draft, should another be ordered; 5th, the assassination of an obnoxious person.

How these brave words ended has been told. Quiet was restored in the county, and the healthy influence of the punishments inflicted was soon manifest in the tone of the community.

In speaking of Mr. Vallandigham's arrest, we have already mentioned the disturbances and incendiarism following it, which led to the proclamation of martial law in Montgomery County

The only remaining outbreak of importance was one in resistance to the enrollment for a draft in Holmes County, on the south-western verge of the Western Reserve, in the following June.

On the 5th, while the enrolling officer, Mr. E. W Robinson of Loudonville, was proceeding with his duty, he was attacked by some of the excited populace. Some stones were thrown, and he was told that if he ever returned on such work his life would be in danger. He reported the facts to Captain J L. Drake, Provost-Marshal of the district, who promptly arrested four of the ringleaders. The alarm however spread quickly, and before he had conveyed them to prison he was encountered near the village of Napoleon, by a force reported at the time to number sixty or seventy men, armed with rifles and revolvers. They demanded the immediate release of the prisoners, and he was forced to comply. Then they proceeded to revile him as a secessionist himself, declared that he should never again visit their township in his official capacity, and even levelled their guns upon him, ordering him to kneel in the road and take the oath of allegiance! Finally, however, with renewed warnings never to return, they suffered him to depart.

These occurrences were reported to Colonel Parrott, then the Provost-Marshal General of the State, and to Brigadier-General Mason, in command at Columbus. Colonel Wallace, of the Fifteenth Ohio, was ordered to the scene

of disturbance, with a force made up of scraps of commands found at Camp Chase—a part of the Third Ohio, the Governor's Guards, Sharp-Shooters from Camp Dennison, twenty Squirrel Hunters from Wooster, and a section of Captain Neil's Battery—in all about four hundred and twenty men. It was reported that they would find the malcontents in a regular fortified camp, with pickets, intrenchments, and cannon.

Governor Tod, anxious that bloodshed should be avoided if possible, prepared the following judicious proclamation:

"COLUMBUS, O., 16th June, 1863.

"*To the men who are now assembled in Holmes County for the purpose of using armed force in resisting the execution of the laws of the National Government:*

"I have heard with pain and deep mortification of your unlawful assemblage, and as Governor of the State to which you owe allegiance, and as the friend of law and order, as well as the friend of yourselves and your families, I call upon you at once to disperse and return to your quiet homes. This order must be immediately complied with, or the consequences to yourselves will be destructive in the extreme. The Government, both of the State and Nation, must and shall be maintained. Do not indulge the belief for a moment that there is not a power at hand to compel obedience to what I now require of you. Time can not be given you for schemes or machinations of any kind whatever. I have felt it my duty to give you this timely warning; and having done my duty, I sincerely hope you will do yours.

"DAVID TOD, Governor."

This, General Mason was requested to have sent forward under a flag of truce, before firing upon any party he might meet. If the party should then offer to disperse he asked that they might be permitted to do so. If they refused, he continued, with the indiscreet language that sometimes got the better of him, "*then show them no quarter whatever.*"*

On the morning of the 17th Colonel Wallace landed with his command at Lake Station, on the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad, twelve miles from Napoleon, where the malcontent camp was said to be located. Marching in that direction, he came upon the pickets about three miles south-east of the village, and drove them in. Then, throwing out skirmishers to the front, he advanced. A number of men stationed behind a rude stone breastwork delivered a single volley as the skirmishers approached, and then fled to the woods. The command pursued, taking two or three prisoners, and wounding two.† No organized force, however, was encountered after the first volley from behind the stone breastwork. Squads of men scouted through the hills, under the guidance of Union men of the neighborhood, and brought in six prisoners before evening.

Meantime leading Peace Democrats were striving to have all thought of resistance abandoned; and one of the rescued prisoners,‡ visiting the neighboring village of Williamsburg that night to ask re-enforcements, met with a very cold reception. Finally a committee of both parties was appointed to visit the camp and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. Hon. D. P Leadbetter, ex-sheriff John French, Llewellyn Allison, and Colonel D. French represented the Democrats, and Robert Long and Colonel Baker the Unionists.

* Ex. Doc. 1863, part I, p. 297.

† George Butler and ——— Brown, both shot through the thigh.

‡ Wm. Greiner.

On the morning of the 18th they waited upon Colonel Wallace, and finally agreed to visit the insurgents and try to secure the surrender of the prisoners. The Democratic members spent the day in visits to different squads of those in arms; and by evening returned with the promise that, the next day, such men as were wanted would be delivered. Next morning Mr. Leadbetter and Colonel French appeared with the four rescued prisoners, William Greiner, Jacob Stuber, Simeon Snow, and Peter Stuber. They promised to deliver the ringleaders in the rescue, Lorenzo Blanchard, Peter Kaufman, James Still, William H. Dyal, Emanuel Bach, Godfrey Steiner, and —— Henderson, and with this understanding Colonel Wallace returned with his command to Columbus.

It was reported in the newspapers at the time, and generally believed, that over a thousand men had been in the insurgent camp the previous Sunday, either as combatants or as auditors to the inflammatory speeches that were then made. A considerable store of cooked provisions was found in houses in the neighborhood. They had four little howitzers; and, on Colonel French's admission, there were nine hundred men fully armed.

With the subsidence of this difficulty, the violent passions that had been engendered were turned into a new channel. The great Vallandigham and Brough political campaign absorbed the energies of all: and its result was such as to end all efforts at resistance to the authorities.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

WE have seen that before the outbreak of the war Governor Chase had sought to revive the despised militia system of Ohio; that the few militia companies thus kept up were seized upon, when the guns of Sumter rang across the Land, for organizing the first regiments hurried to the field; that thenceforward, in the stern presence of a war that called for volunteers by the hundred thousand, militia and musters fell into utter neglect. But the alarm along the border in the fall of 1862, and particularly the siege of Cincinnati, served to illustrate the mistake thus made. The State, while crowding brigades of her sons to the front armed and equipped for battle, was bare and defenseless at home. A handful of bold riders could throw a great city into a panic; a regiment or two could convulse the State, ring alarm bells throughout her limits, and summon the crude, unorganized swarms of Squirrel Hunters to ready but unsatisfactory service in her defense.

The lesson was not lost upon the people; and their representatives in the State Legislature—assembling a few months later in adjourned session—were made to understand that a satisfactory organization of the militia of the State, and the complete arming and equipment of a sufficient number of them for immediate service in such sudden emergencies, were popular demands.

Governor Tod fully appreciated the general feeling, as well as the palpable necessity which suggested it. In his message to the Legislature, at the opening of the session of 1863, he said:

"The necessity of a thorough organization of the militia of the State, must now be apparent to all, and your attention is earnestly invited to the subject. A plan, embracing my views and opinions on this important subject, will be presented for the consideration of the military committee of the House in a few days. I have given the matter much consideration, and hope that my labors may prove of service to the committee."

Throughout the session the committees continued to labor upon the subject. At last, after considerable partisan opposition, and only in the last hours of the session, a bill was passed "to organize and discipline the militia of Ohio." It was the basis of the organization that afterward enabled Governor Brough, at scarcely two days' notice, to throw to the front at the critical hour of the Eastern campaign, the magnificent re-enforcement of forty thousand Ohio National Guards.

The bill kept in view throughout two objects: First, it was to secure the enrollment, organization, and, as far as might be, the drill of the entire military strength of the State, including every able-bodied man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five; and, second, it was to provide for a force of volunteers raised from this militia, who should be armed, uniformed, and equipped, and should be instantly available at any sudden call for the defense of the State. These distinct classes were to be designated respectively the Ohio Militia and the Ohio Volunteer Militia.

It was accordingly provided that the assessors should make an enrollment, and return the same to the county auditor, and proper penalties were imposed for any efforts to deceive the assessors or defeat the enrollment. The township trustees were to hear applications for exemption, divide their localities into company districts, and order elections for company officers, the returns of which should be made to the county sheriffs. The sheriffs should then organize the companies into regiments and order the election of regimental officers; and the Governor was empowered to consolidate these regiments, or order the organization of new ones, as the good of the service should seem to require—while regimental officers could do the same as to companies. Thus the "Ohio Militia" was to be made up.

The "Ohio Volunteer Militia" was to be composed of such companies or batteries as the Governor should choose to accept; it was to be fully armed and equipped, and its members were to provide themselves with United States regulation uniforms; it was to muster on the last Saturday of each September, at the same time with the militia, and was, beside, to have not less than two additional musters each year; it was to be subject to the first call in case of invasion or of riot; it was to unite with the officers of the militia in the last two of the eight days' encampment for "officers' muster" for which the act provided. The volunteer companies were to draw two hundred dollars per year from the State military fund (batteries at the rate of one hundred dollars for every two guns), for the care of arms and incidental expenses; their members were to be held for five years, and at the end of that time they were to be exempt from further military duty of any kind in time of peace.

The bill was long and complicated; it was incumbered with much machinery for Courts of Inquiry, fines, elections of company, regimental, and even brigade commanders, transportation to officers' musters, payment of encampment expenses, and all manner of minutiæ; but the above were its essential features.

In organizing the militia under this law Governor Tod derived invaluable aid from his Adjutant-General. This officer* had been a devoted militia-man in the old peaceful times. His little field-service had not been brilliant, and, indeed, was then resting under weighty, though unjust, censure. But he was earnest, laborious, possessed of considerable system, familiar with the wants of the militia service, and capable of infinite attention to small things—peculiarly qualified, in fact, for the onerous task to which he was now called.

*General Charles W. Hill.

He at once undertook the enforcement of the new law. At the outset it was found to be so cumbrous that the newspapers would not print it; and so complicated that, even after it was circulated in pamphlet form, those who had most interest in it could scarcely understand its provisions. At last the Adjutant-General had resort to public meetings. He itinerated in the interest of the militia system through the State, held meetings and made speeches at Marietta, Dayton, Cleveland, Wooster, Mansfield, Norwalk, Elyria, Newark, Zanesville, Lebanon, Cincinnati, Portsmouth, Ironton, Gallipolis, Pomeroy, London, Delaware, Urbana, Piqua, and Toledo. The Quartermaster-General assisted him at some of these places, and made speeches alone at some others. Finally additional meetings were held on the 6th and 7th of July, 1863, in Cincinnati. There was trouble in procuring arms, and some slowness among the people in aiding to get the system into operation, but by the end of the first week in July the returns of company elections were beginning to come in.

Then came the Morgan raid, suspending all work of this kind, and plunging the State once more into the spasmodic effort of unorganized masses to oppose on the instant an organized and swiftly-moving foe.

The exhaustion which followed, and the necessary attention to ordinary business which had been neglected during the invasion, wrought still further delay. Then scarcely any arms could be secured for cavalry or artillery. Uniforms were, however, obtained at less than Government rates,* and the organizing companies took prompt advantage of this excellent arrangement.

To the encampments and officers' musters the Adjutant-General was particularly attentive. He succeeded in getting grounds, fuel, water, and the like necessaries free of expense to the State, by convincing the towns at which encampments were to be held of the business advantages that would thus accrue. He had competent and experienced officers assigned to each, and at three he himself assumed personal command. The militia officers and the volunteer companies were kept at drill during the time prescribed by law, and the organization was thus given shape and cohesion.

As the result of these labors, he was able at the end of the year to report an organized militia of one hundred and sixty-seven thousand five hundred and seventy-two men, and a volunteer militia, equipped and available for duty at any hour's call, forty-three thousand nine hundred and thirty strong.†

Governor Tod justly reported in his last message that the services of the Adjutant-General in this work could not be too highly commended. We shall have occasion to see how, within a few months, it was to prove a thing of National significance; and we can not better conclude this too brief account of a great task well accomplished, than in the words of pregnant advice which Gen-

* Fatigue suit, cap, lined blouse, and trowsers, at seven dollars and twenty-one cents; and full-dress suit, with hat trimmed, at twelve dollars and seventy-two cents.

† Of these, thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three were uniformed before the 1st of November, 1863, and thirty-two thousand one hundred and thirty-five had been in attendance at the fall encampments. They had voluntarily expended, for uniforms and other articles of outfit, up to that time, three hundred and thirty-four thousand two hundred and four dollars and

eral Hill gave, in turning over the subject to his successor. They were to have a wider application than he then imagined:

"Keeping in mind the probabilities, or even possibilities, of having to call the troops for service before midsummer, it is recommended that all of the preparations be made early, and that the encampments commence in time to be completed by the first week in July. Every organization will thus be brought into good working order, and ready for efficient service. If the State is menaced, or a raid or invasion comes, its ability to put any requisite number of effective troops in the right positions at once, will be a mere question of railroad transportation, and if the year brings no such occasion for service, there will be the satisfaction of knowing that the State is ready."

eighty-two cents. The Adjutant-General does not report the distribution of these volunteers among the several counties, but he gives the following enrollment of the militia in each county:

COUNTIES.	Number of Enrollment.	COUNTIES.	Number of Enrollm't.
Adams	3,336	Logan	3,518
Allen	3,356	Lorain	4,015
Ashland	3,049	Lucas	5,339
Ashtabula	4,231	Madison	1,894
Athens	2,574	Mahoning	3,574
Auglaize	2,644	Marion	2,878
Belmont	4,095	Medina	2,917
Brown	3,861	Meigs	3,991
Butler	5,993	Mercer	1,730
Carroll	2,126	Miami	4,485
Champaign	3,769	Monroe	2,959
Clark	4,102	Montgomery	7,430
Clermont	4,416	Morgan	3,157
Clinton	2,991	Morrow	2,891
Columbiana	4,605	Muskingum	5,583
Coshocton	3,100	Noble	2,830
Crawford	3,122	Ottaway	1,183
Cuyahoga	11,188	Paulding	788
Darke	4,552	Perry	2,289
Defiance	1,802	Pickaway	3,561
Delaware	2,929	Pike	1,572
Erie	3,556	Portage	3,778
Fairfield	4,432	Preble	3,573
Fayette	2,426	Putnam	1,751
Franklin	6,904	Richland	3,880
Fulton	2,563	Ross	4,620
Gallia	2,949	Sandusky	3,296
Geauga	2,205	Scioto	3,116
Greene	3,728	Seneca	3,808
Guernsey	2,982	Shelby	2,711
Hamilton	41,960	Stark	6,482
Hancock	3,098	Summit	3,643
Hardin	2,974	Trumbull	4,425
Harrison	3,092	Tuscarawas	4,042
Henry	1,472	Union	2,631
Highland	3,687	Van Wert	1,516
Hocking	2,584	Vinton	1,723
Holmes	2,549	Warren	3,872
Huron	5,038	Washington	4,829
Jackson	2,453	Wayne	5,140
Jefferson	3,905	Williams	2,659
Knox	3,381	Wood	2,713
Lake	2,373	Wyandot	2,841
Lawrence	2,965		
Licking	5,009	Total	345,593

CHAPTER XII.

THE MORGAN RAID THROUGH OHIO.

LITTLE progress had been made in the organization of the State Militia, when, in July, 1863, there came another sudden and pressing demand for it.

Rosecrans lay at Stone River menacing Bragg at Tullahoma. Burnside was at Cincinnati organizing a force for the redemption of East Tennessee, which was already moved well down toward the confines of that land of steadfast but sore-tried loyalty. Bragg felt himself unable to confront Rosecrans; Buckner had in East Tennessee an inadequate force to confront Burnside. But the communications of both Rosecrans and Burnside ran through Kentucky, covered mostly by the troops (numbering perhaps ten thousand in all) under General Judah. If these communications could be threatened, this last force would at least be kept from re-enforcing Rosecrans or Burnside, and the advance of one or both of these officers might be delayed. So reasoned Bragg, as, with anxious forebodings, he looked about the lowering horizon for aid in his extremity.

He had an officer who carried the reasoning to a bolder conclusion. If, after a raid through Kentucky, which should endanger the communications and fully occupy General Judah, he could cross the Border, and carry terror to the peaceful homes of Indiana and Ohio, he might create such a panic as should delay the new troops about to be sent to Rosecrans, and derange the plans of the campaign. There was no adequate force, he argued, in Indiana or Ohio to oppose him; he could brush aside the local militia like house-flies, and outride any cavalry that should be sent in pursuit; while in his career he would inevitably draw the whole Union force in Kentucky after him, thus diminishing the pressure upon Bragg and delaying the attack upon East Tennessee. This was John Morgan's plan.

Bragg did not approve it. He ordered Morgan to make a raid into Kentucky; gave him *carte blanche* to go wherever he chose in that State; and particularly urged upon him to attempt the capture of Louisville; but forbade the crossing of the Ohio. Then he turned to the perils with which Rosecrans's masterly strategy was environing him.

Morgan prepared at once to execute his orders; but at the same time he

gave confidential information to Basil W Duke, his next in command, of his intention to disregard Bragg's prohibition. He even went further. Weeks before his movement began he sent men to examine the fords of the upper Ohio—that at Buffington Island among them—and expressed an intention to re-cross in that vicinity, unless Lee's movements in Pennsylvania should make it advisable to continue his march on Northern soil, until he thus joined the army of Northern Virginia.*

Here then was a man who knew precisely what he wanted to do. He arranged a plan, far-reaching, comprehensive, and perhaps the boldest that the cavalry service of the war disclosed; and before the immensely superior forces which he evaded could comprehend what he was about, he had half executed it.

On the 2d of July he began to cross the Cumberland at Burkesville and Turkey-Neck Bend, almost in the face of Judah's cavalry, which, lying twelve miles away at Marrowbone, trusted to the swollen river as sufficient to render the crossing impracticable. The mistake was fatal. Before Judah moved down to resist, two regiments and portions of others were across. With these Morgan attacked, drove the cavalry into its camp at Marrowbone, and was then checked by the artillery But his crossing was thus secured, and long before Judah could get his forces gathered together Morgan was half way to Columbia. He had two thousand four hundred and sixty men all told. Before him lay three States, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, which he meant to traverse; one filled with hostile troops, the others with a hostile and swarming population.

*The above statement differs widely from the common understanding of Morgan's movement into Indiana and Ohio as a last desperate resort, never originally contemplated, and finally adopted only because the Union cavalry was so close upon him that he could do nothing else. But to one who remembers what Morgan had already done in the way of evading pursuers, and recalls the fact that when he reached the Ohio, the pursuing cavalry was full forty miles behind him, this will seem inherently improbable. Partly for this reason, partly because of corroborating circumstances, and partly because of the general candor and seeming trustworthiness of his account, I have preferred to follow the statements of Basil W. Duke. In his "History of Morgan's Cavalry" (pp. 409, 410, 411), he gives substantially the above version of the conference between Bragg and Morgan, and of the latter's avowed determination to disobey Bragg's order against crossing the Ohio; and (p. 429) thus scouts the theory that the raid north of the river was an afterthought, and an expedient to which Morgan's desperate condition drove him:

"It has been frequently surmised in the North that Morgan crossed the Ohio River to escape from Hobson. Of all the many wild and utterly absurd ideas which have prevailed regarding the late war, this is perhaps the most preposterous. Hobson was from twenty-four to thirty-six hours behind us—he was at any rate a good fifty miles in our rear, and could learn our track only by following it closely. General Morgan, if anxious to escape Hobson, and actuated by no other motive, would have turned at Bardstown and gone out of Kentucky through the western part of the State, where he would have encountered no hostile force that he could not have easily repulsed. It was not too late to pursue the same general route when we were at Garnettsville. To rush across the Ohio River as a means of escape would have been the choice of an idiot. That military men in the North should have entertained this opinion, proves only that in armies so vast there must necessarily be many men of very small capacity. General Morgan certainly believed that he could, with energy and care, preserve his men from capture after crossing the Ohio, but he no more believed that it would be safer, after having gained the northern side of the river, than he believed it was safer in Kentucky than south of the Cumberland."

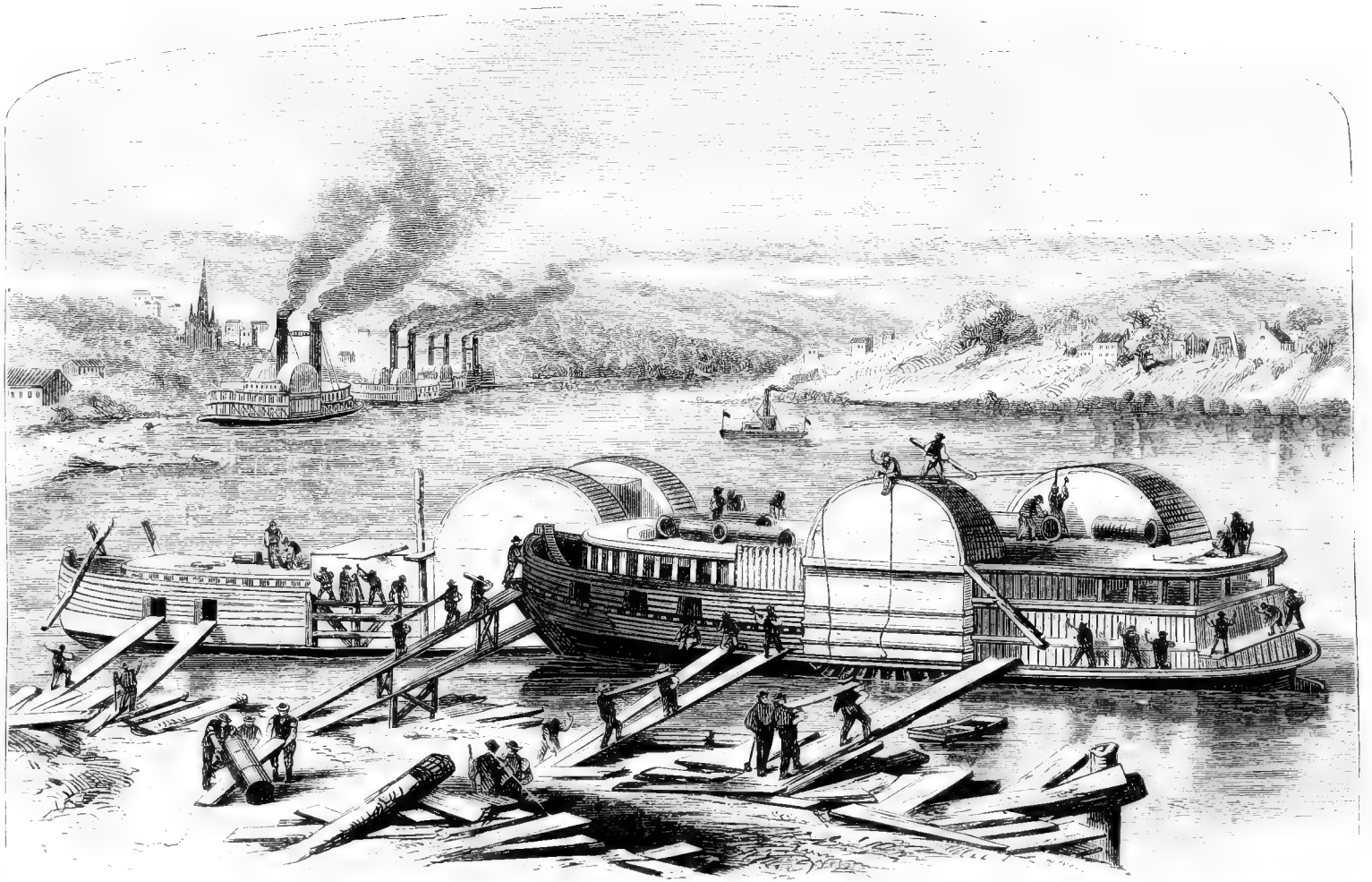
The next day, at the crossing of Green River, he came upon Colonel Moore with a Michigan regiment, whom he vainly summoned to surrender and vainly strove to dislodge. The fight was severe for the little time it lasted; and Morgan, who had no time to spare, drew off, found another crossing, and pushed on through Campbellsville to Lebanon. Here came the last opportunity to stop him. Three regiments held the position, but two of them were at some little distance from the town. Falling upon the one in the town he overwhelmed it before the others could get up, left them hopelessly in his rear, and double-quicked his prisoners eight miles northward to Springfield before he could stop long enough to parole them.* Then turning north-westward, with his foes far behind him, he marched straight for Brandenburg, on the Ohio River some sixty miles below Louisville. A couple of companies were sent forward to capture boats for the crossing; others were detached to cross below and effect a diversion; and still others were sent toward Crab Orchard to distract the attention of the Union commanders. He tapped the telegraph wires, thereby finding that he was expected at Louisville and that the force there was too strong for him; captured a train from Nashville within thirty miles of Louisville; picked up squads of prisoners here and there, and paroled them. By ten o'clock on the morning of the 8th his horsemen stood on the banks of the Ohio. They had crossed Kentucky in five days.

When the advance companies, sent forward to secure boats, entered Brandenburg, they took care to make as little confusion as possible. Presently the Henderson and Louisville packet, the J. J. McCoombs, came steaming up the river, and landed as usual at the wharfboat. As it made fast its lines, thirty or forty of "Morgan's men" quietly walked on board and took possession. Soon afterward the Alice Dean, a fine boat running in the Memphis and Cincinnati trade, came around the bend. As she gave no sign of landing, they steamed out to meet her, and before captain or crew could comprehend the matter, the Alice Dean was likewise transferred to the Confederate service. When Morgan rode into town, a few hours later, the boats were ready for his crossing.

Indiana had just driven out a previous invader—Captain Hines, of Morgan's command, who, with a small force, had crossed over "to stir up the Copperheads," as the Rebel accounts pleasantly express it. Finding the country too hot for him, he had retired, after doing considerable damage; and in Brandenburg he was now awaiting his chief.

Preparations were at once made for crossing over. But the men crowding down incautiously to the river bank, revealed their presence to the militia on the Indiana side, whom Captain Hines's recent performance had made unwontedly watchful. They at once opened a sharp fusillade across the stream with musketry and with an old cannon, which they had mounted on wagon wheels. Morgan speedily silenced this fire by bringing up his Parrott rifles; then hastily dismounted two of his regiments and sent them across. The militia retreated.

*Some horrible barbarities to one or two of these prisoners were charged against him in the newspapers of the day.



FITTING OUT GUNBOATS AT CINCINNATI.

and the two Rebel regiments pursued. Just then a little tin-clad, the Springfield, which Commander Leroy Fitch had dispatched from New Albany on the first news of something wrong down the river, came steaming toward the scene of action. "Suddenly checking her way," writes the Rebel historian of the raid,* "she tossed her snub nose defiantly, like an angry beauty of the coal-pits, sidled a little toward the town, and commenced to scold. A bluish-white funnel-shaped cloud spouted out from her left-hand bow, and a shot flew at the town, and then changing front forward she snapped a shell at the men on the other side. I wish I were sufficiently master of nautical phraseology to do justice to this little vixen's style of fighting; but she was so unlike a horse, or even a piece of light artillery, that I can not venture to attempt it." He adds that the Rebel regiments on the Indiana side found shelter, and that thus the gunboat fire proved wholly without effect. After a little Morgan trained his Parrotts upon her; and the inequality in the range of the guns was such that she speedily turned up the river again.

The situation had seemed sufficiently dangerous. Two regiments were isolated on the Indiana side; the gunboat was between them and their main body; while every hour of delay brought Hobson nearer on the Kentucky side, and speeded the mustering of the Indiana militia. But the moment the gunboat turned up the river all danger, for the present, was past. Morgan rapidly crossed the rest of his command, burned the boats behind him, scattered the militia, and rode out into Indiana. There was yet time to make a march of six miles before nightfall.

The task now before Morgan was a simple one, and for several days could not be other than an easy one. His distinctly-formed plan was to march through Southern Indiana and Ohio, avoiding large towns and large bodies of militia, spreading alarm through the country, making all the noise he could, and disappearing again across the upper fords of the Ohio before the organizations of militia could get such shape and consistency as to be able to make head against him. For some days at least he need expect no adequate resistance; and while the bewilderment as to his purposes and uncertainty as to the direction he was taking should paralyze the gathering militia, he meant to place many a long mile between them and his hard-riders.

Spreading, therefore, all manner of reports as to his purposes, and assuring the most that he meant to penetrate to the heart of the State and lay Indianapolis in ashes, he turned the heads of his horses up the river toward Cincinnati, scattered the militia with the charges of his advance brigade, burnt bridges and cut telegraph wires right and left, marched twenty-one hours out of the twenty-four, and rarely made less than fifty or sixty miles a day.

His movement had at first attracted little attention. The North was used to having Kentucky in a panic about invasion from John Morgan, and had come to look upon it mainly as a suggestion of a few more blooded horses from the "Blue Grass" that were to be speedily impressed into the Rebel service. Get-

* Duke's History Morgan's Cavalry, p. 433.

tysburg had just been fought; Vicksburg had just fallen—what were John Morgan and his horse-thieves? Let Kentucky guard her own stables against her own outlaws!

Presently he came nearer, and Louisville fell into a panic. Martial law was proclaimed; business was suspended; every preparation for defense was hastened. Still few thought of danger beyond the river; and the most, remembering the siege of Cincinnati, were disposed to regard as very humorous the ditching and the drill by the terrified people of the Kentucky metropolis.

Then came the crossing. The Governor of Indiana straightway proclaimed martial law, and called out the Legion. General Burnside was full of wise plans for "bagging" the invader, of which the newspapers gave mysterious hints. Thoroughly trustworthy gentlemen hastened with their "reliable reports" of the Rebel strength. They had stood on the wharfboat and kept tally as the cavalry crossed; and there was not a man less than five thousand of them! Others had talked with them, and been confidentially assured that they were going up to Indianapolis to burn the State House. Others, on the same veracious authority, were assured that they were heading for New Albany and Jeffersonville to burn Government stores. The militia everywhere were sure that it was their duty to gather in their own towns and keep Morgan off; and, in the main, he saved them the trouble by riding around. Hobson came lumbering along in the rear—riding his best, but finding it hard to keep the trail, harder to procure fresh horses, since of these Morgan made a clean sweep as he went, and impossible to narrow the distance between them to less than twenty-four hours.

Still the true purpose of the movement was not divined—its very audacity was its protection. General Burnside concluded that Hobson was pressing the invaders so hard, forsooth, that they must swim their horses across the Ohio below Madison, to escape, and his dispositions for intercepting them proceeded upon that theory. The Louisville packets were warned not to leave Cincinnati lest Morgan should bring them to with his artillery, and force them to ferry him back into Kentucky. Efforts were made to raise regiments to aid the Indianians—if only to reciprocate the favor they had shown when Cincinnati was under siege—but the people were tired of such alarms, and could not be induced to believe in the danger.

By Sunday,* three days after Morgan's entry upon Northern soil, the authorities had advanced their theory of his plans to correspond with the news of his movements. They now thought he would swim the Ohio a little below Cincinnati, at or near Aurora. But the citizens were more apprehensive. They began to talk about "a sudden dash into the city." The Mayor requested that business be suspended, and that the citizens assemble in their respective wards for defense. Finally General Burnside came to the same view, proclaimed martial law, and ordered the suspension of business. Navigation was practically stopped, and gunboats scoured the river banks to remove all scows and flatboats which might aid Morgan in his escape to the Kentucky shore.

Later in the evening apprehensions that, after all, Morgan might not be so

* 12th July.

anxious to escape, prevailed. Governor Tod was among the earliest to recognize the danger; and while there was still time to secure insertion in the newspapers of Monday morning, he telegraphed to the press a proclamation calling out the militia:

"COLUMBUS, July 12, 1863.

"TO THE PRESS OF CINCINNATI:

"WHEREAS, This State is in imminent danger of invasion by an armed force, now, therefore, to prevent the same, I, David Tod, Governor of the State of Ohio, and Commander-in-Chief of the militia force thereof, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of said State, do hereby call into active service that portion of the militia force which has been organized into companies within the counties of Hamilton, Butler, Montgomery, Clermont, Brown, Clinton, Warren, Greene, Fayette, Ross, Monroe, Washington, Morgan, Noble, Athens, Meigs, Scioto, Jackson, Adams, Vinton, Hocking, Lawrence, Pickaway, Franklin, Madison, Fairfield, Clark, Preble, Pike, Gallia, Highland, and Perry. I do hereby further order all such forces residing within the counties of Hamilton, Butler, and Clermont, to report forthwith to Major-General A. E. Burnside, at his head-quarters in the city of Cincinnati, who is hereby authorized and required to cause said forces to be organized into battalions or regiments, and appoint all necessary officers therefor. And it is further ordered that all such forces residing in the counties of Montgomery, Warren, Clinton, Fayette, Ross, Highland, and Boone, report forthwith to Colonel Neff, the military commander at Camp Dennison, who is hereby authorized to organize said forces into battalions or regiments, and appoint, temporarily, officers therefor; and it is further ordered, that of all such forces residing in the counties of Franklin, Madison, Clark, Greene, Pickaway, and Fairfield, report forthwith at Camp Chase, to Brigadier-General John S. Mason, who is hereby authorized to organize said forces into battalions or regiments, and appoint, temporarily, officers therefor; it is further ordered that all of such forces residing in the counties of Washington, Monroe, Noble, Meigs, Morgan, Perry, Hocking, and Athens, report forthwith to Colonel William R. Putnam at Camp Marietta, who is hereby authorized to organize said forces into battalions or regiments, and appoint, temporarily, officers therefor.

"DAVID TOD, Governor."

It was high time. Not even yet had the authorities begun to comprehend the tremendous energy with which Morgan was driving straight to his goal. While the people of Cincinnati were reading this proclamation, and considering whether or not they should put up the shutters on their store-windows,* Morgan was starting out in the gray dawn from Summansville, for the suburbs of Cincinnati. Long before the rural population within fifty miles of the city had read the proclamation calling them to arms he was at Harrison.†

"Here," pleasantly explains his historian,‡ "General Morgan began to maneuver for the benefit of the commanding officer at Cincinnati. He took it for granted that there was a strong force of regular troops in Cincinnati. Burnside had them not far off, and General Morgan supposed that they would of course be brought there. If we could get past Cincinnati safely the danger of the expedition, he thought, would be more than half over. Here he expected to be confronted by the concentrated forces of Judah and Burnside, and he anticipated great difficulty in eluding or cutting his way through them. Once safely through this peril, his escape would be certain, unless the river remained

*Many business men wholly disobeyed the orders, and kept their stores or shops open through the day.

†He reached Harrison at one P. M. on this same Monday, 13th July.

‡Duke's History "Morgan's Cavalry," pp. 439, 440.

so high that the transports could carry troops to intercept him at the upper crossings."—Unless, indeed! " . His object therefore, entertaining these views, and believing that the great effort to capture him would be made as he crossed the Hamilton and Dayton Railroad, was to deceive the enemy as to the exact point where he would cross this road, and denude that point as much as possible of troops. He sent detachments in various directions, seeking however to create the impression that he was marching to Hamilton."

This was wise and prudent action in the audacious Rebel commander; but, well as he generally read the purposes of his antagonists, he here made one mistake. He supposed that he was to be confronted by military men, acting on military principles.

As it was, he deceived everybody. The Hamilton people telegraphed in great alarm that Morgan was marching on their town. A fire was seen burning at Venice, and straightway they threw out pickets to guard the main roads in that direction and watch for Morgan's coming. Harrison sent in word of the passage of the Rebel cavalry through that place at one o'clock, and of the belief that they were going to Hamilton. Wise deputy sheriffs, who had been captured by Morgan and paroled, hastened to tell that the Rebel chief had conversed with them very freely; had shown no hesitation in speaking of his plans, and had assured them he was going to Hamilton. All this was retailed at the head-quarters, on the streets, in the newspaper offices.

That night, while the much-enduring printers were putting such stories in type, John Morgan's entire command, now reduced to a strength of bare two thousand,* was marching through the suburbs of this city of a quarter of a million inhabitants, within reach of troops enough to eat them up, absolutely unopposed, almost without meeting a solitary picket, or receiving a hostile shot!

"In this night-march around Cincinnati," writes again the historian of Morgan's cavalry,† "we met with the greatest difficulty in keeping the column together. The guides were all in front with General Morgan, who rode at the head of the second brigade, then marching in advance. This brigade had, consequently, no trouble. But the first brigade was embarrassed beyond measure. Cluke's regiment was marching in the rear of the second, and if it had kept closed up we would have had no trouble, for the entire column would have been directed by the guides. But this regiment, although composed of superb material and unsurpassed in fighting qualities, had from the period of its organization, been under lax and careless discipline, and the effect of it was now observable. The rear companies straggled, halted, delayed the first brigade—for it was impossible to ascertain immediately whether the halt was that of the brigade in advance or only of these stragglers—and when forced to move on they would go off at a gallop. A great gap would be thus opened between the rear of our brigade and the advance of the other; and we, who were behind, were forced to grope our way as we best could. When we would come to one of the many

* Duke says less than two thousand; and from what we now know of the extent to which straggling and desertion had gone in their ranks, this seems probable.

† Ibid, p. 443.

junctions of roads which occur in the suburbs of a large city, we would be compelled to consult all sorts of indications in order to hit upon the right road. The night was intensely dark, and we would set on fire large bundles of paper or splinters of wood to afford a light. The horses' tracks on roads so much traveled would give us no clue to the route which the other brigade had taken at such points; but we could trace it by noticing the direction in which the dust 'settled' or floated. We could also trace the column by the slaver dropped from the horses' mouths. It was a terrible, trying march. Strong men fell out of their saddles, and at every halt the officers were compelled to move continually about in their respective companies, and pull and haul the men, who would drop asleep in the road—it was the only way to keep them awake. Quite a number crept off into the fields and slept until they were awakened by the enemy At length day appeared, just as we reached the last point where we had to anticipate danger. We had passed through Glendale and across all of the principal suburban roads, and were near the Little Miami Railroad. Those who have marched much at night will remember that the fresh air of morning almost invariably has a cheering effect upon the tired and drowsy, and awakens and invigorates them. It had this effect upon our men on this occasion, and relieved us also from the necessity of groping our way. We crossed the railroad without opposition, and halted to feed the horses in sight of Camp Dennison. After a short rest here and a picket skirmish, we resumed our march, burning in this neighborhood a park of Government wagons. That evening at four o'clock we were at Williamsburg, twenty-eight miles east of Cincinnati, having marched, since leaving Summansville in Indiana, in a period of about thirty-five hours, more than ninety miles—the greatest march that even Morgan had ever made. Feeling comparatively safe here he permitted the division to go into camp and remain during the night."

From this picture, by a participant of the march of two thousand Rebel cavalry unopposed through the suburbs of Cincinnati, we turn to the heart of the city. Through the day there had been a little excitement and some drilling. Part of the business houses were closed, but the attendance at the ward meetings was very meager. General Cox, under directions from General Burnside, had divided the city and county into militia districts, assigned commanders to each, and ordered the completion of the organizations.* The district command-

* The following are the orders in question:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF OHIO,
"*Cincinnati*, July 13, 1863.

"SPECIAL ORDERS No. —.

"I. For the more perfect organization of militia of the city of Cincinnati, the city is divided into four districts, as follows: First District, consisting of the First, Third, Fourth, and Seventeenth Wards, under command of Brigadier-General S. D. Sturgis, head-quarters, Broadway Hotel. Second District, consisting of Second, Fifth, Sixth, and Fourteenth Wards, under command of Major Malcom McDowell, head-quarters, Burnet House. Third District, consisting of Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Wards, under command of Brigadier-General Jacob Ammen, head-quarters, Orphan Asylum. Fourth District, consisting of the Eighth, Twelfth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Wards, under command of Colonel Granville Moody, head-quarters, Finley Methodist Episcopal Chapel, on Clinton, near Cutter Street.

ants had ordered the militia to—"parade to-morrow."* By "to-morrow," as we have seen, John Morgan, after riding through the suburbs, was twenty-eight miles away!

Toward midnight glimmerings of how it was being overreached began to dawn upon the official mind, as may be seen from the latest bulletins from head-quarters, which the newspapers were permitted to publish. While the printers were busy with them, Morgan was marching his straggling, exhausted, scattered column through the suburbs; about the time city readers were glancing over them, he was feeding his horses and driving off the pickets at Camp Dennison:

"11.30 P. M. A courier arrived last evening at General Burnside's head-quarters, having left Cheviot at half past eight P M., with information for the General. Cheviot is only seven miles from the city. He states that about five hundred of Morgan's men had crossed the river

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"II. The militia of Covington will report to Colonel Lucy, commandant of that post. Those of Newport will report to Colonel Mundy.

"III. The independent volunteer companies will report to Colonel Stanley Matthews, head-quarters at Walnut Street House.

"IV. The officers of the militia companies are ordered to parade their companies forthwith, and to report to the commandants of their districts, severally named above. In districts where officers have not been elected, they will be temporarily appointed by the commandants of the districts.

"V. After the militia have been paraded, and their company organization so completed that they can be rapidly and systematically called into service, details will be made of such companies, etc., as may be needed for immediate use, and the remainder will be allowed to go to their homes, subject to future calls. It is, therefore, of advantage to the citizens that the primary organization be completed with the greatest speed.

"By command of Brigadier-General J. D. Cox.

"G. M. BASCOM, Assistant Adjutant-General."

Upon the arrival of the Military Committee they were requested to district the county, as had been done for the city, and to appoint commanders, and the following was the result:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF OHIO,
"*Cincinnati*, July 13, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS No. —.

"Hamilton County, beyond the limits of the city, will be divided into Military Districts as follows, and commandants of militia companies will report to the following-named officers:

"1st. Millcreek Township, report to General J. H. Bates, city.

"2d. Anderson, Columbia, and Spencer Townships, report to James Peal, Pleasant Ridge.

"3d. Sycamore and Symmes Townships, report to C. Constable, Montgomery.

"4th. Springfield and ——— Townships, report to Henry Gulick, Bevis P. O.

"5th. Crosby, Harrison, Miami, and Whitewater Townships, report to W. F. Converse, Harrison.

"6th. Delhi, Storrs, and Green Townships, report to Major Peter Zinn, Delhi.

"The above-named officers will immediately assume command and establish their head-quarters.

"By order of Brigadier-General Cox.

"J. NEWTON McELROY,
"Lieutenant-Colonel and Acting Assistant Inspector-General, District of Ohio."

*"The Enrolled Ohio State regular militia of the First District of the City of Cincinnati will parade to-morrow, July 14, 1863, at eight o'clock A. M., in their respective sub-districts. All who fail to comply with the above will be considered as deserters, and treated accordingly." From order of General Sturgis, commandant of First District.

at Miamitown, and attacked our pickets, killing or capturing one of them. Morgan's main force, said to be three thousand strong, was then crossing the river. A portion of the Rebel force had been up to New Haven, and another had gone to New Baltimore and partially destroyed both of those places. The light of the burning towns was seen by our men. When the courier left, Morgan was moving up, it was reported, to attack our advance.

"1 A. M. A courier has just arrived at head-quarters from Colerain, with dispatches for General Burnside. He reports that the enemy, supposed to be two thousand five hundred strong, with six pieces of artillery, crossed the Colerain Pike at dark at Bevis, going toward New Burlington, or to Cincinnati and Hamilton Pike, in direction of Springdale.

"1.30 A. M. A dispatch from Jones's Station states that the enemy are now encamped between Venice and New Baltimore.

"2 A. M. Another dispatch says the enemy are coming in, or a squad of them, from New Baltimore toward Glendale, for the supposed purpose of destroying a bridge over the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad near Glendale.

"2 A. M. A dispatch from Hamilton says it is believed that the main portion of Morgan's force is moving in that direction going east. At this writing—quarter past two A. M.—it is the impression that Morgan's main force is going east, while he has sent squads to burn bridges on the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad, and over the Miami River, but he may turn and come down this way on some of the roads leading through Walnut Hills or Mount Auburn."*

The next day, with the revelation that Morgan was gone, began the gathering of the militia.† Some hurried to Camp Chase, to be there held for the protection of the Capital, or thence thrown toward South-eastern Ohio, on his front. Others assembled at Camp Dennison, to be hurried by rail after him. All over the Southern part of the State was a hasty mustering and crowding upon extra trains, and rush to the points of danger. Hobson, who, in spite of Morgan's tremendous marching, was now only a few hours behind, pressed so hard upon his trail that the flying band had little time for the burning of railroad bridges, or, indeed, for aught but the impressment of fresh horses. Judah, with his troops, was dispatched by boats to gain the front of the galloping column and head it off from the river.

Meantime the excitement and apprehension in all the towns and villages within thirty or forty miles of Morgan's line of march was unprecedented in the history of the State. Thrifty farmers drove off their horses and cattle to the woods. Thrifty housewives buried their silver spoons. At least one terrified matron, in a pleasant inland town forty miles from the Rebel route, in her husband's absence, resolved to protect the family carriage-horse at all hazards, and knowing no safer plan, led him into the house and stabled him in the parlor, locking and bolting doors and windows, whence the noise of his dismal tramping on the resounding floor sounded, through the live-long night, like distant peals of artillery, and kept half the citizens awake and watching for Morgan's entrance.

There was, indeed, sufficient cause for considering property insecure anywhere within reach of the invaders. Horses and food, of course, they took wherever and whenever they wanted them; our own raiding parties generally

* Squads of Morgan's men passed from Lockland, through Sharpsburg and Montgomery, and even so close to the city as Duck Creek, two miles from the corporation line, stealing all the fine horses they could lay their hands upon.

† Preble County, in the front here, as at the siege of Cincinnati, had sent down a company or two the night before.

did the same. But the mania for plunder which befel this command and made its line of march look like a procession of peddlers, was something beyond all ordinary cavalry plundering. We need look for no other or stronger words, in describing it, than the second in command has himself chosen to use. "The disposition for wholesale plunder," he frankly admits, "exceeded anything that any of us had ever seen before. The men seemed actuated by a desire to pay off, in the enemy's country, all scores that the Union army had chalked up in the South. The great cause for apprehension, which our situation might have inspired, seemed only to make them reckless. Calico was the staple article of appropriation. Each man (who could get one) tied a bolt of it to his saddle, only to throw it away and get a fresh one at the first opportunity. They did not pillage with any sort of method or reason; it seemed to be a mania, senseless and purposeless, One man carried a bird-cage, with three canaries in it, for two days. Another rode with a chafing-dish, which looked like a small metallic coffin, on the pommel of his saddle till an officer forced him to throw it away Although the weather was intensely warm, another slung seven pairs of skates around his neck, and chuckled over the acquisition. I saw very few articles of real value taken; they pillaged like boys robbing an orchard. I would not have believed that such a passion could have been developed so ludicrously among any body of civilized men. At Piketon, Ohio, some days later, one man broke through the guard posted at a store, rushed in, trembling with excitement and avarice, and filled his pockets with horn buttons. They would, with few exceptions, throw away their plunder after a while, like children tired of their toys."*

Some movements of our own were, after their different fashion, scarcely less ridiculous. Some militia from Camp Dennison, for example, marched after Morgan till near Batavia, when they gravely halted and began felling trees across the road to—check him in case he should decide to come back over the route he had just traveled! A worthy militia officer telegraphed to Governor Tod Morgan's exact position, and assured him that the Rebel forces numbered precisely four thousand seven hundred and fifty men! Burnside himself telegraphed that it was now definitely ascertained that Morgan had about four thousand men. At Chillicothe they mistook some of their own militia for Rebel scouts and, by way of protection, burned a bridge across a stream always fordable. Governor Tod felt sure that only the heavy concentration of militia at Camp Chase had kept Morgan from seizing Columbus and plundering the State treasury Several days after the bulk of the invading force had been captured, the Governor gravely wrote to a militia officer at Cleveland, whom he was exhorting to renewed vigilance, "I announce to you that Morgan may yet reach the lake shore!" †

But if there was an error in the zeal displayed, it was on the safe side. Over fifty thousand Ohio militia actually took the field against the sore-pressed, fleeing band.‡ Not half of them, however, at any time got within three-score miles of Morgan.

* Duke's History of Morgan's Cavalry, pp. 436, 437.

† Ex. Doc., 1863, part I, p. 230. ‡ Adjutant-General's Report for 1863, p. 82.

That officer was meantime intent neither upon the lake shore nor yet upon the treasury vaults at Columbus, but, entirely satisfied with the commotion he had created, was doing his best to get out of the State. He came very near doing it.

On the morning of the 14th of July he was stopping to feed his horses in sight of Camp Dennison. That evening he encamped at Williamsburg, twenty-eight miles east of Cincinnati. Then marching through Washington C. H., Piketon (with Colonel Richard Morgan going through Georgetown), Jackson, Vinton, Berlin, Pomeroy, and Chester, he reached the ford at Buffington Island on the evening of the 18th. But for his luckless delay for a few hours at Chester, it would seem that he might have escaped.

Until he reached Pomeroy he encountered comparatively little resistance. At Camp Dennison there was a little skirmish, in which a Rebel Lieutenant and several privates were captured; but Lieutenant-Colonel Neff, the commandant, wisely limited his efforts to the protection of the bridge and camp. A train of the Little Miami Road was thrown off the track. At Berlin there was a skirmish with the militia under Colonel Runkle. Small militia skirmishes were constantly occurring, the citizen-soldiery hanging on the flanks of the flying invaders, wounding two or three men every day, and occasionally killing one.

At last the daring little column approached its goal. All the troops in Kentucky had been evaded and left behind. All the militia in Indiana had been dashed aside or outstripped. The fifty thousand militia in Ohio had failed to turn it from its predetermined path. Within precisely fifteen days from the morning it had crossed the Cumberland—nine days from its crossing into Indiana—it stood once more on the banks of the Ohio. A few hours more of daylight and it would be safely across in the midst again of a population to which it might look for sympathy, if not for aid.

But the circle of the hunt was narrowing. Judah, with his fresh cavalry, was up, and was marching out from the river against Morgan. Hobson was hard on his rear. Colonel Runkle, commanding a division of militia, was north of him. And at last the local militia in advance of him were beginning to fell trees and tear up bridges to obstruct his progress. Near Pomeroy they made a stand. For four or five miles his road ran through a ravine, with occasional intersections from hill roads. At all these cross-roads he found the militia posted; and from the hills above him they made his passage through the ravine a perfect running of the gauntlet. On front, flank, and rear the militia pressed; and, as Morgan's first subordinate ruefully expresses it, "closed eagerly upon our track." In such plight he passed through the ravine, and, shaking clear of his pursuers for a little, pressed on to Chester, where he arrived about one o'clock in the afternoon.*

Here he made the first serious military mistake that had marked his course on Northern soil. He was within a few hours' ride of the ford at which he hoped to cross; and the skirmishing about Pomeroy should have given him am-

* 18th July.

ple admonition of the necessity for haste. But he had been advancing through the ravine at a gallop. He halted now to breathe his horses, and to hunt a guide. The hour and a half thus lost went far toward deciding his fate.

When his column was well closed up and his guide was found, he moved forward. It was eight o'clock before he reached Portland, the little village on the bank of the Ohio nearly opposite Buffington Island. Night had fallen—a "night of solid darkness," as the Rebel officers declared. The entrance to the ford was guarded by a little earthwork, manned by only two or three hundred infantry. This alone stood between him and an easy passage to Virginia.

But his evil genius was upon him. He had lost an hour and a half at Chester in the afternoon—the most precious hour and a half since his horse's feet touched Northern soil; and he now decided to waste the night. In the hurried council with his exhausted officers it was admitted on all hands that Judah had arrived—that some of his troops had probably given force to the skirmishing near Pomeroy—that they would certainly be at Buffington by morning, and that gunboats would accompany them.* But his men were in bad condition, and he feared to trust them in a night attack upon a fortified position which he had not reconnoitered. The fear was fatal.

Even yet, by abandoning his wagon-train and his wounded, he might have reached unguarded fords a little higher up. This, too, was mentioned by his officers. He would save all, he promptly replied, or lose all together. And so he gave mortgages to fate.

By morning Judah was up. At daybreak Duke advanced with a couple of Rebel regiments to storm the earthwork, but found it abandoned. He was rapidly proceeding to make the dispositions for crossing when Judah's advance struck him. At first he repulsed it and took a number of prisoners,† the Adjutant-General of Judah's staff among them. Morgan then ordered him to hold the force on his front in check. He was not able to return to his command till it had been broken and thrown into full retreat before an impetuous charge of Judah's cavalry, headed by Lieutenant O'Neil, of the Fifth Indiana. He succeeded in rallying them and re-forming his line. But now, advancing up the Chester and Pomeroy road, came the gallant cavalry that over three States had been galloping on their track—the three thousand of Hobson's command—who for now two weeks had been only a day, a forenoon, an hour behind them.

As Hobson's guidons fluttered out in the little valley by the river bank where they fought, every man of that band that had so long defied a hundred thousand knew that the contest was over They were almost out of ammunition, exhausted, and scarcely two thousand strong; against them were Hobson's three thousand and Judah's still larger force. To complete the overwhelming odds that, in spite of their efforts, had at last been concentrated upon them, the tin-clad gunboats steamed up and opened fire.

Morgan comprehended the situation as fast as the hard-riding troopers,

* Duke's History Morgan's Cav., p. 447. † Forty or fifty, he claims.

who, still clinging to their bolts of calico, were already beginning to gallop toward the rear. He at once essayed to extricate his trains, and then to withdraw his regiments by column of fours from right of companies, keeping up, meanwhile, as sturdy resistance as he might. For some distance the withdrawal was made in tolerable order; then, under a charge of a Michigan cavalry regiment, everything was broken, and the retreat became a rout. Morgan, with not quite twelve hundred men, escaped. His brother, with Colonels Duke, Ward, Huffman, and about seven hundred men, were taken prisoners.

This was the battle of Buffington Island. It was brief and decisive. But for his two grave mistakes of the night before, Morgan might have avoided it and escaped. Yet it can not be said that he yielded to the blow that insured his fate without spirited resistance, and a courage and tenacity worthy of a better cause. Our superiority in forces was overwhelming and our loss trifling.*

The prisoners were at once sent down the river to Cincinnati, on the transports which had brought up some of their pursuers, in charge of Captain Day, of General Judah's staff,† of whose "manly and soldierly courtesy" they made grateful mention, albeit not much given to praising the treatment they received at the North. The troops, with little rest, pushed on after Morgan and the fugitive twelve hundred.

And now began the dreariest experience of the Rebel chief. Twenty miles above Buffington he struck the river again, got three hundred of his command across, and was himself midway in the stream, when the approaching gunboats checked the passage. Returning to the nine hundred still on the Ohio side, he once more renewed the hurried flight. His men were worn down and exhausted by long-continued and enormous work; they were demoralized by pillage, discouraged by the shattering of their command, weakened most of all by their loss of faith in themselves and their commander, surrounded by a multitude of foes, harassed on every hand, intercepted at every loophole of escape, hunted like game night and day, driven hither and thither in their vain efforts to double on their remorseless pursuers. It was the early type and token of the similar fate, under pursuit of which the great army of the Confederacy was to fade out; and no other words are needed to finish the story we have now to tell than those with which the historian of the Army of the Potomac decribes the tragic flight to Appomattox C. H.: "Dark divisions, sinking in the woods for a few hours' repose, would hear suddenly the boom of hostile guns and the clatter of the troops of the ubiquitous cavalry, and they had to be up and hasten off. Thus pressed on all sides, driven like sheep before prowling

* Among the few killed, however, was Major Daniel McCook, a patriotic old man, for whose fate there was very general regret. He was not in the service, but had accompanied the cavalry as a volunteer. He was accorded a military funeral at Cincinnati, which was largely attended. He was the father of Robert L., Alexander M., and George W. McCook, besides several other sons, nearly all of whom, with notable unanimity, had been in the service from the outbreak of the war, and most of whom had risen to high rank.

† Afterward on the staff of Governor Cox, at Columbus.

wolves, amid hunger, fatigue, and sleeplessness, continuing day after day, they fared toward the rising sun:

"'Such resting found the soles of unblest feet.'"*

Yet, to the very last, the energy this daring cavalryman displayed was such as to extort our admiration. From the jaws of disaster he drew out the remnants of his command at Buffington. When foiled in the attempted crossing above, he headed for the Muskingum. Foiled here by the militia under Runkle, he doubled on his track and turned again toward Blennerhassett Island. The clouds of dust that marked his track betrayed the movement, and on three sides the pursuers closed in upon him. While they slept, in peaceful expectation of receiving his surrender in the morning, he stole out along a hillside that had been thought impassable—his men walking in single file and leading their horses; and by midnight he was out of the toils and once more marching hard to outstrip his pursuers. At last he found an unguarded crossing of the Muskingum, at Eaglesport, above McConnellsville, and then, with an open country before him, struck out once more for the Ohio.

This time Governor Tod's sagacity was vindicated. He urged the shipment of troops by rail to Bellaire, near Wheeling, and by great good fortune, Major Way, of the Ninth Michigan Cavalry, received the orders. Presently this officer was on the scent. "Morgan is making for Hammondsville," he telegraphed General Burnside on the 25th, "and will attempt to cross the Ohio River at Wellsville. I have my section of battery, and shall follow him closely." He kept his word and gave the finishing stroke. "Morgan was attacked with the remnant of his command, at eight o'clock this morning," announced General Burnside on the next day (26th July) "at Salineville, by Major Way, who, after a severe fight routed the enemy, killed about thirty, wounded some fifty, and took some two hundred prisoners." Six hours later the long race ended: "I captured John Morgan to-day at two o'clock, P. M.," telegraphed Major Rue of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry on the evening of the 26th, "taking three hundred and thirty-six prisoners, four hundred horses, and arms."

Salineville is in Columbiana County, but a few miles below the most northerly point of the State touched by the Ohio River, and between Steubenville and Wellsville, nearly two-thirds the way up the eastern border of the State. Over such distances had Morgan passed after the disaster at Buffington, which all had supposed certain to end his career; and so near had he still come to making his escape from the State, with the handful he was still able to keep together.

The circumstances of the final surrender were peculiar, and subsequently led to an unpleasant dispute. Morgan was being guided to the Pennsylvania line by a Mr. Burbeck, who had gone out with a small squad of volunteers against him, but with whom, according to Morgan's statement, an arrangement had been made that, on condition that he would disturb no property in the

*Swinton's History Army Potomac, p. 614.

county, he was to be safely conducted out of it. Seeing, by the clouds of dust on a road parallel with the one he was on, that a cavalry force was rapidly gaining his front, and that thus his escape was definitely cut off, he undertook to make a virtue of his necessity, and try to gain terms by volunteering surrender to his guide. Burbeck eagerly swallowed the bait, and accepted the surrender upon condition that officers and men were to be immediately paroled. In a few minutes Major Rue was upon them. He doubted the propriety of such a surrender, and referred the case to General Shackleford (second in command in Hobson's column) who at once disapproved and refused to recognize it.

Morgan thereupon appealed to Governor Tod, as Commander-in-Chief of the Ohio militia, claiming to have surrendered upon terms to one of his subordinates, and calling upon him to maintain the honor of his officer thus pledged. Governor Tod took a little time to examine the case, and on the 1st of August responded: "I find the facts substantially as follows: A private citizen of New Lisbon, by the name of Burbeck, went out with some fifteen or sixteen others to meet your forces, in advance of a volunteer organized military body from the same place under the command of Captain Curry. Said Burbeck is not and never was a militia officer in the service of this State. He was captured by you and traveled with you some considerable distance before your surrender. Upon his discovering the regular military forces of the United States to be in your advance in line of battle, you surrendered to said Burbeck, then your prisoner. Whether you supposed him to be a Captain in the militia service or not is entirely immaterial."

The officers of Morgan's command—not so much perhaps because of the alleged lack of other secure accommodations as through a desire to gratify the popular feeling that they should be treated rather as horse-thieves than as soldiers, and with a wish also to retaliate in kind for the close confinement to which the officers of Colonel Straight's raiding party were then subjected in Rebel prisons—were immured in the cells of the Ohio Penitentiary.* They have since made bitter complaints of this indignity, as well as of the treatment there received, thereby only illustrating the different feelings with which men guard Andersonvilles and Salisburies, from those with which they themselves regard, from the inside, places much less objectionable.

After some months of confinement, Morgan himself and six other prisoners made their escape, on the night of the 27th of November, by cutting through the stone floors of their cells with knives carried off from the prison table, till they reached the air-chamber below; tunneling from that under the walls of the building into the outer yard, and climbing the wall that surrounds the grounds by the aid of ropes made from their bed-clothes. The State authorities were very much mortified at the escape, and ordered an investigation. It was thus disclosed that the neglect which enabled the prisoners to prosecute the

*The official dispatches requesting the use of the penitentiary for this purpose indicate that it was to General Halleck that Morgan and his officers were indebted for the practice of this method of treating prisoners of war.

tedious task of cutting through the stone floors undiscovered, had its origin in the coarse-minded suggestion of one of the directors of the penitentiary that the daily sweeping of the cells might be dispensed with, and "the d——d Rebels made to sweep their own cells." This poor effort to treat the prisoners of war worse than he treated the convicts, enabled them to cover up their work and conceal it from any inspection of cells that was made. It was officially reported that misunderstandings between the military authorities in Columbus and the civil authorities of the penitentiary led to the escape.

Morgan quietly took the Little Miami train for Cincinnati on the night of his escape, leaped off it a little outside the city, made his way across the river and was straightway concealed and forwarded toward the Confederate lines by his Kentucky friends. He lived to lead one more raid into the heart of his favorite "Blue Grass," to witness the decline of his popularity, to be harassed by officers in Richmond who did not understand him, and by difficulties in his command, and finally to fall, while fleeing through a kitchen garden, in a morning skirmish in an obscure little village in East Tennessee. He left a name second only to those of Forrest and Stuart among the cavalrymen of the Confederacy, and a character which, amid much to be condemned, was not without traces of a noble nature.

The number of Ohio militia called into service during the Morgan raid has already been roughly stated at fifty thousand. The Adjutant-General, in his next annual report, gave the following tabular statement of the number from each county, and the amount paid for their services:

COUNTIES.	No. of Companies.	No. of Men on duty.	Amount paid.	COUNTIES	No. of Companies.	No. of Men on duty.	Amount paid.
Athens	26	1,967	$11,671 74	Jefferson	5	511	$939 10
Adams	4	340	1,171 44	Lawrence	8	572	2,783 01
Butler	14	1,202	3,220 73	Licking	1	109	482 15
Belmont	6	378	816 86	Madison	16	1,478	4,643 24
Clarke	27	2,697	7,947 71	Monroe	28	2,449	11,256 26
Clinton	25	1,980	5,282 64	Meigs	17	1,661	11,108 52
Clermont	7	507	1,328 51	Morgan	28	2,409	10,834 61
Champaign	2	.....	214 41	Muskingum	2	150	1,161 71
Delaware	1	.....	45 26	Noble	18	1,741	5,620 61
Franklin	49	3,952	10,441 59	Pickaway	25	1,980	9,627 68
Fayette	20	1,530	7,083 39	Perry	11	911	4,665 07
Fairfield	25	2,094	5,091 39	Pike	9	782	3,254 51
Gallia	27	2,032	17,408 50	Ross	48	4,180	22,816 18
Greene	16	1,135	3,780 06	Scioto	7	639	3,537 43
Guernsey	4	323	1,147 82	Vinton	13	1,059	5,298 81
Hamilton	15	1,461	8,001 00	Washington	32	2,542	13,092 09
Highland	23	1,898	6,858 17	Knox	1	.....	77 60
Hocking	15	1,307	4,554 82	Warren	10	807	2,657 58
Jackson	5	510	2,294 92				
Montgomery	1	60	102 35	Total amounts	587	49,357	$212,318 97

To this an explanation was added:

"Many companies that responded promptly and performed efficient service for from one to

five days, have returned muster-rolls and declined payment for the service rendered in defense of their own homes; still others have never made out rolls for pay, generously donating their services to the State. The entire militia force of Harrison County, through Mr. Shotwell, Secretary of the Military Committee, unanimously declined payment for the very important service they rendered. There are, however, rolls outstanding that have been returned on account of some defects. I have information of about seventy additional companies that have reported for pay, most of which will be ultimately paid; they will increase the number paid to upward of fifty-five thousand men, and add twenty thousand dollars to the sum total."

The Governor stated some of the expenses of the raid as follows:

Pay proper of militia	$250,000
Damage by the enemy	495,000
Damage by our troops	152,000
	$897,000

This was exclusive of the heavy expense of subsisting and transporting the militia.

He maintained that there was wisdom in the very heavy concentration of this force at Camp Chase to protect the Capital, but at an early period in the raid, two days after Morgan's entry upon Ohio soil, he announced to the men there assembled that they were not needed, and dismissed one-half of them, chosen by lot, to their homes. Four days later, on receipt of news of the action at Buffington Island, he discharged all the rest from the camp. Nearly all in South-western Ohio were also discharged early in the progress of the raid.

Two days before the battle at Buffington Island he issued a circular to the Military Committees of the several counties through which Morgan passed, asking full reports of the losses, public and private, from the raid, and the names of the individual sufferers. These amounts were afterward made the subject of a claim on the General Government for reclamation. After Morgan's surrender, the Governor issued an address to the people of the State, reciting the main facts of the invasion, and congratulating them upon "the capture and destruction of one of the most formidable cavalry forces of the Rebels; a force that had been a terror to the friends of the Union in Tennessee and Kentucky for about two years."

It should not be forgotten, in contrasting the numbers of the Ohio militia thus called out with their performance, that they were only being organized when the call was made upon them; that they were utterly without drill, and that many of them even took the field before their officers had been commissioned.

In 1864 the Legislature ordered the appointment of a Board of Commissioners to examine and pass upon the claims for damages to property during the Morgan raid. Messrs. Albert McVeigh, Geo. W Barker, and Henry S. Babbitt, who were appointed the commissioners, passed over the route of the raid, and had public hearings of the claims at each point. They reduced them largely in most cases, and classified them into damages done by the Rebels, by United States troops, and by State militia respectively. A summary of their report sets forth the results of their investigation in tabular form, as follows:

CONSOLIDATED ABSTRACT OF CLAIMS, *for property taken, destroyed, or injured during the "Morgan Raid" through Ohio, in* 1863, *presented to and passed upon by the Board of Commissioners, consisting of Alfred McVeigh, George W Barker, and Henry S. Babbitt, appointed in pursuance of an act of Legislature, passed March* 30, 1864.

	Number of Claims.	NAME OF COUNTY.	AMOUNTS CLAIMED.				Property taken by Rebels and traced into possession of the United States forces.	AMOUNTS ALLOWED.			
			Damages by the Rebels.	Damages by Union forces under command of United States officers.	Damages by Union forces NOT under command of United States officers.	Total amount claimed.		Damages by the Rebels.	Damages by Union forces under command of United States officers.	Damages by Union forces NOT under command of United States officers.	Total amount allowed.
1	394	Adams	$64,918 71	$9,932 15	$100 00	$74,950 86	$1,980 00	$55,312 00	$8,569 00	$100 00	$63,981 00
2	101	Athens	14,495 76	2,173 01	609 98	17,278 65		12,867 00	1,951 00	355 00	15,173 00
3	44	Belmont	446 50	873 25	686 18	2,005 93		419 00	826 00	490 00	1,735 00
4	256	Brown	28,992 51	8,967 35		37,959 86	1,305 00	25,556 00	7,228 00		32,784 00
5	35	Butler		4,818 00	666 00	5,484 00			4,175 00	516 00	4,691 00
6	4	Carroll	1,298 00			1,298 00	391 00	1,221 00			1,221 00
7	429	Clermont	62,400 08	25,433 02	150 00	87,983 10	1,260 00	55,554 00	20,925 00		76,479 00
8	2	Clinton			256 00	256 00				256 00	256 00
9	33	Columbiana	755 00	2,117 57	34 00	2,906 57	100 00	745 00	1,905 00	16 00	2,666 00
10	3	Fairfield		129 98	262 06	392 04			119 00	131 00	250 00
11	228	Gallia	17,932 89	9,209 99	697 50	27,840 38	1,126 00	14,922 00	6,313 00	524 00	21,759 00
12	303	Guernsey	23,947 47	11,157 75	518 12	35,623 34	540 00	21,614 00	9,747 00	336 00	31,697 00
13	436	Hamilton	62,622 37	25,223 14	127 50	87,973 01	4,445 00	53,646 00	20,529 00	100 00	74,275 00
14	177	Harrison	8,403 41	8,767 35	17 10	17,187 86	1,190 00	7,460 00	7,821 00	10 00	15,291 00
15	39	Highland	2,355 89	2,605 25	20 00	4,981 14		2,110 00	2,463 00	20 00	4,593 00
16	55	Hocking	4,982 80	1,846 70	198 57	7,028 07		4,601 00	1,803 00	159 00	6,563 00
17	352	Jackson	51,095 12	9,553 37	377 50	61,025 99	1,830 00	45,495 00	8,653 00	349 00	54,497 00
18	162	Jefferson	16,317 75	8,410 05	31 50	24,759 30	2,090 00	13,571 00	7,050 00	22 00	20,643 00
19	598	Meigs	47,658 13	17,755 05	633 60	66,046 78	2,615 00	40,979 00	12,491 00	331 00	53,801 00
20	64	Morgan	4,783 49	1,988 25	304 52	7,076 26	80 00	3,415 00	1,756 00	277 00	5,448 00
21	91	Muskingum	4,474 64	3,544 22	455 19	8,474 05	385 00	3,881 00	2,831 00	407 00	7,119 00
22	44	Noble	5,816 01	1,465 11	76 50	7,357 62	145 00	4,729 00	1,322 00	76 00	6,128 00
23	57	Perry	5,968 03	519 45	230 00	6,717 48		5,186 00	323 00	175 00	5,684 00
24	226	Pike	46,778 61	8,372 94	168 50	55,320 05	705 00	40,188 00	7,245 00	42 00	47,475 00
25	10	Ross		907 24	4,149 00	5,056 24			381 00	39 00	420 00
26	27	Scioto	689 20	1,294 88	199 00	2,183 08	100 00	535 00	1,038 00	106 00	1,679 00
27	143	Vinton	15,803 49	2,773 70	180 75	18,757 94	265 00	13,777 00	2,567 00	147 00	16,491 00
28	2	Warren	90 00	111 50		201 50		90 00	85 00		175 00
29	60	Washington	347 00	2,369 40	2,073 53	4,789 93		295 00	1,738 00	1,218 00	3,251 00
	4,375		$493,372 76	$172,319 67	$13,222 60	$678,915 03	$20,552 00	$428,168 00	$141,855 00	$6,202 00	$576,225 00

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VALLANDIGHAM CAMPAIGN.

THE early summer of 1863 was the dead-point of danger in the war. We have been seeing how arbitrary arrests, popular disaffection, resistance to the draft, and an audacious invasion were features of its history within the limits of Ohio. Elsewhere the gloom was far greater. The worse than failure at Chancellorsville was followed by the transfer of Lee's entire army to the soil of Pennsylvania. The long labors before Vicksburg had not yet been rewarded with success, and fresh disasters at Galveston and elsewhere had combined to deepen the general gloom.

It was in the midst of this feeling that General Burnside, by his arrest of Mr. Vallandigham, lifted that politician into the position of a representative man, and, in making him the martyr of his party, made him also its leader. He had scarcely reached the Confederate lines until the Rebel newspapers were emphasizing the fact that he could only be received as a prisoner—as one eminently deserving kindness and consideration, but none the less a prisoner; that it would be the height of folly for him to think of remaining in the Confederacy; that his true base of operations was Canada, and his true mission to become the candidate of his party for the Governorship of Ohio.*

The idea which would thus appear to have been suggested at the South was soon found to have taken firm hold upon the minds of the masses in the Democratic party Its leaders regarded such a policy as unwise in the extreme, and would greatly have preferred the nomination of a moderate war Democrat, like Hugh J Jewett, their former candidate. But the masses were dissatisfied—sore about the draft, inflamed with anger at the treatment of the man who had most boldly championed their views, and absorbed to such a degree in these personal grievances as to consider their redress a question of more importance than the prosecution of the war or the preservation of the Nation.

As the time for the convention approached, the tide of opinion set in stronger and stronger for Vallandigham, until it soon became a popular furor. For days before the date for the assemblage Columbus was crowded with delegations from the rural districts, whose intensity of feeling and bitterness of expression found no parallel in any previous political excitement in the State.

* For the earliest expressions of these views the curious reader is referred to the first numbers of the Chattanooga Rebel issued after news of the arrival of Mr. Vallandigham within General Bragg's lines had been received.

They denounced, especially, General Burnside's "Order No. 38," declared it an insufferable tyranny, proclaimed their intention of violating it on all occasions, and defiantly threatened resistance to attempted arrests. Governor Tod, General Burnside, and Secretary Stanton were the subjects of peculiarly virulent attack. Mr. Vallandigham was the suffering champion of their cause, whose wrongs were to be redressed, whose election as Governor was to be made the fitting rebuke to his persecutors. His absence made no difference. When elected he could easily gain access to the Border; and then, where was the General, or even higher official, who would dare to keep the chosen Governor of this great State in exile beyond its limits? Only let that be attempted, and the Lieutenant-Governor elect would lead an army of a hundred thousand Democrats to the Border to bring him home in triumph!

The talk of the masses thus developed a deliberate purpose to provoke the gravest issues, and a readiness to embroil the State in civil war. They had resolved on resistance to arrests, resistance as far as might be to the draft and to the war, and they were reckless as to consequences.

The leaders vainly tried to stem the current. As a last resort they strove to bring forward General McClellan, who was still a citizen of Ohio, as a candidate for the Governorship, but he refused the use of his name. When the convention assembled an immense crowd took possession, overslaughed the delegates, elected as permanent chairman a man who was not a delegate at all,* and clamored for the nomination of Vallandigham by acclamation. The most of the members fell completely in with the current; a few war Democrats made sturdy resistance for a little, demanded a call of the delegates by counties, and cast their votes for Judge Jewett. But the pressure was overwhelming. Jewett's own county presently insisted upon withdrawing his name, and, amid a wild saturnalia of cheering, and embracing, and all manner of extravagant demonstrations of delight, the convict of General Burnside's Military Commission was nominated by acclamation as the candidate of this great party for the office of Governor of Ohio.

A strenuous struggle was made for a resolution in favor of peace in the platform, but the most shouted: "Vallandigham is platform enough;" and so the leaders were left to fit their declaration of principles to their candidate with what skill they might, while the great crowd hung with delight on the address of ex-Senator Pugh, who, having been Mr Vallandigham's legal representative in the trials, was naturally called out to speak for him now. It was known that through the morning Mr. Pugh had been urging moderation; but by this time the air of the convention had infected him. His violent, inflammatory address completely carried away his hearers; and, in the whirlwind of enthusiasm which he evoked, he was nominated by acclamation for Lieutenant-Governor, in spite of his protests and refusal. Some passages of this remarkable speech (as reported in the newspapers of the day) were as follows:

"The Democracy did not bring the war about—it was by the acts of the Administration in power. No one but the abject slave of the Administration would say that this controversy could

* Ex-Governor Medill.

not have been settled on honorable terms of peace. He could not, and he did not state this as a matter of opinion, but as a fact. The Administration had been warned and implored not to launch the country into a civil war. The inevitable result was predicted, and he now called it to its account. If the Government should demand untold treasures to suppress the rebellion it should have them; it should have all its wants under the Constitution. If then the Administration did not succeed, its folly would be apparent, and the judgment of God and history would be against it.

"He would utter no word and commit no act that could be construed as an excuse for its failure. Having all the constitutional power, if it succeeded and preserved the Union, it would have credit, but if it failed, it should not put on him or his any excuse for the failure. If these gentlemen declare martial law, and if the security of himself, his wife, and his children, and his property, was to be subject to the whim of General Burnside, or any other General, the time for them and him had arrived to call a convention, which should never adjourn until it had achieved the liberty of the people. He scorned 'Order 38.' He trampled under foot the order of every military officer outraging the laws; and if his fellow-citizens were such abject slaves as to hold their liberty and right of free speech subject to the dictation of any military man, whether General, Colonel, Corporal, or private, they deserved to be slaves. He had already said that his friend, their nominee for Governor, had dared to express his opinions, and for so doing he had been banished. He (Pugh) might not have agreed with all Vallandigham had said, but he insisted upon his right to express his opinions, and he exhorted them to postpone every other question to the great question of the vindication of our liberties.

"He would exhort Mr. Lincoln on the question of war when he (Pugh) had the liberty to discuss war or peace. He would express his opinions under the rights guaranteed him by the Constitution, even at the hazard of his life. He begged the Democracy to think of this; not to go home and think of crops and workshops, and put it off. It ought to fill their hearts every hour; it ought to be their business from now until the second Tuesday of October. What was their property worth to them—what the safety of their wives and children, and every thing dear to them, if they were liable at the dead hour of the night to have their doors broken open and to be dragged, from the presence of wife and children, to a mock tribunal and tried? Don't cheer and repent to-morrow. It was easy for them to cheer without responsibility. Say what you mean and stick to it. Let each man take counsel of his own heart, and then come to the resolution that this thing must be stopped peaceably if possible, but stopped it *must be*. If you do that it will be stopped. Don't talk about it; do it and maintain it at all hazards.

"Somebody must meet the issue. If I, God help me, I will meet it. I am out of political life, and will accept no office; but claim my rights as a private citizen, guaranteed to me by the Constitution. If we had an honest man as Governor my rights and liberties could have been preserved. That creature who has licked the dust off the feet of the Administration is less than the dust in the balance. We have no Governor. We have a being, and he has the audacity to say, and has said to my face, after this war is over he will come back into the Democratic party, and put such men as Vallandigham and Olds to the wall. I told him if he showed his face in a Democratic convention I would move to suspend all business until he was expelled. I can pardon an honest man who might have been misled, but the man who not only sold himself, but sold the birthright of Democracy, his crime is infamous. If General Burnside should arrest me to-morrow, will you act? (Cheers, and 'yes.') Then your liberties will be safe. I have considered that possibly you might not act; but, whether you will act or not, if it be at the cost of my life, I intend to maintain my rights as a freeman. Our fellow-citizen, for expressing his opinions, was seized between night and morning by an overpowering force of soldiers and dragged from Dayton to Cincinnati to be imprisoned. The judicial officer, knowing his duty, refused to interfere from personal cowardice, and he trampled the Constitution under his feet. Judge Leavitt's name will be handed down to posterity with scorn and shame. I tell you nothing less than the safety and necessity of my family brought me here. Life is no longer tolerable under the despotism that exists. I would rather be led to the altar than submit to 'Order 38.' The question is, will you submit to it? If, after a fair and honest appeal, a majority of the people decide to submit, then I counsel you to sell your goods and chattels and emigrate to some other country, where you can find freedom. I say, like Patrick Henry, 'If this be treason make the most of it.' Now, my friends, I think I have violated 'Order 38' enough.

"I knew perfectly well when Lincoln changed the sentence of Vallandigham, that the Republicans would say it was done at Vallandigham's request. While on the gunboat with Pendleton, Dr. Fries, Mr. Ware, and Mr. McLean, I asked Mr. Vallandigham: 'Has the President given you a choice?' He replied that he had not. I asked him: 'If he gave you a choice which would you take?' and his answer was, 'I would go to Fort Warren a thousand times rather than go South and be placed in the hands of the Rebels.' He authorized me to say this. If General Burnside has spies here and should lead me out between a file of soldiers, I have given you my opinions. Free speech is the only security for our freedom, and we must assent to this right. If I suffer I shall only consider that I have gone in the way of a true patriot; I shall look to the Democracy in prosperous times for a vindication in this hour of trial. I will not desert my principles, and if I suffer they will say at least that that man was ever true to the principles he professed. Do not adjourn, I beg of you, until, in the name of the one hundred and eighty thousand Democrats of Ohio, you have demanded of Abraham Lincoln the restoration of Vallandigham to his home.

"We will not talk of war, or peace, or rebellion, until our honored citizen has been restored to us. If you make that your platform you will be victorious. If not, I counsel you to seek a home where liberty exists."

This convention was held on the 11th of June. At that time Mr. Vallandigham was still within the Confederate lines, and it is not known that his friends had received any communications from him since the party under a flag of truce from General Rosecrans had carried him over.* The convention appointed a committee to urge upon the President the duty of giving him permission to return. A similar appeal from New York Democrats had, a little before, drawn from Mr. Lincoln an elaborate vindication of his policy of arbitrary arrests. He therefore replied now to the Ohio committee with more brevity. Their address and his reply are subjoined:

"WASHINGTON CITY, June 26, 1863.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY, *the President of the United States:*

"The undersigned having been appointed a committee, under the authority of the resolutions of the State convention held at the city of Columbus, Ohio, on the 11th instant, to communicate with you on the subject of the arrest and banishment of Clement L. Vallandigham, most respectfully submit the following as the resolutions of that convention, bearing upon the subject of this communication, and ask of your Excellency their earnest consideration. And they deem it proper to state that the convention was one in which all parts of the State were represented, and one of the most respectable as to numbers and character, one of the most earnest and sincere in support of the Constitution and the Union ever held in that State.

"*Resolved*, 1. That the will of the people is the foundation of all free government; that to give effect to this will, free thought, free speech, and a free press are indispensable. Without free discussion there is no certainty of sound judgment; without sound judgment there can be no wise government.

"*Resolved*, 2. That it is an inherent and constitutional right of the people to discuss all measures of their Government, and to approve or disapprove, as to their best judgment seems right. They have a like right to propose and advocate that policy which, in their judgment, is best, and to argue and vote against whatever policy seems to them to violate the Constitution, to impair their liberties, or to be detrimental to their welfare.

"*Resolved*, 3. That these, and all other rights guaranteed to them by their Constitution, are their rights in time of war as well as in the time of peace, and of far more value and necessity in war than peace; for in time of peace liberty, security, and property are seldom endangered; in war they are ever in peril.

"*Resolved*, 4. That we now say to all whom it may concern, not by way of threat, but calmly

*A report, however, was in circulation at the convention, that his wife had received letters from him, saying he would soon be home again.

and firmly, that we will not surrender these rights, nor submit to their forcible violation. We will obey the laws ourselves, and all others must obey them.

"*Resolved*, 11. That Ohio will adhere to the Constitution and the Union as the best, and it may be the last, hope of popular freedom, and for all wrongs which may have been committed, or evils which may exist, will seek redress under the Constitution, and within the Union, by the peaceful but powerful agency of the suffrages of the people.

"*Resolved*, 14. That we will earnestly support every constitutional measure tending to preserve the Union of the States. No men have a greater interest in its preservation than we have, none desire more; there are none who will make greater sacrifices or endure more than we will to accomplish that end. We are, as we ever have been, the devoted friends of the Constitution and the Union, and we have no sympathy with the enemies of either.

"*Resolved*, 15. That the arrest, imprisonment, pretended trial, and actual banishment of Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of the State of Ohio, not belonging to the land or naval forces of the United States, nor to the militia in actual service, by alleged military authority, for no other pretended crimes than that of uttering words of legitimate criticism upon the conduct of the Administration in power, and of appealing to the ballot-box for a change of policy—(said arrest and military trial taking place where the courts of law are open and unobstructed, and for no act done within the sphere of active military operations in carrying on the war)—we regard as a palpable violation of the following provisions of the Constitution of the United States:

"1. 'Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.'

"2. 'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.'

"3. 'No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger.'

"4. 'In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law.'

"And we furthermore denounce said arrest, trial, and banishment, as a direct insult offered to the sovereignty of the people of Ohio, by whose organic law it is declared that no person shall be transported out of the State for any offense committed within the same.

"*Resolved*, 16. That C. L. Vallandigham was, at the time of his arrest, a prominent candidate for nomination by the Democratic party of Ohio for the office of Governor of the State; that the Democratic party was fully competent to decide whether he is a fit man for that nomination, and that the attempt to deprive them of that right, by his arrest and banishment, was an unmerited imputation upon their intelligence and loyalty, as well as a violation of the Constitution.

"*Resolved*, 17. That we respectfully, but most earnestly, call upon the President of the United States to restore C. L. Vallandigham to his home in Ohio, and that a committee of one from each Congressional District of Ohio, to be selected by the presiding officer of this convention, is hereby appointed to present this application to the President.

"The undersigned, in the discharge of the duty assigned them, do not think it necessary to reiterate the facts connected with the arrest, trial, and banishment of Mr. Vallandigham; they are well known to the President and are of public history; nor to enlarge upon the positions taken by the convention, nor to recapitulate the constitutional provisions which it is believed have been contravened; they have been stated at length, and with clearness, in the resolutions which have been recited. The undersigned content themselves with a brief reference to other suggestions pertinent to the subject.

"They do not call upon your Excellency as suppliants, praying the revocation of the order banishing Mr. Vallandigham, as a favor, but by the authority of a convention representing a majority of the citizens of the State of Ohio, they respectfully ask it as a right due to an American citizen, in whose personal injury the sovereignty and dignity of the people of Ohio, as a free State, has been offended.

"And this duty they perform the more cordially from the consideration that at a time of great national emergency, pregnant with dangers to our Federal Union, it is all-important that the true friends of the Constitution and the Union, however they may differ as to *the mode* of administering the Government, and the measures most likely to be successful in the maintenance of the Constitution and the restoration of the Union, should not be thrown into conflict with each other.

"The arrest, unusual trial, and banishment of Mr. Vallandigham have created wide-spread and alarming disaffection among the people of the State; not only endangering the harmony of the friends of the Constitution and the Union, and tending to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the State, but also impairing that confidence in the fidelity of your Administration to the great landmarks of free government essential to a peaceful and successful enforcement of the laws of Ohio.

"You are reported to have used, in a public communication on this subject, the following language:

"'It gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested; that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him, and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him so soon as I can by any means believe the public safety will not suffer by it.'

"The undersigned assure your Excellency, from our personal knowledge of the feelings of the people of Ohio, that the public safety will be far more endangered by continuing Mr. Vallandigham in exile than by releasing him. It may be true that persons differing from him in political views may be found in Ohio and elsewhere who will express a different opinion; but they are certainly mistaken.

"Mr. Vallandigham may differ with the President, and even with some of his own political party, as to the true and most effectual means of maintaining the Constitution and restoring the Union; but this difference of opinion does not prove him to be unfaithful to his duties as an American citizen. If a man devotedly attached to the Constitution and the Union conscientiously believes that, from the inherent nature of the Federal compact, the war, in the present condition of things in this country, can not be used as a means of restoring the Union; or that a war to subjugate a part of the States, or a war to revolutionize the social system in a part of the States, could not restore, but would inevitably result in the final destruction of both the Constitution and the Union, is he not to be allowed the right of an American citizen to appeal to the judgment of the people for a change of policy by the constitutional remedy of the ballot-box?

"During the war with Mexico many of the political opponents of the Administration then in power thought it their duty to oppose and denounce the war, and to urge before the people of the country that it was unjust, and prosecuted for unholy purposes. With equal reason it might have been said of them that their discussions before the people were calculated to discourage enlistments, 'to prevent the raising of troops,' and to induce desertions from the army; and leave the Government without an adequate military force to carry on the war.

"If the freedom of speech and of the press are to be suspended in time of war, then the essential element of popular government to effect a change of policy in the constitutional mode is at an end. The freedom of speech and of the press is indispensable, and necessarily incident to the nature of popular government itself. If any inconvenience or evils arise from its exercise, they are unavoidable.

"On this subject you are reported to have said further:

"'It is asserted, in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried, 'for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting, in criticism of the course of the Administration, and in condemnation of the military order of the General.' Now, if there be no mistake about this, if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union, and his arrest was made because he was laboring with some effect to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was arrested, not because he was damaging the political prospects of the Administration, or the personal interests of the Commanding General, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the Nation depends. He was warring upon the

military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of facts, which I would be glad to correct on reasonable satisfactory evidence.'

"In answer to this, permit us to say—*First:* That neither the charge, nor the specifications in support of the charge on which Mr. Vallandigham was tried, impute to him the act of either laboring to prevent the raising of troops or to encourage desertions from the army. *Secondly:* No evidence on the trial was offered with a view to support, or even tended to support, any such charge. In what instance, and by what act, did he either discourage enlistments or encourage desertions from the army? Who is the man who was discouraged from enlisting? and who encouraged to desert by any act of Mr. Vallandigham? If it be assumed that, perchance, some person might have been discouraged from enlisting, or that some person might have been encouraged to desert, on account of hearing Mr. Vallandigham's views as to the policy of the war as a means of restoring the Union, would that have laid the foundation for his conviction and banishment? If so, upon the same grounds, every political opponent of the Mexican war might have been convicted and banished from the country.

"When gentlemen of high standing and extensive influence, including your Excellency, opposed, in the discussions before the people, the policy of the Mexican war, were they 'warring upon the military?' and did this 'give the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon' them? And, finally, the charge of the specifications upon which Mr. Vallandigham was tried entitled him to a trial before the civil tribunals, according to the express provisions of the late acts of Congress, approved by yourself, July 17, 1862, and March 3, 1863, which were manifestly designed to supersede all necessity or pretext for arbitrary military arrests.

"The undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed, that the Constitution is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security. The Constitution provides for no limitation upon or exceptions to the guarantees of personal liberty, except as to the writ of *habeas corpus*. Has the President, at the time of invasion or insurrection, the right to engraft limitations or exceptions upon these constitutional guarantees whenever, in his judgment, the public safety requires it?

"True it is, the article of the Constitution which defines the various powers delegated to Congress declares that 'the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless where, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.' But this qualification or limitation upon this restriction upon the powers of Congress has no reference to or connection with the other constitutional guarantees of personal liberty. Expunge from the Constitution this limitation upon the powers of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and yet the other guarantees of personal liberty would remain unchanged.

"Although a man might not have a constitutional right to have an immediate investigation made as to the legality of his arrest, upon *habeas corpus*, yet 'his right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed,' will not be altered; neither will his right to the exemption from 'cruel and unusual punishments;' nor his right to be secure in his person, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable seizures and searches; nor his right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor his right not to be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous offense, unless on presentment or indictment of a grand jury be in anywise changed.

"And certainly the restriction upon the power of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, in time of insurrection or invasion, could not affect the guarantee that the freedom of speech and of the press shall not be abridged. It is sometimes urged that the proceedings in the civil tribunals are too tardy and ineffective for cases arising in times of insurrection or invasion. It is a full reply to this to say that arrests by civil process may be equally as expeditious and effective as arrests by military orders.

"True, a summary trial and punishment are not allowed in the civil courts. But if the offender be under arrest and imprisoned, and not entitled to a discharge on writ of *habeas corpus*, before trial, what more can be required for the purpose of the Government? The idea that all the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty are suspended, throughout the country, at a time of insurrection or invasion in any part of it, places us upon a sea of uncertainty, and subjects the life, liberty, and property of every citizen to the mere will of a military commander, or what he might say that he considers the public safety requires. Does your Excellency wish to have

it understood that you hold that the rights of every man throughout this vast country are subject to be annulled whenever you may say that you consider the public safety requires it in time of invasion or insurrection?

"You are further reported as having said that the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty have 'no application to the present case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason; that is, not for the treason defined in the Constitution, and upon the conviction of which the punishment is death; nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crimes; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, criminal prosecutions. The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following accorded with the grounds of the arrests,' etc.

"The conclusion to be drawn from this position of your Excellency is, that where a man is liable to 'a criminal prosecution,' or is charged with a crime known to the laws of the land, he is clothed with all the constitutional guarantees for his safety and security from wrong and injustice; but that where he is not liable to 'a criminal prosecution,' or charged with any crime known to the laws, if the President or any military commander shall say that he considers that the public safety requires it, this man may be put outside of the pale of the constitutional guarantees, and arrested without charge of crime, imprisoned without knowing what for, and any length of time, or be tried before a court-martial, and sentenced to any kind of punishment unknown to the laws of the land, which the President or military commander may deem proper to impose.

"Did the Constitution intend to throw the shield of its securities around the man liable to be charged with treason as defined by it, and yet leave the man not liable to any such charge unprotected by the safeguard of personal liberty and personal security? Can a man not in the military or naval service, nor within the field of the operations of the army, be arrested and imprisoned without any law of the land to authorize it? Can a man thus, in civil life, be punished without any law defining the offense and prescribing the punishment? If the President or a court-martial may prescribe one kind of punishment unauthorized by law, why not any other kind? Banishment is an unusual punishment, and unknown to our laws. If the President has the right to prescribe the punishment of banishment, why not that of death and confiscation of property? If the President has the right to change the punishment prescribed by the court-martial, from imprisonment to banishment, why not from imprisonment to torture upon the rack, or execution upon the gibbet?

"If an indefinable kind of constructive treason is to be introduced and engrafted upon the Constitution, unknown to the laws of the land and subject to the will of the President whenever an insurrection or invasion shall occur in any part of this vast country, what safety or security will be left for the liberties of the people?

"The constructive treasons that gave the friends of freedom so many years of toil and trouble in England, were inconsiderable compared to this. The precedents which you make will become a part of the Constitution for your successors, if sanctioned and acquiesced in by the people now.

"The people of Ohio are willing to co-operate zealously with you in every effort warranted by the Constitution to restore the Union of the States, but they can not consent to abandon those fundamental principles of civil liberty which are essential to their existence as a free people.

"In their name we ask that, by a revocation of the order of his banishment, Mr. Vallandigham may be restored to the enjoyment of those rights of which they believe he has been unconstitutionally deprived.

"We have the honor to be, respectfully, yours, etc.,

"M. BIRCHARD, Chairman, 19th District.

"DAVID A. HOUK, Secretary, 3d District.

"George Bliss,	14th District.	George S. Converse,	7th District.
"T. W. Bartley,	8th "	Warren P Noble,	9th "
"W. J. Gordon,	18th "	George H. Pendleton,	1st "
"John O'Neill,	13th "	W A. Hutchins,	11th "
"C. A. White,	6th "	Abner L. Backus,	10th "
"W. D. Finck,	12th "	J. F. McKinney,	5th "
"Alexander Long,	2d "	F C. Le Blond,	5th "
"J. W White,	16th "	Louis Schaefer,	17th "
"Jas. R. Morris,	15th "		

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1863.

"GENTLEMEN: The resolutions of the Ohio Democratic State Convention, which you present me, together with your introductory and closing remarks, being in position and argument mainly the same as the resolutions of the Democratic meeting at Albany, New York, I refer you to my response to the latter as meeting most of the points in the former. This response you evidently used in preparing your remarks, and I desire no more than that it be used with accuracy. In a single reading of your remarks, I only discovered one inaccuracy in matter which I suppose you took from that paper. It is where you say, 'the undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed, that the Constitution is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security.'

"A recurrence to the paper will show you that I have not expressed the opinion you suppose. I expressed the opinion that the Constitution is different *in its application* in cases of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and this opinion I adhere to, simply because by the Constitution itself, things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other.

"I dislike to waste a word on a merely personal point, but I must respectfully assure you that you will find yourselves at fault, should you ever seek for evidence to prove your assumption that I 'opposed in discussions before the people the policy of the Mexican War.'

"You say, 'Expunge from the Constitution this limitation upon the power of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and yet the other guarantees of personal liberty would remain unchanged.' Doubtless if this clause of the Constitution, improperly called as I think a limitation upon the power of Congress were expunged, the other guarantees would remain the same; but the question is not how those guarantees would stand with that clause OUT of the Constitution, but how they stand with that clause remaining in it, in case of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety. If the liberty could be indulged of expunging that clause, letter and spirit, I really think the constitutional argument would be with you.

"My general view on this question was stated in the Albany response, and hence I do not state it now. I only add that, as seems to me, the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* is the great means through which the guarantees of personal liberty are conserved and made available in the last resort; and corroborative of this view, is the fact that Vallandigham in the very case in question, under the advice of able lawyers, saw not where else to go, but to the *habeas corpus*. But by the Constitution the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* itself may be suspended when in cases of rebellion and invasion the public safety may require it.

"You ask in substance whether I really claim that I may override all the guaranteed rights of individuals, on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is either simply a question *who* shall decide, or an affirmation that *nobody* shall decide, what public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion. The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur for decision, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made from time to time; and I think the man whom, for the time the people have, under the Constitution made the Commander-in-Chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands, to be dealt with by the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution.

"The earnestness with which you insist that persons can only in times of rebellion be lawfully dealt with, in accordance with the rules for criminal trials and punishments in times of peace, induces me to add a word to what I have said on that point in the Albany response. You claim that men may, if they choose, embarrass those whose duty it is to combat a giant rebellion and then be dealt with only in turn as if there was no rebellion. The Constitution itself rejects this view. The military arrests and detentions which have been made, including those of Mr. Vallandigham, which are not different in principle from the others, have been for prevention and not for punishment—as injunctions to stay injury—as proceedings to keep the peace, and hence, like proceedings in such cases and for like reasons, they have been accompanied with indictments, or trials by juries, nor, in a single case, by any punishment whatever beyond what is purely

incidental to the prevention. The original sentence of imprisonment in Mr. Vallandigham's case was to prevent injury to the military service only, and the modification of it was made as a less disagreeable mode to him of securing the same prevention.

"I am unable to perceive an insult to Ohio in the case of Mr. Vallandigham. Quite surely nothing of this sort was or is intended. I was wholly unaware that Mr. Vallandigham was at the time of his arrest, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor, until so informed by your reading to me the resolutions of the Convention. I am grateful to the State of Ohio for many things, especially for the brave soldiers and officers she has given in the present National trial to the armies of the Union.

"You claim, as I understand, that, according to my own position in the Albany response, Mr. Vallandigham should be released; and this because, as you claim, he has not damaged the military service, by discouraging enlistments, encouraging desertions, or otherwise; and that, if he had, he should have been turned over to the civil authorities under the recent acts of Congress. I certainly do not *know* that Mr. Vallandigham has specifically and by direct language advised against enlistments, and in favor of desertion and resistance to drafting. We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters, began several months ago; that more recently the like has appeared in resistance to the enrollment preparatory to a draft; and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this again has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the course in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged in a greater degree than to any other cause, and is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other one man. These things have been notorious, known to all, and of course known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they originated with his special friends and adherents. With perfect knowledge of them he has frequently, if not constantly, made speeches in Congress and before popular assemblies, and if it can be shown that with these things staring him in the face, he has ever uttered a word of rebuke or counsel against them, it will be a fact greatly in his favor with me, and one of which, as yet, I am totally ignorant. When it is known that the whole burden of his speeches has been to stir up men against the prosecution of the war, and that in the midst of resistance to it, he has not been known in any instance to counsel against such resistance, it is next to impossible to repel the inference that he has counseled directly in favor of it. With all this before their eyes, the convention you represent have nominated Mr. Vallandigham for Governor of Ohio, and both they and you have declared the purpose to sustain the National Union by all constitutional means. But of course they and you, in common, reserve to yourselves to decide what are constitutional means; and, unlike the Albany meeting, you omit to state or intimate that in your opinion an army is a constitutional means of saving the Union against rebellion, or even to intimate that you are conscious of an existing rebellion being in progress, with the avowed object of destroying that very Union. At the same time your nominee for Governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and escape the draft to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so. After a personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and, by consequence, a real strength to the enemy. It is a false hope, and one which you would willingly dispel. I will make the way exceedingly easy. I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority of you, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them, and return it thus indorsed to me, with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions, and to nothing else:

"1. That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the National Union; and that, in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion.

"2. That no one of you will do anything which, in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army and navy while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion; and,

"3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and sea-

men of the army and navy. while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided and supported.

"And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham.

"It will not escape observation that I consent to the release of Mr. Vallandigham upon terms not embracing any pledge from him or from others as to what he will or will not do. I do this because he is not present to speak for himself, or to authorize others to speak for him, and hence, I shall expect, that on returning he would not put himself practically in antagonism with the position of his friends. But I do it chiefly because I thereby prevail on other influential gentlemen of Ohio to so define their position as to be of immense value to the army—thus more than compensating for the consequences of any mistake in allowing Mr. Vallandigham to return, so that, on the whole, the public safety would not have suffered by it. Still, in regard to Mr. Vallandigham and all others, I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public service may seem to require.

"I have the honor to be respectfully yours, etc., A. LINCOLN."

The Committee responded to this proposition in another long argument, closing as follows:

"The people of Ohio were not so deeply moved by the action of the President, merely because they were concerned for the personal safety or convenience of Mr. Vallandigham, but because they saw in his arrest and banishment an attack upon their own personal rights; and they attach value to his discharge chiefly as it will indicate an abandonment of the claim to the power of such arrest and banishment. However just the undersigned might regard the principles contained in the several propositions submitted by the President, or how much soever they might, under other circumstances, feel inclined to indorse the sentiments contained therein, yet they assure him they have not been authorized to enter into any bargains, terms, contracts, or conditions with the President of the United States to procure the release of Mr. Vallandigham.

"The opinions of the undersigned touching the questions involved in these propositions are well known, have been many times publicly expressed, and are sufficiently manifested in the resolutions of the convention which they represent, and they can not suppose that the President expects that they will seek the discharge of Mr. Vallandigham by a pledge, implying not only an imputation upon their own *sincerity* and *fidelity* as citizens of the United States; and also carrying with it by implication a concession of *the legality* of his arrest, trial, and banishment, against which they and the convention they represent, have solemnly protested. And while they have asked the revocation of the order of banishment, not as a favor, but as a *right*, due to the people of Ohio, and with a view to avoid the possibility of conflict or disturbance of the public tranquillity; they do not do this, nor does Mr. Vallandigham desire it, at any sacrifice of their dignity and self-respect.

"The idea that such a pledge as that asked from the undersigned would secure the public safety sufficiently to compensate for any mistake of the President in discharging Mr. Vallandigham, is, in their opinion, a mere evasion of the grave questions involved in this discussion, and of a direct answer to their demand. And this is made especially apparent by the fact that this pledge is asked in a communication which concludes with an intimation of a disposition on the part of the President to repeat the acts complained of.

"The undersigned, therefore, having fully discharged the duty enjoined upon them, leave the responsibility with the President.

The effort of the President to commit these gentlemen to the support of the army and the war thus failed. It was well understood that this happened, not entirely because they disliked his "evasion of the grave questions involved" in the treatment of Mr. Vallandigham, but also and mainly because of the fact that, in the temper then prevalent in their party, they were unwilling to give any countenance to the war.

Mr. Vallandigham passed through the Confederacy, from Chattanooga to Richmond, and thence to Wilmington. Here he took passage on a blockade-runner, which, escaping capture, landed him safely at the British port of Nassau, whence he made his way under the British flag to Canada, taking up his quarters on the Canada side at the Niagara Falls. He arrived at Niagara on the 15th of July, and on the same day issued the following address, accepting the nomination which had been conferred upon him while he was in the Confederacy:

"NIAGARA FALLS, CANADA WEST, July 15, 1863.

"Arrested and confined for three weeks in the United States, a prisoner of state; banished thence to the Confederate States, and there held as an alien enemy and prisoner of war, though on parol, fairly and honorably dealt with and given leave to depart, an act possible only by running the blockade at the hazard of being fired upon by ships flying the flag of my own country, I found myself first a freeman when on British soil. And to-day, under the protection of the British flag, I am here to enjoy and in part to exercise the privileges and rights which usurpers insolently deny me at home. The shallow contrivance of the weak despots at Washington and their advisers has been defeated. Nay, it has been turned against them, and I, who for two years was maligned as in secret league with the Confederates, having refused when in their midst, under circumstances the most favorable, either to identify myself with their cause, or even so much as to remain, preferring rather exile in a foreign land, return now with allegiance to my own State and Government unbroken in word, thought, or deed, and with every declaration and pledge to you while at home, and before I was stolen away, made good in spirit and to the very letter.

"Six weeks ago, when just going into banishment because an audacious but most cowardly despotism caused it, I addressed you as a fellow-citizen. To-day, and from the very place then selected by me, but after wearisome and most perilous journeyings for more than four thousand miles by land and upon sea, still in exile, though almost in sight of my native State, I greet you as your representative. Grateful, certainly I am, for the confidence in my integrity and patriotism, implied by the unanimous nomination as candidate for Governor of Ohio, which you gave me while I was yet in the Confederate States. It was not misplaced; it shall never be abused. But this is the last of all considerations in times like these. I ask no personal sympathy for the personal wrong. No; it is the cause of constitutional liberty and private right cruelly outraged beyond example on a free country, by the President and his servants, which gives public significance to the action of your convention. Yours was, indeed, an act of justice to a citizen who, for his devotion to the rights of the States and the liberties of the people, had been marked for destruction by the hand of arbitrary power. But it was much more. It was an example of courage worthy of the heroic ages of the world; and it was a spectacle and a rebuke to the usurping tyrants who, having broken up the Union, would now strike down the Constitution, subvert your present Government, and establish a formal and proclaimed despotism in its stead. You are the restorers and defenders of constitutional liberty, and by that proud title history will salute you.

"I congratulate you upon your nominations. They whom you have placed upon the ticket with me are gentlemen of character, ability, integrity, and tried fidelity to the Constitution, the Union, and to liberty. Their moral and political courage, a quality always rare, and now the most valuable of public virtues, is beyond question. Every way, all these were nominations fit to be made. And even jealousy, I am sure, will now be hushed, if I especially rejoice with you in the nomination of Mr. Pugh as your candidate for Lieutenant-Governor and President of the Senate. A scholar and a gentleman, a soldier in a foreign war, and always a patriot; eminent as a lawyer, and distinguished as an orator and a statesman, I hail his acceptance as an omen of the return of the better and more virtuous days of the Republic.

'I indorse your noble platform; elegant in style, admirable in sentiment. You present the true issue, and commit yourselves to the great mission just now of the Democratic party—to restore and make sure first the rights and liberties declared yours by your Constitutions. It is in vain

to invite the States and people of the South to return to a Union without a Constitution, and dishonored and polluted by repeated and most aggravated exactions of tyrannic powers. It is base in yourselves, and treasonable to your posterity, to surrender these liberties and rights to the creatures whom your own breath created and can destroy.

"Shall there be free speech, a free press, peaceable assemblages of the people, and a free ballot any longer in Ohio? Shall the people hereafter, as hitherto, have the right to discuss and condemn the principles and policy of the party—the ministry—the men who for the time conduct the Government? To demand of their public servants a reckoning of their stewardship, and to place other men and another party in power at their supreme will and pleasure? Shall Order 38 or the Constitution be the supreme law of the land? And shall the citizen any more be arrested by an armed soldiery at midnight, dragged from wife and child at home to a military prison; thence to a mock military trial; thence condemned and then banished as a felon for the exercise of his rights? This is the issue, and nobly you have met it. It is the very question of free, popular government itself. It is the whole question: upon the one side liberty, upon the other despotism. The President, as the recognized head of his party, accepts the issue. Whatever he wills, that is law. Constitutions, State and Federal, are nothing; acts of legislation nothing; the judiciary less than nothing. In time of war there is but one will supreme—his will; but one law—military necessity—and he the sole judge. Military orders supersede the Constitution, and military commissions usurp the place of the ordinary courts of justice in the land. Nor are these mere idle claims. For two years and more, by arms, they have been enforced. It was the mission of the weak but presumptuous Burnside—a name infamous forever in the ears of all lovers of constitutional liberty—to try the experiment in Ohio, aided by a judge whom I name not, because he has brought foul dishonor upon the judiciary of my country. In your hands now, men of Ohio, is the final issue of the experiment. The party of the Administration have accepted it. By pledging support to the President they have justified his outrages upon liberty and the Constitution, and whoever gives his vote to the candidates of that party, commits himself to every act of violence and wrong on the part of the Administration which he upholds; and thus, by the law of retaliation, which is the law of might, would forfeit his own right to liberty, personal and political, whensoever other men and another party shall hold the power. Much more do the candidates themselves. Suffer them not, I entreat you, to evade the issue; and by the judgment of the people we will abide.

"And now, finally, let me ask, what is the pretext for all the monstrous acts and claims of arbitrary power, which you have so nobly denounced? 'Military necessity?' But if indeed all these be demanded by military necessity, then, believe me, your liberties are gone, and tyranny is perpetual. For if this civil war is to terminate only by the subjugation or submission of the South to force and arms, the infant of to-day will not live to see the end of it. No, in another way only can it be brought to a close. Traveling a thousand miles and more, through nearly one-half of the Confederate States, and sojourning for a time at widely different points, I met not one man, woman, or child who was not resolved to perish rather than yield to the pressure of arms, even in the most desperate extremity. And whatever may and must be the varying fortune of the war, in all which I recognize the hand of Providence pointing visibly to the ultimate issue of this great trial of the States and people of America; they are better prepared now every way to make good their inexorable purpose than at any period since the beginning of the struggle. These may, indeed, be unwelcome truths, but they are addressed only to candid and honest men. Neither, however, let me add, did I meet any one, whatever his opinions or his station, political or private, who did not declare his readiness, *when the war shall have ceased, and invading armies been withdrawn*, to consider and discuss the question of re-union. And who shall doubt the issue of the argument? I return, therefore, with my opinions and convictions as to war or peace, and my faith as to final results from sound policy and wise statesmanship, not only unchanged but confirmed and strengthened. And may the God of heaven and earth so rule the hearts and minds of Americans everywhere that with a Constitution maintained, a Union restored, and liberty henceforth made secure, a grander and nobler destiny shall yet be ours than that even which blessed our fathers in the first two ages of the republic.

"C. L. VALLANDIGHAM."

We have had occasion to notice that Governor Tod's faithful, zealous, and generally able administration was occasionally marred by foibles, and once or twice by serious mistakes. People laughed at some of his exaggerated and undignified expressions—as when he announced to the Secretary of War that it was well he did not know who was withholding certain supplies from the new troops, since, if he did, he "would whip the fellow, though he were as strong as Samson"—and it is always more unfortunate to an aspirant for public favor to become ridiculous than to make even serious blunders. But there was also a disposition to charge upon him responsibility for some needless expenses, some unfounded alarms, some unwise vigor in the business of arrests. The dissatisfaction was not general, nor was it very well founded; but it was sufficient to break the force of what might otherwise have proved a spontaneous movement for his renomination.

As the determination of the Democratic masses to nominate Mr. Vallandigham became evident, a growing sentiment began to appear in favor of casting aside all personal considerations, and nominating the strongest candidate who could be found, to head the Union ticket. It appeared that Governor Tod was not generally held to be that man; and it was thought questionable whether, even if his ability were conceded, he would, under the peculiar circumstances, be the most available candidate. These considerations were having some weight, though Governor Tod still seemed to have the best prospects; when the managers of the two leading Republican newspapers of Cincinnati, apparently by a preconcerted plan, united in giving special prominence to a new candidate.

John Brough had in times past been one of the most honored names among the Ohio Democracy. The man had been founder and editor of their great party organ, the Cincinnati Enquirer;* had achieved a remarkable financial reputation as Auditor of State; had been tendered foreign missions, and even a place in the cabinet of a Democratic President. He was reckoned one of their best stump speakers. He had been out of politics and engaged in managing railways for nearly fifteen years, so that his fame had become almost traditional, and his name called up associations with great campaigns and great leaders whom the party had canonized.

He now appeared, almost unheralded, at Marietta, the home of his boyhood, to address an assemblage of supporters of the war. The Cincinnati newspapers two days later—on the very day on which they published the report of the Vallandigham Convention—spread his speech in full before their readers, not forgetting to suggest that the great Democrat who now gave such hearty support to the Government in its trials would be an excellent man to put up against the "Blue-light Convention and its convict candidate."† The speech was an admirable popular effort, and its instant effect was to make Mr. Brough

* The paper had been in existence long before, but under Mr. Brough's proprietorship its name was changed to that which it has ever since borne, and such other changes were made as would seem to warrant the treatment of him as its founder.

† This was the phrase with which Hon. E. D. Mansfield headed an article in the Gazette on the nomination of Mr. Vallandigham.

the most popular man in the State. The next day the Cincinnati Republican papers openly came out in advocacy of his nomination; the feeling spread like wild-fire, and when, in the next week, the Union Convention assembled at Columbus, it was seen from the outset that Mr. Brough had a majority of the delegates.

Governor Tod's friends, however, gave him an earnest support. The ballot stood, for Brough, two hundred and twenty-six; for Tod, one hundred and eighty-three and half. The Governor behaved handsomely. He addressed the convention, giving a frank expression of his natural disappointment, and assurances of his intention, nevertheless, to do all in his power for the success of the ticket.

The enthusiasm of the convention was greatly excited by the address from the soldiers of the Army of the Cumberland, presented by Governor Dennison. This document, which had no small influence, both upon the nominations and in the subsequent canvass, was as follows:

"TRIUNE, TENN., June 9th.

"GENTLEMEN: You have been selected by the representatives of a very large number of the soldiers of Ohio, now serving with the Army of the Cumberland, to attend the Union Convention, called to assemble at Columbus on the 17th inst., for the nomination of Governor and other State officers.

"We sincerely hope that neither the convention nor the people of Ohio, will deem this action of her citizen-soldiery as formed upon any mere desire to participate, even in the remotest degree, in party or political strifes at home, but solely from a most earnest wish that civil, State, and political action may be so conducted as to contribute to the great object which all true patriots, whether citizens or soldiers, must have at heart, the maintainance of the Government and the restoration of the Union. With parties, as such, we have long since ceased to sympathize, and to-day the Army of the Cumberland has but this platform of political principles: 'An unlimited use of all the energies and all the resources of the Government for the prosecution of the war until the rebellion is subjugated and the Union restored.' Though formerly divided by all the party distinctions of their time, we are to-day a 'band of brothers,' standing firmly and unitedly upon this broad platform. We ask of each other no reason why we are so united, but we gratefully accept the fact and let that suffice. We do not discuss whether slavery be right or wrong; whether the slaveholder or abolitionist is the primary cause of the rebellion; it is enough for us that the rebellion now exists, and that we are bound by the heritage of the past, and the hope of the future, to put it down. We did not refuse to sustain the Government before the Administration inaugurated the policy of emancipation. We will not desert it now that it has. The efficiency and continued harmony of your army depend, in a great measure, upon the State Government at home. It has pleased that Government to give us, while yet in the field, a voice at the polls. While eminent civilians at home will doubtless be proposed to the convention as candidates for the gubernatorial chair, from whom a choice might be made that would command our cordial support; still, if such choice can not be made with harmony, we beg to suggest the propriety of selection being made from among the many eminent public men Ohio now has in the field. Such a candidate, while being thoroughly acquainted with every want of the soldier, would, at the same time, possess equal ability to administer the domestic affairs of the State. For such a candidate we can safely pledge the undivided support of Ohio's *one hundred thousand soldiers.*

"Once more we call upon our friends at home to stand firmly by the Government and its army. Mistakes in policy, if any such occur, are but the straw and foam that whirl and disappear on the broad river of nationality, sweeping on majestically and undisturbed beneath them. Under this Administration the American Union is to fall ingloriously, or be so firmly re-established that the world in arms can not shake it henceforth, and none but traitors can withhold their support. Whatever will aid in crushing traitors is orthodox with us, regardless of what old political text-books say. We ask you to unite on our simple platform.

"The shifting scenes of National life are now changing with electric swiftness; old ideas, theories, and prejudices are being hurried into their graves. With the stern realities of the living present we must grapple boldly and act earnestly, or history will write over our National tomb that we of the North were unequal to the hour in which we lived. Let us labor on, then, patiently and zealously, each in his separate sphere of action—you as citizens surrounded by the blessings and the quiet of home, striving against traitors there—we fighting less dangerous foes on the fields which lie between them and the homes we love so well. Over these fields of carnage now we hope, by the blessing of God, to re-establish our noble form of American nationality, that shall yet bless the world as no government before has done. This, with you, we hope to enjoy when we have laid aside the character of soldiers and entered again the walks of peaceful life.

"With highest regard, gentlemen, we have the honor to remain,

"Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

"GEO. P. ESTE, Colonel 14th O. V. I.

"F VAN DERVEER, Colonel 15th O. V. I.

"DURBIN WARD, Lieutenant-Colonel 17th O. V. I.

"To Hon. Wm. Dennison, Brigadier-General J. D. Cox, Judge Stanley Matthews, Colonel John M. Connell, Colonel James H. Godman."

The following declaration of principles, reported by Senator Wade, was adopted by acclamation:

"*Resolved*, That the calamities of the present rebellion have been brought upon this Nation by the infamous doctrines of nullification and secession, promulgated by Calhoun and denounced by General Jackson in 1832, and reiterated by the convention held in the city of Columbus on the 11th instant. We denounce them as incompatible with the unity, integrity, power, and glory of the American Republic.

"*Resolved*, That the war must go on with the utmost vigor, till the authority of the National Government is re-established and the old flag floats again securely and triumphantly over every State and Territory of the Union.

"*Resolved*, That in the present exigencies of the Republic we lay aside personal preferences and prejudices, and henceforth, till the war is ended, will draw no party line, but the great line between those who sustain the Government and those who oppose it; between those who rejoice in the triumph of our arms and those who rejoice in the triumph of the enemy.

"*Resolved*, That immortal honor and gratitude are due to our brave and patriotic soldiers in the field, and everlasting shame and disgrace to any citizen or party who withholds it; that, sympathizing with the army in its hardships, and proud of its gallantry, the lovers of the Union will stand by it, and will remember, aid, and support those who are disabled, and the families of those who fall fighting for their country.

"*Resolved*, That confiding in the honesty, patriotism, and good sense of the President, we pledge to him our support of his earnest efforts to put down the rebellion.

"*Resolved*, That the present Governor, David Tod, is an honest, able public servant, and that his official conduct deserves and receives the approbation of all loyal people.

Mr. Brough signified his acceptance of the nomination, which he continued to protest was unexpected and undesired, in the following letter:

"CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 27, 1863.

"GENTLEMEN: On my return home last evening I found your favor of 17th instant, announcing my nomination, by the Union Convention, as a candidate for Governor of Ohio.

"You are fully aware, gentlemen, that this nomination has been made, not only without my solicitation, but against my personal wishes. The circumstances attending it, and the manner of its presentation, scarcely admit of discussion as to the course to be adopted. Personal considerations must yield to the duty which every man owes to the State; and therefore, while appreciating alike the honors and responsibilities of the position, I assume the standard you present to me, and, to the utmost of my ability, will bear it through the contest, whether to victory or defeat, those who have chosen me must determine.

"I accept and fully approve the resolutions of the convention accompanying your note. My own position has been so clearly defined that I consider it unnecessary to restate it on this occasion. I have but one object in accepting the position your constituents have assigned me—and that is to aid you and them in sustaining the Government in the great work of suppressing this most wicked rebellion, and restoring our country to its former unity and glory.

"Very truly yours, JOHN BROUGH.

"Messrs. Wm. Dennison, Pres't, John D. Caldwell, Sec'y, Union Convention of Ohio."

The campaign which ensued will long be remembered in Ohio as one of the most exciting ever known in her history. The meetings of both parties were unusually large—those of the Democrats being especially noticeable for unprecedented numbers and enthusiasm. The ablest speakers on both sides traversed the State; and the newspapers gave almost as much space to the canvass as to the great victories in the field, which soon came to inspire the party of the Government. The tone of the Democrats, in spite of this revolution in the prospects of the war, was one of unabated defiance, and they proclaimed, on all hands, their determination to form an army to conduct Mr. Vallandigham home in case they should elect him. To the last they appeared confident of success, and the vote showed that they polled their full strength. On the other side a fuller vote was brought out than ever before at a gubernatorial election. Mr. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, set the example of "going home to vote"—making for that purpose his first visit to Ohio since the outbreak of the war. Large numbers of clerks from the departments in Washington imitated his course, as did thousands of citizens scattered east and west through other States, on business or pleasure.

The result was as signal as the struggle had been conspicuous. One hundred thousand was the majority by which the people of Ohio put the seal of their condemnation on the course which Mr. Vallandigham had chosen to pursue, and renewed their vows to continue the war, through good fortune or ill, to the end of the utter defeat of the rebellion.

Mr. Brough's majority on the home vote was sixty-one thousand nine hundred and twenty. Of the votes of the soldiers, forty-one thousand four hundred and sixty-seven were cast for him, and only two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight for Mr. Vallandigham.* Brough's aggregate majority was thus swelled to one hundred and one thousand and ninety-nine, in a total vote of four hundred and seventy-six thousand two hundred and twenty-three. But Mr. Vallandigham had received the startling number of one hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and sixty-two votes. In the election, one year before, the Democrats had carried the State—the soldiers not being permitted to vote—by a majority of five thousand five hundred and seventy-seven. The change in majorities, therefore, on the home vote alone was sixty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-seven; while, including the soldiers' vote, it

*Even this the soldiers spoke of as falling many thousands below the majority they would have given had the election come before the battle of Chickamauga. Great numbers of men who would have voted for Brough were left upon that unfortunate field—to linger out the war in Rebel prisons, or to be thenceforth reported "dead on the field of glory."

swelled to the enormous number of one hundred and seven thousand five hundred and seventy-six.

The general feeling of triumph found expression in the editorial of the Cincinnati Gazette the morning after the election—which may be taken as a fair indication of the temper of the times, and with which we may fitly close this condensation of the salient features of a great historical campaign:

"VICTORY!—NEMESIS!

"Thank God! The good name of our State is once more free from stain! It was a disgrace to Ohio, loyal mother of us all, that such a man as Clement L. Vallandigham should be nominated by any considerable party of her citizens for any respectable position in the State; but right nobly has the disgrace been wiped out. Our people forgot party when patriotism was involved; and from the river to the lakes their condemnation of traitors and sympathizers with traitors has sounded out in tones so clear, so loud, that through the whole limits of this Nation, Rebel or Loyal, none can fail to hear.

"If Ohio furnished the most conspicuous and persistent minion of the great rebellion, Ohio, too, has magnificently repudiated her recreant, banished son! No, exiled *citizen*, NOT son! Thank God! he is no son of Ohio, whom her people have loathingly spurned from his crouching position beyond the border.

"Beneath our office windows the people of Cincinnati are thronging the public space in a wild exuberance of ecstatic joy they have not shown since the first proud victories of the war stirred the great heart of the Nation to its profoundest depths; and the name of the candidate whose high honor it has been to become the symbol of a State's loyalty is ringing in exultant shouts from square to square.

"'Count every ballot a bullet fairly aimed at the heart of the rebellion,' said the great minister of finance yesterday.* They are counting the bullets thus truly aimed! In the morning the State will count from our bulletins as the city counts to-night; and as the reckoning is footed up, there will come a gush of joy, and of pride that overtops the joy.

"It is no great victory that prompts this thanksgiving of the Commonwealth. It is simply the redemption of our fair fame! It is what we all knew the noble State must do, but what it thrills us to find she has done so superbly.

"The estimates we thought the wildest are far outstripped. The State Central Committee talked of thirty-two thousand majority on the home vote. It will be fifty thousand! At Columbus they say it is more likely to be seventy-five thousand! And this is without our soldiers! Wait till their voice comes in, and the thunders of our home guns will be penny fire-crackers beside the reverberating roar of their artillery.

"From across the water the echoes will soon come sounding back. There is an end of hopes for a desertion of their Government by the people; an end of hopes for a division at the North; an end of expectations of peace save through the red gates of a war that knows no close but the close of the rebellion it means to crush.

"So much for the victory! And now for the retributive justice it compels!

"It has been no ordinary contest concerning disputed questions of politics. It was a grave attempt by certain leading men, enjoying the privileges of citizens of Ohio, to establish treason to the Government under the forms of law—to place the State in direct hostility to the General Government. For that crime, and for all the consequences that crime would have entailed, had it been as successful as they strove to make it, we hold these men responsible now and through all their lives. For *this* sin there is no forgiveness.

"Political opponents from whom we differ we can yet esteem; but men who sought to disgrace the Nation by base submission to its enemies, or to dishonor the State by placing it with the traitors against the Government—why should they be less infamous evermore than the Tories and Cowboys of our earlier and less dangerous times of trial?

"The prime mover in all the conspiracy is Clement L. Vallandigham. Let *him* pass! Convicted by two courts, banished by the Chief Magistrate of the Nation, an appellant from that tribunal to the bar of his State, and by her cast off with an ignominy none other of her citizens

*This phrase had occurred in a speech by Secretary Chase on the election.

ever received—branded traitor by the rulers, sealed traitor by the people—let him wander, outcast that he is, with the mark of Cain upon his brow, through lands where distance and obscurity may diminish, till the grave shall swallow, his infamy.

"Ohio has had sons whom she delighted to honor; men crowned with her Senatorial bays, or chosen to stand and speak for her among the Representatives of the Nation. How had this foul rottenness festered in the State, that it could reach these men and blight them forever? In a moment of crazy delirium they permitted vexation at private grievances, or groveling fealty to party machinery by which they hoped to rise, or unmanly fear of party drill to conquer their consciences and their honor; and to the horror of all who took honest pride in their fair names, they fell to be the seconds and adherents of the malevolent outcast. It is a hard fate for men who might have had large futures before them; but stern justice demands that henceforth, to each one who loves the honor of his State, their names—they rise to all lips, we need not call them over—be held INFAMOUS for evermore.

"There can be, there must be no escape. They will seek to evade the responsibility for their bold, bad attempt; will shuffle, and equivocate, and deny; but it must not be. As they have sowed, so must they reap. For the deceived masses there may be many excuses; for the deceiving leaders none. To have been a Tory in the Revolution will seem a light thing in the years that come, beside having been a Vallandigham leader in the Great Rebellion."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CLOSING FEATURES OF TOD'S ADMINISTRATION.

THROUGHOUT his term of service Governor Tod was zealous, watchful, and pains-taking to a degree not common among officials of any grade. After his defeat in the effort for renomination these qualities were more conspicuous than ever. None could fail to see that he was wounded by the treatment he had received; but none could fail also to see that his efforts to serve faithfully the people who had elected him continued unabated till the last hour of his official career.

We have already passed in review most of the events which make the period of his administration memorable in our history. It remains to speak of his continued efforts for recruiting the army; of his continued care of the wounded; of his relations with the officers in the field; of his efforts for the protection of the border from minor raids; of the discharges to the Squirrel Hunters, and the re-enlistment of the veterans.

The large numbers of men put into the field in 1862 left comparatively little work to be done in the way of raising troops in Ohio in 1863. Throughout the year fifteen thousand and sixty new men were enlisted who, according to the Governor's calculation, raised the entire number furnished by the State to two hundred thousand six hundred and seventy-one. Of these a few were for missing companies in infantry regiments sent to the field before their numbers were completed, and a few for missing battalions in cavalry regiments in the field. A couple of six months' regiments were raised under the unwise call of the Government for such troops in June. A couple of heavy artillery regiments were raised—one of them having for a nucleus a regiment of infantry already in the service; and one or two new batteries of light artillery were formed. A regiment or two for service in guarding prisoners, and a negro regiment completed the list of new organizations. Several that had been permitted to enter the service as coming from other States, in the great rush for acceptance in 1861, were reclaimed. The rest of the recruiting, conducted by the aid of the military committees,* but mainly under the authority of United

*The services of these military committees throughout the war were most valuable, and were entirely gratuitous. They were originally appointed by Governor Dennison, and contin-

States officers, was for the old regiments, and under the stimulus of a desire to avoid the draft. The grand total of these various efforts we have already given.

But the grand feature of the enlistments for 1863 was one with which, from the nature of the case, the State authorities could have little to do. The Ohio

ued by his successors, with a few occasional changes caused by deaths or disabilities. The names of their members deserve an honorable record; and their organization at the close of 1863 gives about as fair a statement of the general working force as is attainable. We present the list, therefore, as it stood at that date:

ADAMS.
E. P. Evans, Ch'n.
G. W. McKee.
J. N. Hook, Sec'y.
T. J. Millen.
H. Sprowl.

ALLEN.
T. Cunningham, Ch.
Shelby Taylor, Sec'y.
A. N. Smith.
Isaiah S. Pillars.
Joseph W Hunt.

ASHLAND.
L. J. Sprengle, Sec'y.
William Osborn.
W. H. H. Potter.
John D. Jones.
R. D. Frew.
W. A. Roller.
C. C. Wick.

ASHTABULA.
Abner Kellogg.
John A. Prentice.
Edwin R. Williams.
Edward A. Wright.
J. D. Ensign, Sec'y.

ATHENS.
M. M. Greene, Ch'n.
Hon. J. W. Bayard.
H. S. Brown.
Hon. L. L. Smith.
S. W. Pickering, Sec'y.
Capt. J. M. Dana.
E. H. Moore.
W. R. Golden.

AUGLAIZE.
B. A. Wendlon, Ch'n.
Col. John Walkup.
John G. Bennett.
David Simpson.
William Bush.
S. B. Ayres.
John Keller, Sec'y.

BELMONT.
D. D. T. Cowen, Ch'n.
John Lippencott.
Alex. Brannum.
St. Clair Kelly.
Lewis Boyer.
William Smith.
Hon. Wm. Kennon.

BROWN.
G. W. King, Chairm'n.
Jacob Hermann.
E. Blair.
S. Hemphill.
J. P. Biehn, Sec'y.

BUTLER.
N. C. McFarland, Ch.
Alex. F. Hume.
Israel Williams, Sec'y.
Henry Beardsley.
J. M. Millikin.

CARROLL.
George Hardesty.
William Deford.
George Beatty.
Edwin Forrell.
C. A. Shober, Sec'y.

CHAMPAIGN.
Wm. McDonald, Ch'n.
John H. Bryan.
Thomas Chance.
Isaac Johnson.
R. C. Fulton, Sec'y.

CLARK.
John B. Hagan, Ch'n.
Alex. Waddle.
Samuel E. Sturrell.
D. A. Harrison, Sec'y.
Charles M. Clark.
William S. Meranda.
Kreider Mower.

CLERMONT.
Philip B. Swing, Ch'n.
R. W Clark.
John Goodwin.
Dr. Cyrus Gaskins.
Dr. John P. Emrie.

CLINTON.
R. B. Harlan, Ch'n.
William C. Fife.
C. M. Bosworth.
William B. Fisher.
A. W. Miller.
J. Q. Smith.

COLUMBIANA.
Hon. L. W. Potter.
John Voglesong.
J. J. Boone.
Josiah Thompson.
Joseph G. Laycock.

COSHOCTON.
Dr. A. L. Cass, Ch'n.
Houston Hay.
Capt. E. Shaffer.
Col. J. Irvine, Sec'y.
Seth McClain.
Hon. John Johnson.

CRAWFORD.
T. J. Orr, Chairman.
Jacob Scroggs.
George Quinby, Sec'y.
H. C. Carhart.
W. W. Bagley.

CUYAHOGA.
W. B. Castle, Ch'n.
William Bingham.
F. Nicola.
E. Hessenmueller.
Col. George B. Senter.
Stillman Witt.
M. Barlow, Sec'y.
William Edwards.
William F. Cary.

DARKE.
Daniel R. Davis.
Capt. Charles Calkins.
Capt. B. B. Allen.
W. M. Wilson, Sec'y.

DEFIANCE.
Jonas Colby, Ch'n.
John Crow.
S. A. Strong.
John Paul.
J. P. Buffington, Sec'y.

DELAWARE.
Hon. T. W. Powell, Ch.
Robert McKinney.
Charles Sherman.
James W. Stark.
John W. Ladd.
B. C. Waters.
George F. Stayman.
Hugh Cole.
Burton Moore.

ERIE.
Hon. J. M. Root, Ch.
Henry C. Bush.
Walter F. Stone.
Capt. Thomas Fernald.
Charles Bosford.

FAIRFIELD.
M. A. Daugherty, Ch.
A. Syfert.
John Reber.
P. B. Ewing.
John B. McNeil, Sec'y.

FAYETTE.
Hon. J. Pursell, Ch'n.
Peter Wendel.
H. B. Maynard, Sec'y.
Gilbert Terrill.
James M. Edwards.

FRANKLIN.
John Miller, Ch'n.
David Taylor.
L. W. Babbitt.
Peter Ambos.
John Field.

FULTON.
N. Merrill, Chairm'n.
Octavius Waters.
D. W. H. Howard.
O. B. Verity, Sec'y.
Joel Brigham.
William Sutton.

GALLIA.
Joseph Bradbury.
James Harper.
Amos Kepley.
Robert Black.
Wm. Nash, Sec'y.

GEAUGA.
Hon. D. Woodbury, Ch.
Erastus Spencer.
Chester Palmer.
Hon. P. Hitchcock, Sec.
David Robinson.

GREENE.
B. Nesbitt, Chairman.
Capt. A. McDowell.
E. H. Munger.
Horace Bridsford.
Joseph Wilson.

GUERNSEY.
Hon. C. J. Albright, Ch.
Joseph D. Taylor.
Thomas Oldham.
Isaac Morton.
Joseph Ferrell.

HAMILTON.
Gen. J. H. Bates, Ch.
Hon. N. W. Thomas.
Col. A. E. Jones.
W. W. Lodwick.
John W. Ellis.
Francis Weisnewski.
W. H. Davis, Sec'y.
Thomas Sherlock.
Eli Muchmore.
Amzi Magill.

HANCOCK.
Edson Goit, Ch'n.
J. F. Perky.
Henry Brown, Sec'y.
J. S. Patterson.
J. B Rothschild.

HARDIN.
Henry Harris.
Benj. R. Brunson.
Hugh Letson.
R. L. Chase.
David Goodin.
C. H. Gatch, Sec'y.

HARRISON.
O. Slemmons, Ch'n.
James M. Paul.
John Jamison.

HARRISON—*Continued.*
Charles Warfell.
S. B Shotwell, Sec'y.

HENRY.
E. Sheffield, Chairm'n.
Cyrus Howard.
Achilles Smith.
James Durban.
L. H. Bigelow, Sec'y.

HIGHLAND.
Dr. Wm. Smith, Ch'n.
Dr. Enos Holmes.
James H. Thompson.
Col. Jacob Hyer.

HOCKING.
James R. Grozan, Ch.
Alex. White.
C. W. James.
Capt. G. M. Webb.

HOLMES.
Col. A. Baker, Ch'n.
Dr. John G. Bingham.
John Corbus.
B. C. Brown, Sec'y.
Trayer Anderson.
John W. Vorhes.

HURON.
C. L. Boalt, Esq., Ch.
John Dewey.
George G. Baker.
John Gardiner.
J. M. Farr.
C. A. Preston, Sec'y.

JACKSON.
Davis Mackley, Ch'n.
Joshua E. Ferrell.
George W. Johnson.
James Tripp.
J. E. Jones.
John M. Martin.

JEFFERSON.
Col. G. W. McCook, Ch.
R. C. Hoffman.
Joseph Means.
Charles Mather.
Beatty McFarlane.

KNOX.
James Blake.
C. H. Scribner.
T. P. Frederick.
Adam Weaver.
S. L. Taylor.
Sherman Pyle, Sec'y.

LAKE.
Hon. S. S. Osborn, Ch.
C. C. Jennings.
Chas. D. Adams, Sec'y.
Sellick Warren.
D. R. Page.

LAWRENCE.
John Campbell.
Hon. H. S. Neal.
Benj. F. Cory.
Ralph Leet.
Thomas McCarthy.
Wm. W. Kirker.
John Merrill.

LICKING.
Joseph White.
Col. Andrew Legg.
Michael Morath.
Dr. J. N. Wilson.
Noah Wilkins.

LOGAN.
I. S. Gardner, Ch.
John Underwood.

LOGAN—*Continued.*
R. E. Runkle.
J. B. McLauhlin, Sec'y.
John Emery.
Isaac Smith.

LORAIN.
H. E. Mussey, Ch'n.
G. G. Washburn.
R. A. How.
Conrad Reid.
J. H. Dickson.

LUCAS.
Gen. John E. Hunt, Ch.
John J. Manor.
George W. Reynolds.
Capt. R. Waite, Sec'y.
Peter Lent.
James W. Brigham.
Peleg T. Clarke.

MADISON.
Thomas P. Jones, Ch.
Gabriel Prugh.
Benj. F. Clark, Sec'y.
Oliver P. Crabb.
Robert Armstrong.

MAHONING.
Hosea Hoover.
Fred. W Whitslar.
John M. Edwards.
C. Fitch Kirtland.
F. O. Arms

MARION.
John Merrill, Ch'n.
Amos H. King.
Ira Ohler, Sec'y.
Adam Ault.
B. W. Davis.

MEDINA.
Hon. H. G. Blake, Ch.
William Shakespear.
N. H. Bostwick.
Asaph Severance, jr.
Ephraim Briggs.

MEIGS.
Hiram G. Daniel, Ch.
David R. Jacobs.
H. B. Smith, Sec'y.
Nicholas Stanberry.
Ed. Tiffany.

MERCER.
Dr. J. Tayler, Ch'n
Wm. O. A. Munsel.
Oliver Ellis, Sec'y.
William Dickman.
Adam Jewitt.

MIAMI.
Hon. M. G. Mitchell, Ch.
Dr. Harrison.
Robert L. Douglass.
Charles Morris.
William W. Crane.
John Wiggin.
James M. Rowe.

MONROE.
Hon. Wm. F. Hunter.
Hon. J. A. Davenport.
John Kerr, Esq.
Stephen S. Ford.
J. M. Kirkbride, Sec'y.

MONTGOMERY.
Hon. D. A. Haynes.
James Turner.
T. A. Philips.
Geo. Startsman.
Henry Fowler.
R. W. Steele, Sec'y.

regiments in the field had dwindled from a thousand to an average of from two to four hundred each. They had been decimated in battle, had languished in hospitals, had borne the manifold sufferings of the camp and the march, had gone through a Red Sea of troubles, and even yet were far from the sight of the promised land. They had left families, unprotected, behind them; they felt that others at home should be in the ranks beside them; they saw as yet little reward for all their toils, privations, and wounds.

With such a past and such prospects to contemplate, they heard the demand of the Generals for more troops. Their own terms of enlistment were expiring; long before the great campaign to which they were then looking forward should be ended many of them would have the right to turn their faces homeward. But, with a patriotism to which the history of the war furnishes no equal display, they turned from this alluring prospect, resolved that the vacant places by the loved firesides should remain vacant still, perhaps for the war, perhaps forever, and pledged themselves to the Government once more as its soldiers to the end. Over twenty thousand veterans, the thin remnants of nearly eighty regiments of Ohio soldiers, re-enlisted for the war within a few weeks after the subject was first proposed to them. It was the most inspiring act since the uprising after Sumter.

The Sixty-Sixth was the first of these regiments to return to the State after its re-enlistment, on the veteran furlough of thirty days, by which the Government wisely marked its gratitude for their unexampled fidelity. It reached

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MILITARY COMMITTEES FOR 1863—*Continued*..

MORGAN.
Gen. Jas. Cornelius.
John B. Stone.
Enoch Dye.
Hon. W. P. Sprague.
Hon. J. M. Gaylord.
Joshua Davis.
F. W. Wood.

MORROW.
A. R. Dunn, Ch'n.
J. G. Miles.
Wm. Chase.
Bertrand Andrews.
Dr. J. M. Briggs, Sec.

MUSKINGUM.
Hon. T. J. Maginnis.
Valentine Best.
Maj. R. W. P. Muse.
D. McCarty.
Perry Wiles.

NOBLE.
J. Belford.
John M. Round.
B. F Spriggs.
Wm. Fraser.
John W. Tipton.

OTTAWA.
James Lattimore.
Dr. W. W. Stedman.
Cyrus Williams.
Ira Dutcher, Sec'y.
John Ryder.
Aug. W. Lucky.

PAULDING.
F. T. Mellinger, Ch'n.
Isaiah Richards.
S. R. Brown, Sec'y.
John W. Ayres.
Samuel Forder.

PERRY.
Col. N.B.Colborn. Ch.
E. Rose.

PERRY—*Continued*.
T. Selby.
William Spencer.
J. L. Sheridan, Sec'y.

PICKAWAY.
Geo. W. Gregg, Ch'n.
James Reber.
Joseph P. Smith.
Isaac N. Ross.
Nelson J. Turney.
P. C. Smith, Sec'y.

PIKE.
Andrew Gilgore, Ch'n.

PORTAGE.
S. E. M. Kneeland.
Alphonso Hart.
Col. H. L. Carter.
Philo B. Conant.
S. D. Harris, jr., Sec.

PREBLE.
G. W. Thompson, Ch.
Robert Miller.
L. C. Abbott.

PUTNAM.
James L. Olney.
John Dixon.
Thos. J. Butler.
John B. Fruckly.
Jacob Shaff.

RICHLAND.
James Purdy, Ch'n.
Thomas Mickey.
Henry C. Hedges.
B. S. Runyan.
A. B. Beverstock.
H. P. Davis, Esq.

ROSS.
John Hough, Ch'n.
Addison Pearson.
Wm. T. McClintick.

ROSS—*Continued*.
Job E. Stevenson.
John R. Allston.
M. R. Bartlett.
D. A. Schutte, Sec'y.

SANDUSKY.
Dr. L. Q. Rawson, Ch.
James Justice.
Oliver McIntyre.
Isaac Knapp.
C. O. Tillotson, Sec'y.

SCIOTO.
A. W. Buskirk.
Samuel Macklen.
Martin B. Gillret.
John P. Torry, Sec'y.

SENECA.
J. M. Naylor, Ch'n.
G. M. Ogden.
Charles Foster.
John T. Huss.
Michael Sullivan.

SHELBY.
J. Cummins, Ch'n.
John F. Fraser.
Chas. W. Wells.
J. S. Conklin.
J. J. Elliott, Sec'y.
G. M. Russell.

STARK.
Hon. J. W. Underhill, Ch'n.
John C. Mong.
G. G. B. Greenwood.
Anson Pease.
S. Molby.
H. Knoblock.
Jus. S. Kelly.
D. B. Wyant.
John F. Reynolds.
John P. Rix.
H. S. Martin.

SUMMIT.
Col. L. P. Buckley, Ch.
Henry McKinney.
Henry Baldwin.
Wm. C. Sackett.
Archibald Shields.

TRUMBULL.
G. T. Townsend, Ch'n.
John M. Stull.
John R. Woods.
Jacob W. Pattengill.
G. F. Townsend, Sec.

TUSCARAWAS.
John Sargent, Ch'n.
John H. Barnhill.
John Hildt.
Clark H. Robinson.
E. Burnett.

UNION.
P. B. Cole, Ch'n.
J. A. Henderson, Sec.
J. R. Smith.
A. F. Wilkins.
Joseph Newlove.

VAN WERT.
E. P. Edson, Ch'n.
A. McGavren.
Robert Conn, jr.
James Webster.
Wm. Patterson, Sec'y.

VINTON.
Francis Shades, Ch'n.
Isaac Brown.
Charles Brown.
E. P. Ambrose.
J. S. Hawk, Sec'y.

WARREN.
R. W. Gilchrist, Ch'n.
Wm. H. Clement.
Thomas Allen.

WARREN—*Continued*.
Dr. J. Scott.
J. S. Reese.
J. S. Totter, Sec'y.

WASHINGTON.
Col. W. R. Putnam, Ch.
George W. Baker.
S. T. Cooke.
Mark Greene.
John Newton.

WAYNE.
Dr. L. Firestone, Ch.
J. H. Burgardner.
David Robinson.
Robert Donelly.
R. B. Stibbs.
Constant Luke
Aug. McDonald.

WILLIAMS.
S. E. Blakslee, Ch'n.
James Bell.
A. M. Pratt.
J. N. How.
J. Pollett.
J. Youse, Sec'y.

WOOD.
Dr. H. A. Hamilton
Chairman.
Jas. W. Ross.
E. Graham.
George Laskey.
Col. J. T. Norton.

WYANDOT.
J. Y. Roberts, Ch'n.
S. H. Hunt.
J. D. Sears.
S. H. White.
T. E. Grisell, Sec'y.

Columbus on the 26th of December, 1863, The Twenty-Ninth soon followed, and after it in rapid succession came a stream of them—the Twelfth, the Fourteenth, the Seventeenth, the Nineteenth, the Twenty-Third, the Twenty-Seventh, the Thirty First, the Thirty-Sixth, the Thirty-Eighth, the Thirty-Ninth, the Forty-Third, the Forty-Fourth, the Fifty-First, and all the rest of the noble list. The Twenty-Third, Colonel R. B. Hayes, was the first in which re-enlistments had begun—the work being fairly commenced in its ranks in October. The Thirty-Ninth, Colonel E. F. Noyes, furnished a larger number of veterans than any other regiment from the State. The number from each, as well as from several organizations credited to other States, but wholly or in part raised in Ohio, may be found set forth in the following table:*

INFANTRY.

No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.
1st	3	28th	62	53d	380	78th	303
2d	33	29th	269	54th	153	80th	245
4th	47	30th	301	55th	310	81st	136
5th	127	31st	277	56th	280	82d	291
7th	20	32d	304	57th	213	90th	1
8th	6	33d	229	58th	109	95th	2
9th	3	34th	312	59th	1	104th	1
10th	4	35th	38	61st	243	110th	1
11th	70	36th	364	62d	292	113th	4
12th	204	37th	218	63d	455	2d Bat. V. R. C.	1
13th	181	38th	360	64th	226	18th Indiana	1
14th	322	39th	534	65th	171	52d "	1
15th	302	40th	179	66th	269	57th "	2
17th	366	41st	211	67th	246	10th Tenn	18
18th	62	42d	2	68th	300	14th Kentucky	1
19th	312	43d	436	69th	348	1st West Va	4
20th	306	44th	453	70th	332	4th "	87
21st	275	45th	2	71st	313	5th "	126
22d	31	46th	288	72d	261	9th "	58
23d	257	47th	233	73d	247	11th "	2
24th	65	48th	254	74th	321	66th Ilinois	92
25th	203	49th	314	75th	66		
26th	187	51st	260	76th	252		
27th	437	52d	4	77th	304		

CAVALRY.

No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No Men.
1st	285	6th	264	4th Pa. Cav	3	5th Iowa Cav.	1
2d	358	11th	44	11th "	36	1st W. V. Cav.	29
3d	307	M'Lauglin's Sq	81	2nd Ind. Cav.	3	2d " "	333
4th	205	5th Indp. Batt.	1	11th "	4	5th " "	3
5th	127	Merrill's H'se.	62	9th Ills. Cav.	1	7th " "	51

*Adjutant-General's Report for 1864.

ARTILLERY.

No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.	No. Regiment.	No. Men.
1st—Light.....	515	4th Ind't Batt.	26	10th Ind't Batt.	34	25th Ind't Batt	109
1st—Heavy.....	17	5th "	9	12th "	33	1st Ky. Batt...	17
1st—Mounted..	115	6th "	66	14th "	77	1st Mo. L. A...	1
1st Ind'pt Bat...	17	7th "	22	15th "	10	1st W. Va. L. A	14
2d " ..	31	8th "	24	16th "	80	1st Pa. L. A....	9
3d " ..	46	9th "	41	17th "	1		

Total number.....20,708.

They rekindled the fires of a glowing patriotism throughout the State. They fanned the work of recruiting to a flame. They shamed out the sullen spirit of opposition to the losses and inconveniences of the war which had culminated in the Vallandigham movement. They secured the devotion anew of the State, and all that it contained, to the great struggle. And for themselves, they found how warm was the popular gratitude, how tender the care for the soldier, how lavish the generous regards of those from whose homes they had been beating back the horrors of war. They were the honored guests of the State, were feasted at every table, were toasted at every assemblage, were pointed out to the little children wherever they passed as the men who were saving the Nation, were showered with the smiles of beauty and the blessings of age.

It has been said that one negro regiment was raised in 1863. More ought to have been secured; let it never be said that it was the fault of the colored men themselves that they were not.

At the first call for troops in 1861, Governor Dennison was asked if he would accept negro volunteers. In deference to a sentiment then almost universal, not less than to the explicit regulations of the Government, he replied that he could not. When the Emancipation Proclamation changed the status of negroes so completely, and the Government began to accept their services, they resumed their applications to the State authorities. Governor Tod still discouraged them. He had previously committed himself, in repelling the importunities of their leaders, to the theory that it would be contrary to our laws, and without warrant either in their spirit or letter, to accept them, even under calls for militia. He now did all he could to transfer such as wished to enlist to the Massachusetts regiments.

The Adjutant-General, in his report for 1863, professed his inability to say why Massachusetts should be permitted to make Ohio a recruiting-ground for filling her quotas. If he had looked into the correspondence which the Governor gave to the public in connection with his message, he would have found out. As early as May 11th the Governor said, in a letter to Hon. Wm. Porter, Millon, Ohio: "I do not propose to raise any colored troops. Those now being recruited in this State are recruited by authority from Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts." *

* Ex. Doc., 1863. Part I, p. 270.

A few days later he wrote to John M. Langston: "As it was uncertain what number of colored men could be promptly raised in Ohio, I have advised, and still do advise, that those disposed to enter the service promptly join the Massachusetts regiments. Having requested the Governor of Massachusetts to organize the colored men from Ohio into separate companies, so far as practicable, and also to keep me fully advised of the names, age, and place of residence of each, Ohio will have the full benefit of all enlistments from the State, and the recruits themselves the benefit of the State associations to the same extent nearly as if organized into a State regiment."* And to persons proposing to recruit said companies he wrote that all commissions would be issued by the Governor of Massachusetts. In this course he had the sanction if not the original suggestion of the Secretary of War. Afterward his applications for authority to raise an Ohio regiment were for some time refused, but finally he secured it, and the One Hundred and Twenty-Seventh was the quick result. Unfortunately it was numbered as the Fifth United States Colored. The result of all this was that Ohio received credit for little over a third of her colored citizens who volunteered for the war.

To the end Governor Tod continued to add to the weight of the debt the State owes him for his zealous care of her wounded.

Immediately after Stone River he sent Surgeon-General Smith to the battle-field with forty surgeons and nurses. That very efficient officer had learned by past experience the necessity for a longer period of additional aid to the surgeons in the field than had been customary after great battles, and accordingly he now took none who were not able to remain in the hospitals for at least a month's service. Such of the wounded as could be properly transported were sent home on the steamer Emerald, which was chartered for this purpose by the Governor, and was sent out under the care of Dr. R. N. Barr, as Medical Director, and Mr. Octavius Waters, as commander. Large expenditures were thus incurred, but the grateful thanks of many rescued soldiers who had been ready to perish were the more than sufficient return.

Soon after General Grant, by the brilliant campaign below Vicksburg, had gained the rear of the besieged city, another hospital steamer, the St. Cloud, was sent by the Ohio authorities to gather up the wounded who had been left along the line of the rapid march. As in all previous cases, the Cincinnati Sanitary Commission and the Columbus Ladies' Aid Society gave liberal assistance in furnishing the boat with supplies. It went under the care of Mr. Waters, as commander, and Dr. A. Dunlap, of Springfield, as Medical Director. At the mouth of the Yazoo they were met by an order from General Grant that "none of the sick and wounded should be taken from Vicksburg by hospital boats from any of the States, for the reason that the United States had sufficient means of transporting their wounded in their own boats as fast as it could be done with safety." Returning thus disappointed, they found an opportunity to do good service by carrying timely re-enforcements to repel an attack on the

* Ex. Doc., 1863. Part I, p. 271.

the colored troops at Milliken's Bend, in progress as they arrived. At Memphis they were again met by an order from the Secretary of War forbidding the further removal of the sick and wounded to their respective States. Defeated in the objects of their mission they could only distribute their supplies and return with a few wounded officers. With this, Governor Tod's effort with hospital boats ended.

When the battle of Gettysburg came to break the gloom which, toward the middle of 1863, was settling upon the country, the Governor promptly tendered to the Surgeon-General of the United States medical assistance to any extent, but it was declined, with the assurance that the Government had made full provision for the comfort of the wounded in all respects. The State Surgeon-General subsequently saw occasion to express his regret that he had not taken the want for granted, accepted the numerous offers from the best physicians of the State, and taken a corps of them directly to the battle-field.

Some agents were, however, sent to look after the Gettysburg wounded; and the efficient State Agent at Washington labored zealously for the welfare of all of them who came within his reach. The State Agency system at the various points of most importance was kept up with excellent results. The Governor now also kept the Rev R. A. Howbert—an Ohio clergyman who, throughout his administration, was employed in work for the soldiers—traveling through the Eastern armies (as well as once or twice through the Army of the Cumberland), reporting to him the condition of Ohio soldiers, informing him of the special wants in each locality and of cases of neglect, and thus enabling him to give proper direction to the efforts of the various organizations furnishing volunteer aid to the men in the field.

In a hundred other ways the Governor manifested the same watchful care for the wounded, which really forms the most beautiful feature of his work, and his highest claim to the gratitude of the State. He urged and urged again upon the Secretary of War the speedy discharge to their homes of men no longer fit for duty. He insisted that the paroled Ohio prisoners at Annapolis, whose distressful condition awakened the sympathies of all, should be speedily sent to Ohio hospitals, as near as possible to their respective homes. Wherever it seemed at all possible he urged also the removal of Ohio patients in other hospitals throughout the country, either to their homes or to hospitals within the State. In certain cases he insisted upon changes of Medical Directors, as when* he declared that, from sources entitled to his fullest confidence, he was assured that Dr. Irwin, then director at Memphis, was not fit for his place. Often he wrote letters in behalf of distressed parents to surgeons in distant hospitals asking for whatever was needed for private soldiers, facts of their last illness, removal of their remains, and the like. Again and again he was forced to refuse patriotic ladies, and even school-girls, permission to enter the army lines as hospital nurses; but he took care to soften the disappointment as much as possible. From scores of such letters this one must suffice:

* Ex. Doc., 1863. Part I, p. 142.

"COLUMBUS, January 24, 1863.

"MISS ROSELLA RICE, Perryville, Ohio:

"DEAR GIRL: Your kind and benevolent letter of the 19th instant, asking a passport for a friend to visit her gallant boy at Bowling Green hospital, is before me, and it causes me great pain to be compelled to say that I can not comply with your generous request. Our brave army near Nashville is suffering for the want of food, and the entire army under General Rosecrans is in peril for the want of re-enforcements. This state of things made it the imperative duty of General Rosecrans to forbid all travel of civilians over the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and my painful duty to carry out his orders to that effect. Your pleading letter came near swerving me from my duty, and yet I am glad that I possess the official firmness to deny you.

"Very affectionately yours, DAVID TOD, Governor."

What he could and what he could not do to further their wishes he wrote over and over, with like care and tenderness, to anxious wives and mothers and sisters all through the State; and wherever the authority of the Governor of Ohio could, within his knowledge, help to smooth the pillow of a sick or wounded soldier of the State, the effort was made. He was heartily sustained and assisted throughout in this good work by Surgeon-General Smith, a man whose tender care and sympathy will long be gratefully remembered by the soldiers he served so well.

Governor Tod did not escape without some difficulties with the officers in the field. Indeed, such is the anomalous position of these officers, indebted to the Governor for their commissions, and looking to him for promotion,* yet owing him no obedience, that difficulties could scarcely be avoided. He wrote tartly to Colonel Casement that he learned with surprise of the Colonel's course in disregarding his action under an order exempting certain privates from punishment for absence without leave, and that he must insist on prompt compliance and no controversy † Colonel Hildebrand having expressed dissatisfaction with the promotion of a Sergeant, the Governor told him the circumstances commanded a more respectful tone, and then patiently explained.‡ He had Captain Leggett dismissed the service for writing what he styled a foolish and inflammatory letter, which appeared in the newspapers, but asked his re-instatement after he had explained that it appeared in a garbled form, and was not intended for publication || He utterly refused to acknowledge Colonel Anson McCook's claim that no one but the commander of the regiment should have anything to do with the appointments in it.§ To Colonel Lane's claim of a similar nature he offered a similar response.**

Nearly all these differences with officers rose out of the vexed question of promotions. On this subject he adopted no fixed rule. Sometimes he promoted in accordance with rank, sometimes against it; sometimes in accordance with the wishes of the Colonel, sometimes against him. Hs successor, adopting a uniform rule, was to find it almost equally productive of embarrassments.

The transportation of soldiers over the railroads of the State, on furlough, sick-leave, and the like, grew to be an important feature of the State work. It was committed to the Quartermaster-General, who finally made an

* Up only, of course, to the grade of Colonel. † Ex. Doc., 1863, part I, p. 163.
‡ Ibid., p. 165. || Ibid., p. 171. § Ibid., p. 173. ** Ibid., p. 177.

arrangement with the several companies for transportation at the uniform rate of one and a half cents per mile. Tickets were at first given to the railroad agents, to be issued to those entitled to them. Afterward, when this was found to involve some practical difficulties, the charge of these tickets was committed to the State agents, and ultimately the sale of tickets on credit to soldiers was reduced to as narrow limits as possible. Some three thousand dollars were reported by the Quartermaster-General as probably lost in this way—a sum altogether insignificant when compared with the great convenience and saving to needy soldiers. The militia transported to the musters in 1863 were carried at the same reduced rates, the railroad companies generally giving a cheerful acquiescence to the view that it was their duty thus to make sacrifices for the common cause as well as others—the more, inasmuch as their property was peculiarly exposed to the hazards of war from which the soldiers protected them, and as their business was also measurably augmented by the lower rates.

The manufacture of ammunition at the State arsenal was continued up to August, 1863, when, owing to difficulties in getting supplies of powder from the Ordnance Department at Washington, it was abandoned.

Under a resolution of the Legislature, discharges in due form were furnished to the "Squirrel Hunters" who, in the preceding year, had rushed to the defense of Cincinnati. The numbers sent from each county thus came to be ascertained with at least an approximate degree of accuracy. They are set forth in the following table:

COUNTIES.	Number.	COUNTIES.	Number.	COUNTIES.	Number.	COUNTIES.	Number
Adams	250	Fayette	25	Licking	404	Sandusky	137
Allen	163	Franklin	244	Logan	178	Scioto	154
Ashland	104	Gallia	1,093	Lorain	295	Seneca	84
Ashtabula	366	Geauga	199	Lucas	197	Shelby	24
Athens	160	Greene	675	Mahoning	149	Stark	333
Brown	1,326	Guernsey	3	Marion	80	Summit	245
Butler	116	Hamilton	504	Medina	103	Trumbull	607
Carroll	14	Hancock	170	Miami	92	Union	80
Champaign	201	Hardin	55	Montgomery	425	Van Wert	95
Clark	459	Highland	203	Morrow	266	Warren	436
Clermont	442	Hocking	7	Muskingum	32	Wayne	285
Clinton	607	Holmes	45	Ottaway	17	Williams	30
Columbiana	337	Huron	295	Pike	150	Wood	72
Crawford	31	Jackson	200	Portage	261	Wyandot	35
Cuyahoga	454	Knox	256	Preble	372		
Erie	66	Lake	129	Richland	258	Total	15,766
Fairfield	58	Lawrence	561	Ross	50		

Mr. Edson B. Olds, whose arrest for speeches calculated to discourage enlistments in the first year of Tod's administration has been mentioned, had been released. He now procured a warrant for the arrest of Governor Tod, on the charge of kidnapping, under an old State law His movements were adroitly timed so as to carry the Governor to the Fairfield Court just after its adjournment, and thus secure his incarceration, for a few days, at least. But Judge Gholson of the Superior Court promptly issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the

Governor was finally permitted to give bail for his appearance at the next term of the court. The main object of the arrest—the hope to retaliate for Old's imprisonment in kind and humiliate the Governor, was thus defeated, and the whole movement finally came to nothing.

Hon. E. D. Mansfield, the Commissioner of Statistics, reported at the close of 1863 that out of five hundred and fifty-four thousand three hundred and fifty-seven able-bodied men, whom his calculations upon the census returns showed to be embraced in the population of the State, one hundred and forty thousand were then absent in the service, or had died or been disabled in it; leaving the great reserve of four hundred and fourteen thousand three hundred and fifty-seven from which re-enforcements could yet be drawn. Two-thirds of the able-bodied men of the State were thus left at home to carry on her agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, in spite of all the pressure of the war. "Ohio," he exclaimed, "if we consider the progress of machinery, has no longer any thing to fear from the reduction of her industry" He further deduced, from the election returns, the conclusion that the State, in spite of all losses, had thirty thousand more able-bodied men in the autumn of 1863 than in the autumn of 1860; and that the loss of able-bodied men in the State, traceable to the war, had as yet only amounted to twelve thousand seven hundred and eighty.

In such condition the State found herself at the close of her second war administration. Governor Tod conducted his closing work with dignity and continued zeal; made provisions for burial places for Ohio soldiers; watched to the last over the safety of the Border; took vigorous measures to repel the danger that once threatened from piratical incursions organized in Canadian waters; and took especial pains to leave the organization of the militia in a satisfactory shape. In his last message he tersely recited the work the State had done, urged an increased tax levy for the relief of the families of soldiers, and advised an increase in the salary to be paid his successor, commensurate with the labors and expenses of the position.

He laid down his office, perhaps not quite so popular as when he had entered upon its duties, yet with a better title to popularity. It was indeed easy to ridicule some of his peculiarities. He was a trifle pompous in his style—somewhat sophomoric, not to say egotistic, in habitually referring to the soldiers as "my gallant boys"—given to puerile exaggerations, as when he declared that the people were determined to "put down the accursed rebellion, whether that take seven days or seven hundred years."*

He made some mistakes of undue vigor, and some of his operations entailed expenses not wholly necessary. But he was zealous, industrious, specially watchful for the welfare of the troops, faithful in season and out of season. He was at the head of the State in the darkest hours through which she passed. He left her affairs in good order, her contributions to the Nation fully made up, her duties to her soldier sons jealously watched, and her honor untarnished.

* Ex. Doc., 1863, part I, p. 166.

CHAPTER XV.

THE OPENING OF BROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION.—HIS CARE FOR THE SOLDIERS, AND THE STRIFES TO WHICH IT LED.

ON the 11th of January, 1864, John Brough became Governor of Ohio. He brought to the office a larger reputation for ability than either of his predecessors during the war. He came in on the topmost wave of an unparalleled popular enthusiasm, backed by such a majority as no Governor of the State had ever before received, sustained by a public confidence that hesitated at no demand, and was ready for any sacrifice for the war.

In his inaugural address he gracefully recognized the true significance of his wonderful triumph. "It was no mere party triumph," he said, "no individual success. No mere partisan effort could have achieved such a victory; no man in the State is worthy of or could have received so sublime an ovation." "It was," he continued, "a spontaneous declaration of the intense loyalty of our people to their Government—bearing with it the stern commandment that every energy of their State and every exertion of its rulers shall be given to the restoration of that Government to its original unity and power. It not only relieves us of all mere partisan trammels and affinities, but it commands us that, for the time being, these shall be laid aside until the great purpose is accomplished of restoring our country to a position in which partisan contests may be indulged without involving our nationality, and party victories be won without their possible results giving encouragement to Rebels in arms against the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the land. In that spirit I accept the late declaration of our common constituency, and humbly thank them that in this particular they have made my path easy and straight before me."

Toward the close of his inaugural he gave voice to another lesson of the great campaign which had ended in his triumph. "We want peace," he said—"the North as well as the South—but we have not passed the terrible ordeal of the last three years to make or accept peace upon any other than honorable terms. We can not negotiate with Rebels in arms, or admit of anything from them but unconditional surrender and submission. The past has its punishments that may be mitigated or forgiven, but the future must have full and ample security. There are but two ways in which the restoration of peace and the Union is to be accomplished: first, the unconditional surrender

of the leaders and the abandonment of the rebellion; or, second, the continued progress and conquests of our arms until the military power of the Confederacy is broken and the heart of the rebellion crushed."

In such spirit and with graceful reference to his predecessor,* he entered upon the duties in which he was to make the last great offering to the cause.

The only recommendation to the Legislature which Governor Brough felt called upon to make in his inaugural, was one which was to prove a conspicuous feature of his administration. He insisted that the tax for the aid of soldiers' families was not half large enough. He objected to Governor Tod's recommendation that it be doubled, that even this increase would be too small to do justice either to the people or the soldiers; and urged that the work was a debt due the soldier, and should not be left to private contributions. To the arguments in favor of leaving this relief to charitable efforts, he made, at some length, this reply:

"1. That if the State acknowledges this obligation to the family of the absent soldier, she should meet it as a compensation for his services, and in a manner fully equal to the necessities of the case.

"2. Private contribution is not equitable in its character, and can not be adjusted to the property and interests that are protected by our armies. The generous will give beyond their actual abilities, while the parsimonious, or the opponent of the war, will withhold from pecuniary or unpatriotic considerations. Taxation alone will equalize this burden, and impose it, where it should rest, upon the property protected by the services that the revenue is intended to compensate. If the additional levy increases the taxation of generous contributors, it relieves them from a larger amount of private bounty, and imposes it upon the non-contributors, where it should fall. Even when the State assumes the entire support of soldiers' families, there will be scope enough for private contributions to alleviate the privations and sufferings of sick, disabled, and wounded men in hospitals and at home.

"3. The form of private charity is not always acceptable to its recipients, and especially the class to whom this is applicable. Much suffering and privation will be endured before pride will suffer application to private charity, where there is a consciousness that meritorious services of the absent provider should promptly call the State to the protection and support of his dependent family. We should divest this fund of the appellation of charity. It is not such, in any application of the term. It is an honest debt, and an imperative duty, that we owe the men who are serving us in positions of labor and danger. They save us from invasion—from the destructive ravages of war within our borders. While they press the conquests of our arms for the restoration of our Government, they protect our property and our lives; they are the conservators of all the prosperity that surrounds us. They do not perform this service for the small compensation allowed them by the Government. They are actuated by a higher and a nobler motive; and while they incur privations, danger, and death for the common cause, the State should not only protect their families from want, but make the act one of right and justful compensation, instead of burdening it with the offensive appellation of charity. Neither should it be governed by the rigid economy of mere subsistence. It should be at least such plenty and comfort as the stalwart arm of the natural provider would furnish them, if he were at home to do it, instead of laboring in our service, to ward calamity from our hearthstones.

"In my judgment three mills on the dollar is the least sum at which this tax should be

* "His arduous labors have contributed in no small degree to the gratifying results presented to you; and it is a pleasing reflection that the people of the State will be able to follow him into his present retirement from executive duties with the grateful plaudit of 'well done, good and faithful servant.' It will be an abiding pleasure to me if, at the end of my own brief service, I shall be able to attain alike his usefulness and his reward."

fixed, and I would prefer to see it four mills. The patriotic people of the State will cheerfully pay it, and justify you for imposing it. The act should also require county commissioners to collect reports of disbursements from township and ward trustees, and communicate their aggregates annually to the Auditor of State."

The Legislature, accepting these views, yet fearful of such heavy taxation as they proposed, passed a bill levying a tax of two mills on the dollar, giving county commissioners power to add another mill, and city councils authority to add half a mill more. Township and county officers were charged with the proper distribution of the fund, but in case of their failure or misconduct, the Governor was authorized to interfere.

As soon as this measure became a law, the Governor gave earnest attention to its enforcement. He presently found a tendency to obstruct its operations, in regions where the political belief of the majority had suffered defeat in the defeat of Mr. Vallandigham. Township officers neglected, or openly refused to do their duty. Thereupon Governor Brough appealed to the military committees:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, April 5, 1864.

"TO THE MILITARY COMMITTEES OF THE STATE OF OHIO:

"GENTLEMEN: I send you, herewith, a copy of the act passed by the recent General Assembly, 'for the relief of the families of soldiers and marines in the State and United States service, and of those who have died or been disabled in such service.' I especially call your attention to the eighth section of the law, and on behalf of our soldiers and their families earnestly ask your co-operation in giving it efficiency.

"There are almost daily complaints to this department, that township officers in certain localities are indisposed to administer this fund in the manner evidently designed by the General Assembly. Women complain of being rudely treated—of being compelled to travel long distances to get signatures of officers, and then being allowed very small amounts, of being almost insultingly catechised as to their means of support, and divers other hindrances and oppressions. I have been unwilling to believe that men, trusted of their fellow-citizens, would or could make of their offices a means of oppression upon the weak and helpless families of the brave men who are fighting our battles, and keeping the tide of rebellion from our borders; but inquiries made of military committees have brought replies even worse than the original complaints. I am mortified that these things are so; but while this evil spirit works with those who set party spirit above patriotism, and political resentment above the obligations of public duty, the friends of the country and its brave defenders must contribute a portion of their time and trouble to aid in the enforcement of the provision made by the law to remedy these evils. Except through occasional correspondence, I can not be advised of these cases where the law is wrested to private purposes, and its operations hindered and embarrassed. I request you, therefore, to co-operate with me in this particular. Where township officers do not faithfully administer the law, I hope you will at once present the facts to your county commissioners. If they neglect or refuse to act, please notify this department, and at the same time indicate good and loyal men who will undertake the performance of the duty. Be assured of prompt and decisive action in this quarter; and in cases where you report to me specific facts, I will put them in such attitude that the people of the State shall see and know the means resorted to for the purpose of injuring the cause of the country and its soldiers at the same time. I do not doubt your cordial sympathy with me in this work; for it is a duty we all owe, while our soldiers protect us abroad, to look to the support and comfort of their loved ones at home.

"The act is unusually clear and explicit in its provisions. If, however, controversies arise as to its intent and meaning, I hope you will freely state them, and, as far as I can do so, I will aid in solving them. The law was enacted in a spirit of liberality and justice, and it should be so administered. It does not dole out a charity, but awards what is justly due to its citizens who have voluntarily left their peaceful avocations to protect the State, and aid in crushing an unholy rebellion against the peace and unity of the Nation.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

This appeal he supplemented with the utmost personal watchfulness. In some cases he found that boards of township trustees, composed of partisans of Mr. Vallandigham, had actually set aside this money from its legitimate use, and added it to their bridge funds! Wherever he had occasion to suspect unfaithfulness, he summarily dispossessed these officers of their power. As the year passed away he found his fund exhausted, and the winter bringing prospect of suffering. To meet the want, he made an official appeal for private contributions:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, November 14, 1864.

"TO THE MILITARY COMMITTEES:

"The chilling blasts give token of approaching winter. How are the families of our brave soldiers prepared to meet it, and pass through its trials? The long-continued campaigns—the almost constant moving of troops, has rendered difficult, and in some cases impracticable, the punctual payment of the men. They have not been able, therefore, to remit as much as usual to their families. In the meantime, the prices of food, clothing, and particularly fuel, have largely advanced, and many families will want the means of comfort and sustenance unless our people are liberal of their gifts.

"We must not weary in well-doing. How much of our prosperity and security we owe to our army in the field can easily be understood and appreciated by every citizen of the State. I do not ask charity for the families of these men, I ask open manifestations of gratitude for their labors and sacrifices, and a liberal recognition of the obligations we are under to them. The general sentiment of the men is, we want less in the field and more at home. The State agencies have done a great work this year for our men, as the forthcoming reports will show you. Now that the winter is upon us, while we do not neglect the sanitary work in the field, let us direct a larger portion of our energies to the wants of the families in our midst. Thursday, the 24th instant, we will devote as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God for His mercies and blessings. We will be strengthened and made fervent by so doing. Let us thereupon devote Saturday, the 26th, as a day of feasting and jubilee to the soldiers' families.

"In cities and towns fuel is a most important item. Call upon farmers and friends to come in with their wagons loaded with wood, and let them make it heaping measure. Of their abundant crops of potatoes, apples, grains, and vegetables, let them make liberal contributions. Do not confine this to county seats; but let the same be done in all the towns of the county where there are families needing aid. The committee can readily organize a small body of respectable citizens at each point, who will attend to receiving and distributing all such contributions. I need not go into the details. Start the noble work in your county, and hundreds of willing hands will be put forth to aid you.

"Clothing is much needed among these families, especially in towns and cities. Almost every family can contribute something in this particular; but wealthy men can contribute money, either to buy clothing or to purchase fabrics which thousands of our countrywomen, with busy fingers, will fashion into garments for the needy.

"The appeal is to all our people. Do not be backward or hesitating on this day of jubilee. Have no fears that too much will be contributed. There is more necessity than ever before. The large number of men furnished this year; the putting forth of the National Guard, and the advance in the prices of the necessaries of life, have all drawn heavily on the relief fund. In many counties it has been anticipated and exhausted. You are not likely to exceed the actual wants of the soldiers' families; but even if you should contribute somewhat to their comfort, or even luxury, it will be a very small equivalent for the protection you have received, and the prosperity you have enjoyed.

"I respectfully urge the committees to give this matter special and immediate attention. Give full notice of the movement. Let the call upon the people be widely circulated. Give a few days to perfecting the arrangement. The time is small compared with that expended for us by the men at the front. See that the relief contributed is extended to its object; and thus we will make this a day that will gladden the hearts of wives and kindred at home, and strengthen the arms, and reanimate the courage of husbands, fathers, and brothers, in the field. It is a noble work, let it be well done. Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

While thus giving unusual attention to the wants of the soldiers' families he continued the work, so well begun by his predecessors, of watching, through the various military agencies of the State, over the troops from Ohio in every field. The Legislature, on his suggestion, increased the number of these agencies to twelve. As far as possible the men selected for each were peculiarly adapted to the work;* the system of their operations was carefully revised and something of the same close management, industry, and economy were infused into the business for which the Governor had been noted, in past times in his railroad operations. Of the results attained in these agencies a fair idea may be derived from the report of the most important of them, that at Washington, where to be an Ohioan came to be regarded among the soldiers as a distinction, insuring kindly treatment and watchful care in all emergencies. The material portions of this report for the year 1864 are as follows:

"The Agency has furnished during the year five hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven miles of transportation to individual enlisted men from Ohio, amounting to eight thousand six hundred and fifty-six dollars and fifty-six cents, on which there was a saving to them of two thousand six hundred and forty-four dollars and forty-two cents; which sum amounts to more than your agent has charged to the expense account of your Agency.

"The Agency has collected at the Paymaster-General's Department, for individual Ohio soldiers discharged the service, something over one hundred thousand dollars. It has collected from the different departments, and remitted to soldiers' families and citizens of Ohio, free of cost, some one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It may not be out of place here to note one special case. A claim of the Franklin County, Ohio, Infirmary on the Government for two thousand five hundred and sixty-six dollars had been repeatedly rejected (although it had all the influence that gentlemen in high official positions could give it), or payment refused for a greater sum than nine hundred and odd dollars. The full amount was obtained, thus saving to that charitable institution an important fund.

"It has attended to the wants and furnished gratuitous information to at least six thousand correspondents.

"It has given counsel and relief to over ten thousand Ohio soldiers who have called at its office.

"It has visited, or caused to be visited (for the purpose of relief), in the hospitals of Washington, Alexandria, Baltimore, and Annapolis, many thousand sick and wounded soldiers of the State. During the spring, summer, and autumn of the past year it has had its relief agents in the armies of the 'Potomac' and 'James,' who have rendered essential services, not only to the soldiers of Ohio, but to those of other States.

"It has received and distributed among the sick and wounded men of Ohio, in the field and hospitals, seven hundred and fifty packages of sanitary stores, the most of which were sent by the patriotic and self-sacrificing ladies of Ohio.

"On the arrival of the National Guards (Ohio 'one hundred days men') in Washington, your agent addressed to each of the commanding officers a letter, of which the following is a copy:

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* The assignment was as follows:

Washington.....Jas. C. Wetmore.	New Orleans.....Lorin R. Brownell.
Louisville.....Vesalius Horr.	Columbus .....Jas. E. Lewis.
Nashville.....D. R. Taylor.	Cincinnati.....D. K. Cady.
Chattanooga.....Royal Taylor.	Cleveland .....Clark Warren.
St. Louis.....Weston Flint.	Crestline.....W. W. Bagley.
Memphis.....F W Bingham.	Gallipolis .....R. L. Stewart.

Of these the Cleveland, Crestline, and Gallipolis agents were paid each five hundred and fifty dollars per annum; the New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga agents, one thousand five hundred dollars per annum, and all the rest one thousand two hundred dollars each.

"'OHIO STATE MILITARY AGENCY, Washington, D. C., May, 1864.

"'TO COLONEL COMMANDING ——— REGIMENT OHIO N. G.:

"'SIR: It would afford me pleasure, as far as I am able, to answer the call of your Surgeon in charge, approved by yourself, for sanitary stores, for use of the sick in your regimental hospital.

"'I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "'JAMES C. WETMORE, O. S. M. Agent.'

"The severe epidemic that prevailed in many of those regiments during their short term of service called largely for relief, and which your Excellency's foresight, and the generous contributions of the 'Ladies' Aid Societies' of our State, enabled your agent to respond to the many draughts made upon him for such assistance.

"The amount disbursed for the relief of sick, wounded, and unfortunate Ohio soldiers, since your Excellency placed a fund in the hands of your agent (March 1, 1864), has been seven thousand one hundred and fifteen dollars and twenty-seven cents, which amount went directly for the benefit of our soldiers, except a small amount for labor. The agents, whose names have been reported to you at different times, are Ohio gentlemen who kindly volunteered their services free of charge.

"It has obtained from the Secretary of War, Adjutant-General, Surgeon-General, and Commissary-General of prisoners important orders affecting the interests and welfare of Ohio soldiers."

An example of the special results attained after great battles may be found in the operations of the Ohio Agency after the battles of the Wilderness. One of the persons sent down to Fredericksburg with stores for the wounded, Mr. John Hopley, made a report, of which this is the substance:

"There are, I judge, over five thousand wounded at Fredericksburg. They are not lying in the streets, so that our patrol can not pass, as was reported, but nearly every house contains wounded men. All of the public and very many of the private buildings, especially the large ones, are crowded from basement to attic. In the way of comforts and supplies a gradual improvement is daily evident, but everything is still very difficult to get. For some days the commonest necessaries were wanting, and a vast amount of increased suffering was in consequence added to the terrible aggregate of human agony everywhere patent. For many days even after my arrival, which was a week after the sick and wounded had been sent there, there was no regularity in the feeding of the wounded, and scarcely anything for them but plain hard tack and coffee, and poor at that. There were no beds, and frequently no blankets, for upon the setting in of hot weather the men had thrown them away, and thousands were lying upon the bare floor. For many nights there were no lights in many of the hospitals, and the sufferers had to lie and groan in torture through the terrible darkness, with no possibility of being relieved. The first fearful duty of the morning would be to distinguish the sleeping from those forever at rest. One surgeon to over two hundred men would be a fair estimate. Under these circumstances what attention can our brave citizens obtain who have arrived at that terrible crisis in their career when bleeding and dying for us is no longer a rhetorical ornament? Their wounds are often undressed for days, and when at length dressed, then not by professional hands or with the requisite appliances, for on Wednesday I heard a hospital surgeon say there was not a pound of simple cerate in the city. As an instance of what I have said, a brave Ohio boy, to whom I took a tin cup of beef soup, and who declared he was only slightly wounded—having an arm broken by a round shot which had also carried away a finger—said he had to go two squares to get some one to pour cold water upon his arm, which had not been dressed since the previous morning, being then four P. M. Opposite to our State agency rooms is a house filled with wounded, many of whom having thrown away their blankets, were lying on the bare floor; some without arms, some without a leg, and others more fearfully and fatally wounded. These, for twenty-four hours had no food but what the Ohio Agency supplied, and for many long, weary hours, loaded with pain, not a surgeon could be spared to attend to them. When it is remembered that our effective army must be supplied at all hazards, that two weeks ago we did not possess Fredericksburg, and that the collection of the wounded there has been sudden and unexpected, it can not be laid to the charge of the powers that be, that these sad things are constantly occurring, while it can be said that at least a slight improvement is daily perceptible.

"Upon my arrival I found several gentlemen already sent forward by Mr. Wetmore, to whom I was instructed to report, and who had already been for many days actively at work distributing such supplies as had been forwarded. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions were also making themselves beneficially felt; but the feeling prevailed that the former was not doing as much as the latter, nor coming up to the expectations of those who supposed themselves capable of judging. Possibly the demand upon the Sanitary Commission was so very great that it was kept constantly drained, but it was very difficult to get anything from it. As an instance coming under my own experience, I took up for Mrs. Swishelm, who was in charge of the Theater Hospital, a requisition for six crutches, three shirts, three pairs of drawers, and three bottles of brandy, or some other stimulant. I took the requisition at her request, and stated that she had almost the entire charge of a hospital in which were very many legless and armless sufferers, and upon the requisition all I could get was a single bottle of sherry wine. Again, its men came frequently to our State agency rooms and were freely supplied with many things, and instead of the Sanitary Commission supplying us, we, in many cases, supplied them. Considering the amount of funds the State of Ohio, through her sanitary fairs, has poured into the treasury of the Sanitary Commission, I think it was a part of the duty of the Sanitary Commission to put themselves in communication with the Ohio State Agency and offer to supply whatever stores might be needed; but nothing of the kind was done. I think the State of Ohio had a right to expect this, and that there was a neglect of duty somewhere that it was not done. It is but my own opinion, and your Excellency may think otherwise. It further seemed to me that the sanitary people had, with their greatness and extended resources, so entangled themselves with routine formalities and red tape that they were unable to be as promptly and effectively useful as the less liberally endowed Christian Commission.

"I am proud of our own State Agency. Through the promptness of Mr. Wetmore, and the activity of the gentlemen he had sent there, the State of Ohio has been effectively and beneficially felt; but I fear not so much among the brave citizens of our own State as they had a right to expect. Our gallant Buckeyes are scattered through the city in many houses widely separated, and they are often surrounded with citizens from other States which have no Soldiers' Aid Agencies established there. Under these circumstances it is impossible to discriminate, and cruel to do so. The wounded man from Illinois or New York is, when before us, as much entitled to our sympathy, and to whatever comforts we may have to dispense, as our own brave Buckeyes; and we can not, while administering to the wounded of Ohio those comforts and luxuries the liberality of her citizens have provided, refuse to other, and perhaps more severely wounded citizens around us, that alleviation of their sufferings which it may be in our power to bestow. Thus I found the Ohio Relief Association constantly betrayed by the circumstances surrounding us into being a Relief Association for the wounded of the whole Union. This is neither fair to the Ohio boys who need Ohio's fostering care, nor to the citizens of Ohio at home who have determined that the citizens in the field should be well cared for, and yet, as I experienced the situation of affairs, it could not be amended."

And, to conclude this imperfect exhibit of the workings of the State Agency system, we may add the substance of the Report for the Nashville Agency:

"Number transportation tickets sold	3,132
Amount of money receivable for same	$4,647 29
Amount of money collected on soldiers' account	$24,528 70

"There have been a large number of soldiers assisted in collecting their pay, whose names do not appear on my books. The actual number of persons assisted in various ways can not be given, but that the number is large there can be no doubt. The expenses of this office (exclusive of agents' salary, as established by law) are eleven hundred and fifty-four dollars and ninety-two cents.

"The present system of furnishing our discharged and furloughed soldiers transportation is not equaled, I think, by any State represented in this department. It often occurs that there is such a call for transportation at the Government office at this place, that men are compelled to await their turn one or two days; but by taking the State tickets they are relieved from any delay or extra expense.

"Since May 1st I have kept a full record of Ohio soldiers admitted to hospitals at and near

this place. This has proved very useful in furnishing friends a ready reference, and of great assistance to me in answering numerous letters of inquiry. From such record I find that the following changes have taken place since May 1st, as follows, viz.:

"Number of Ohio soldiers admitted, including those in hospital May 1st.....	10,970
Number transferred North.....	4,429
Number returned to duty.....	1,765
Number discharged.....	32
Number furloughed.....	1,397
Number died.....	277

"The move made by Governor Brough and yourself to have a portion of the donations from the generous people of Ohio sent, through you, to the State Military Agents, to be distributed by them directly to Ohio soldiers, has met with the hearty approval of our soldiery, and if the satisfaction manifested by them is a fair index, the scheme has proved a success. Since June 3d I have received sanitary goods, etc.:

"From yourself.....	200	pkgs.
From Cincinnati Br. U S. Sanitary Commission, as per your order.....	15	"
From Milford Center Aid Society.....	4	"
From Unionville Aid Society.....	1	"
From unknown sources.....	2	"
"Total number packages.....	222	

"Of which the following disposition has been made:

"Forwarded to Agency at Chattanooga.....	68	pkgs.
Delivered to U. S. Christian Commission as per your request.....	5	"
Distributed from this office and to hospitals.....	109	"
Remaining on hand.....	40	"
"Total number packages.....	222	

CONTENTS OF PACKAGES.

Opened for Distribution.		Distributed.	On Hand	Opened for Distribution.		Distributed.	On Hand.
Shirts.....	549	484	65	Pillows and Pads.....	1025	902	123
Drawers.....	prs. 191	189	2	Pillow-cases.....	207	207	.....
Stockings.....	prs. 245	243	2	Rolls Bandages.....	1339	1139	200
Pants.....	prs. 11	3	8	Pkgs. Rags.....	1648	1348	300
Coats.....	22	22	.....	Pkgs. Lint.....	20	17	3
Handkerchiefs.....	625	450	175	Bottles Cordial.....	325	304	21
Towels.....	263	212	51	Can Fruit.....	275	262	13
Arm-slings.....	.....	.....	21	Pkgs. Dried Fruit.....	69	60	9
Housewives.....	54	24	30	Pounds Apples.....	1318	1318	.....
Slippers.....	39	39	.....	Pkgs. Herbs.....	33	13	20
Quilts.....	10	3	7	Can Butter.....	1	1	.....
Sheets.....	24	24	.....				

"Owing to the difficulty in obtaining transportation during the past few weeks, I have been compelled to retain quite an amount of goods intended for the agency at Chattanooga. Although the distribution of goods adds largely to the duties of this office, we have the satisfaction of knowing that much distress is relieved, the popularity of our State increased, and that our extra labor is appreciated by the soldiers.

"Upon entering this office Governor Brough placed at my disposal a special fund for relieving extreme cases of necessity, for which no other provision was made. From this, and funds sent me by benevolent persons, I have been enabled to relieve many of the most distressing cases imaginable."

It may have been observed that the State Agency system, under the increased vigor infused into its workings by Governor Brough, opened the way to complications with the Sanitary and Christian Commissions. These organizations not unnaturally sought that the contributions for the soldiers should pass through their hands. The State authorities preferred to have the control. Clashings arose; and, in one or two cases, open and very unpleasant controversies.

In his message in January, 1865, the Governor condensed his reasons for turning the stream of good works for the soldiers as far as possible into the channel of the State Agencies:

"There are many benefits attending this system, which should not be disregarded.

"1. It is decidedly the most economical way of aggregating and distributing the contributions of our people, and expending the means appropriated by the State for this purpose.

"2. It renders certain the distribution of all supplies to the objects and purposes for which they are intended. There is hardly a possibility for misappropriation. There is no machinery about it to be kept lubricated, and no class of middle men to levy toll upon it.

"3. By proper care and management it is made more prompt and energetic than any other mode; and, by being more systematic, will be more general and appropriate in its relief.

"4. It fosters and gratifies the State pride of our soldiers. It comes nearer to the feeling of HOME. An Ohio soldier regards an Ohio Agency as a place he has a *right* to enter and expect a welcome. If he is in want, there is no system of orders or requisitions for him to go through—no prying and unpleasant catechism for him to submit to. The supplies furnished by his State and his people are there; and he feels that he is no object of charity when he partakes of them. His remembrances of home are freshened—his attachment to his State is quickened and increased—and he goes away feeling that he is not neglected or forgotten—that the cause of the country is still worth upholding, and the dear old State still worth defending from the encroachments of the Rebel adversary. And this is doubly the case when the agent passes almost daily through his hospital—bends over the bed on which he is stretched with sickness or wounds—inquires kindly into his wants, and ministers unto them from the benefactions of his people, and the liberality of his State. Surely that spirit is worth cherishing and preserving.

"While I do not seek to limit the contributions of our people through other channels, I invoke their attention to their own agencies, and their active co-operation in the labors of the opening year. If earnest, benevolent citizens will organize a central association here, I will be glad to work with them. If our aid societies are satisfied with the present system of working through the Quartermaster's Department, we will continue it, in the hope it will be much enlarged—that our supplies will be increased—and our soldiers comforted and strengthened under the perils and sufferings they are called to endure."

And in a letter of instructions to his agent at Louisville, in reference to the claims of the Sanitary Commission, the Governor entered somewhat more into detail:

"The point submitted in yours of the 3d inst., is somewhat difficult and complicated. We desire, as far as practicable, to work in harmony with the Sanitary Commission; but there are circumstances to be taken into account which we can not disregard.

"1. Many of our aid societies have adopted the principle that their labors and collections shall be devoted to Ohio men first, until they are fully cared for. Where they so direct, accompanying their contributions, their requests must be complied with.

"2. Many of these societies desire that their aid shall be State aid, and administered as such. Whether rightfully or wrongfully, they have more confidence that supplies through this channel will more certainly reach and benefit the object of their care and bounty.

"3. If they desired their contributions to go through a common stock, either of the Sanitary, or any other association, they could so send them, without cost of transportation to the State, or trouble to the agents, and at the same time, deprive the State and the aid societies of any State credit in providing or disbursing them.

"4. Many soldiers feel that the relief associations are charities, but that State aid is a right which they may claim without any delicacy. This is acknowledged on the part of many of our people, and the principle is worthy of encouragement.

"The main cause of trouble with the Sanitary Commission, which is now alienating the generous people of this State from it, is that it will not permit any other exertion; will not allow any rivalry in the good work; demands a monopoly of all the donations of the people, and the distribution of them without any check or investigation. Its publications declare that the people of Ohio have constituted the Commission the 'sole almoners of their bounty'—the people say they have done no such thing.

"The State officers and agents have no desire to monopolize relief, or to break down or drive the Sanitary Commission from the field. We are willing to work alongside of them, to do all the good we can; to aid them when short of supplies; to give them full credit for what aid they may render us, but we can not put our contributions for Ohio men into their general pot, and then receive it, or a fraction of it, back, on orders, as Sanitary stores.

"Such a demand, on their part, is unreasonable, and is made in a spirit of superiority and monopoly. Our position is a clearly proper and defensible one; and we shall steadily hold it. We would avoid conflict—we desire to work in harmony.

"Our people have given hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Commission, let that be administered for the purpose of its donation. What these same people give to the State authorities, will be distributed under State authority, for the benefit of Ohio men. We will do this in the spirit of kindness and co-operation. If the Commission is not satisfied, and chooses to cut off supplies from Ohio men, because the State desires to aid them, let that position be assumed and made known. The State and its people will be found equal to the emergency. We do not desire to invite or provoke such a result, but we will not shrink from it if forced upon us as a retaliation for attempting to preserve the character and identity of the State in the care of its soldiers.

"Your duty, therefore, in this matter, while a delicate, is a firm one.

"Avoid controversy and strife; but minister to those under your care the comforts that are sent to them. When our people or myself desire to use the Sanitary or any other commission to do the work of your agency, you will be regularly notified. Until then, pursue the straight line of duty, kindly but firmly. If a room is found necessary for your supplies, get it as economically as you can. If you find help necessary in the work of receiving and distributing, more than you have, you are authorized to employ it. But in all assume no prerogative, and give no unnecessary offense. Work in harmony as long as it is possible to do so, making all proper concessions, but not yielding the great principle that the State will look after her sons, without accepting the dictation or patronage of any institution."

The most serious difficulty, however, was that in which the State agent became involved with the Sanitary Commission at Washington. The trouble here was primarily about a contract made by the Commission with the Baltimore and Ohio, and connecting roads, by which all soldiers for Northern Ohio were forced to go over these roads, and thus to make long and expensive detours from their direct routes home. As a practical railroad man, Governor Brough saw at once the injustice and the motives of this arrangement. As soon as complaints began to reach him, he directed the State agent to take entire charge, thenceforth, of the supply of transportation to Ohio soldiers going home. Against this the Sanitary Commission protested. The feeling grew bitter, and some things that had been better unsaid, crept into the newspapers.

In how temperate and wise a spirit of moderation Governor Brough himself viewed the controversy may be seen in his own hand-writing, in a letter preserved among the State archives for the year 1864. "I am afraid," he wrote to his agent, "that you have a little too much personal feeling in regard

to the Sanitary trouble. Public servants must remember that great public interests must not be affected by personal wishes or feelings. The interests of others are involved in this matter. We have soldiers to be fed and cared for. In this work the Sanitary Commission is doing well." And to this he added these golden words of advice: "In everything that affects the interest of our soldiers we must conciliate where necessary; we must heal and not widen breaches; we must crucify personal feelings; we must bear injuries as they come rather than resent them when no good will follow. In this case, as in all others, we must not provoke a conflict, and if it must come, let us be sure that we are in the right. We must not weaken confidence in an institution that is doing good, even though it commit some errors."*

But, with all his moderation, he was immovable in his resistance to what he regarded as the encroachments of the Sanitary Commission. He would not place the State machinery for the relief of her soldiers in its hands. He would not withdraw his agents; would not give them the money and stores from the State; would not yield his personal responsibility for the soldiers sent out by his constituents. In the case of the railroad imbroglio at Washington he finally ended the controversy as follows:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, January 20, 1864.

"FRED. N. KNAPP, ESQ., *Associate Secretary Sanitary Commission, Washington City, D. C.:*

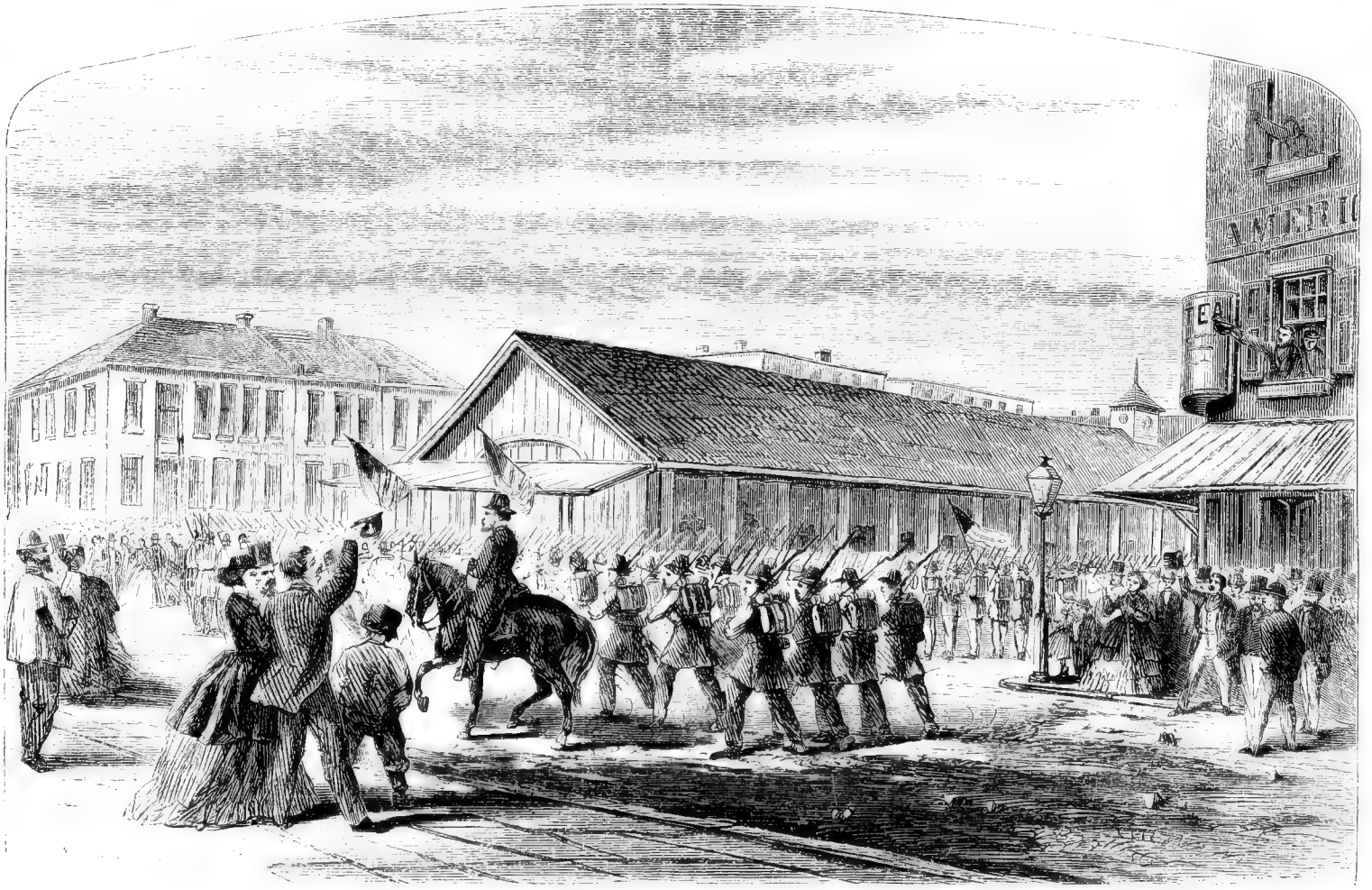
"SIR: Your communication of December 23, addressed to Governor Tod, has come to my hands. Of the accompanying correspondence I had been in possession for some weeks. My personal knowledge of this ticket department covered much more than the topics of this controversy. I do not propose to follow the intricacies of the controversy itself, but to deal as briefly as possible with the facts.

"1. I concede to the Sanitary Commission all they claim as to the motives which actuated their principal officers in this arrangement for soldiers' transportation. I cheerfully acknowledge their great labors and usefulness in the work of ministering to the comforts of soldiers. I impeach them with no frauds or attempts at fraud. Yet they are but men, and may err in judgment, even where motives are pure.

"2. I hold they did err in judgment first, when in organizing this plan they gave a monopolizing control to one line of road out of Washington and its connections; and second, when a controversy arises they at once adopt the independent ticket office of that road as a part of their own organization, and defend it with great zeal against all charges. This ticket office is not under your control. It is the office of the Baltimore and Ohio Road; the agent is appointed by them, reports to them, is paid by them, and, of course, works for them. He is independent of you, and you can not know what he does only as he sees fit to disclose to you. He has injured you, and he can continue to do so. He is an agent to be watched, and not to be implicitly trusted.

"3. The argument that is made by Mr. Abbott to you in favor of giving a monopoly in this transportation to the Baltimore and Ohio Road is unsound in this, that that road makes a termination and connections at Wheeling that disables it from accommodating many Western soldiers in direct routes of travel to their homes. Their ticket agent will always send over his whole line, while many a soldier would be facilitated in getting to Pittsburg. Let me illustrate: I have *known* soldiers for Fort Wayne, and parts west of it, sent *via* Wheeling, Columbus, and Indianapolis. Look over the map for the detour. I *know* of three soldiers going to Winchester, Randolph County, Indiana, sent on tickets to Indianapolis, Indiana, seventy-five miles west of their destination, with no further transportation; for, from that point I passed them home. Soldiers from Northern Ohio have been sent to Wheeling, thence back to Wellsville, and thence to Cleve-

*Letter to James C. Wetmore, February, 1864. Letter Books Brough's Administration, State Archives.



FEEDING TROOPS AT FIFTH STREET MARKET, CINCINNATI.

land and Toledo. All these should have had transportation to Pittsburg, whence they had straight roads home. All these things are within my personal knowledge. Granted there was trouble in getting the Northern Central Road into the arrangement. They did come into it for Northern Pennsylvania soldiers, for Ohio soldiers at Governor Tod's request, and would, with a fair distribution of business, have done it with you. Mr. Abbott's argument shows that he was as willing to get rid of them, upon a slight refusal, as he was anxious to give a monopoly to the Baltimore and Ohio Road. I do not attribute to him any bad motive in doing so, but the fact is none the less fixed.

"5. Here, therefore, is the root of the evil. Mr. Abbott did not understand all the ramifications of these routes of communication. He did not foresee that in a great work of this kind he must have not only immediate but remote lines open to him. He did not comprehend the fact that Pittsburg was a more important distributive point for Northern and Central Ohio than Wheeling. He was not versed in the sympathies of trunk lines and their connections. He wanted to do with one party only. Granted that orders have been given to send soldiers by the direct routes. The ticket agent interprets that for himself, and acts for the interests of his employers. You can not know his transgressions; you can not control his acts; you can do nothing but implicitly take his statements, and become at once his shield and defense. Hence what was intended for a good thing for soldiers has, by a mistake in the beginning, and interested management on the part of railroad agents vested with its monopoly, become a source of strife, and, in some cases, of small wrongs and oppression. Monopolies always produce such results.

"6. It was partially in view of this that Governor Tod organized his system of furnishing half-fare transportation to Ohio soldiers, and intrusted his tickets to his own agent. He could not have them sold at that office, and his agent bore many complaints before he gave a public caution to Ohio men.

"7. A strict construction of M. Wetmore's card, I admit, implies a censure upon the Sanitary Commission. If I had written it I would have embraced the ticket agency alone. And yet, as the beginning of the trouble is in your granted monopoly (which was an error of judgment and not of intention), you should not blame him for his course in not more strictly defining the line of responsibility.

"8. I attach very little importance to the case of McDonald, except as to its having been the initial point of this controversy. Mr. Wetmore has affidavits of other cases. Still others have been matters of complaint here in Ohio, and others, and more flagrant ones, have come under my own personal observation in Ohio and Indiana. Because you are ignorant of any other than the case of McDonald, if for nothing else, I acquit the sanitary committee, as a body, of any knowledge or complicity in this thing, except the great mistake in the beginning.

"9. The controversy has been a very unpleasant one. I would regret it were it not that I see that good will come from it. The officers of this State do not desire any collision with the Sanitary Commission. We would much rather co-operate with them; but when we know that they have, however honestly, made a mistake, we shall not hesitate to protect our soldiers from the results of it; and especially will we not permit them to grant as a monopoly the whole matter of transportation from Washington when, through our own agents, we can do better for our soldiers.

"10. No further good can come from a prolongation of this controversy. I respectfully suggest that the sanitary committee not only send *all* Ohio soldiers to the Ohio quarters for transportation, but protect them from being seized at the ticket office on their grounds; and that, on the other hand, Mr. Wetmore withdraw his card, and co-operate in works of kindness with you. So shall both State and Sanitary Commission work together harmoniously for a common purpose, the protection of the interests of the soldiers.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

The Commission was unable to deal with these trenchant statements, but it never regarded the Governor afterward with a kindly eye. With its Western Branch, however, his relations were generally cordial, as they were also with the Christian Commission everywhere.

The State Quartermaster was directed to take charge of all contributions

which the people might prefer to send to the soldiers directly through the medium of the State Agencies. The supplies thus forwarded were liberal, and it was believed that they were distributed to the soldiers for whom they were intended with more accuracy, promptness, and economy than could have been secured in any other way.

How conciliatory in wish, yet firm in action, Governor Brough was as to his relations to outside organizations for relieving the soldiers, we have been seeing. It remains to observe that his patience gave way, and his strong passions were inflamed to the utmost at any maltreatment of Ohio soldiers in hospitals. Other errors he could regard with charity; but this was a crime for which he could scarcely find words to express his feelings, or hot, vigorous action prompt enough to satisfy his demands.

He kept a watchful eye upon all the hospitals where any considerable numbers of Ohio troops were congregated. The least abuse of which he heard was made matter of instant complaint. If the Surgeon in charge neglected it, he appealed forthwith to the Medical Director. If this officer made the slightest delay in administering the proper correction, he went straight to the Surgeon-General. Such, from the outset, was the weight of his influence with the Secretary of War that no officer about that Department dared stand in the way of Brough's denunciation. It was known that the honesty and judgment of his statements were not to be impugned, and that his persistency in hunting down offenders was remorseless.

Into the details of his dealings with hospital authorities we can not enter. But the cases of the Camp Dennison and Madison Hospitals may serve as illustrations.

Through the autumn of 1864 complaints as to the food of patients at Camp Dennison were rife—particularly complaints as to the food of convalescents. To these the Governor promptly called the attention of Surgeon Tripler, the Medical Director at Cincinnati. That officer sent up Surgeon Stanton, a cousin to the Secretary of War, to make an investigation, the report of which was duly forwarded to Governor Brough. The two letters from him thus evoked do, perhaps, some injustice, or, at least, express a possibly harsh judgment. But as instances of the rough, sturdy way in which he stood up for his wounded men, like a bear for its wounded cubs, of the pitiless severity with which he cut through all excuses for mistreatment of the soldiers, and of his utter indifference to mere considerations of social and official standing in the persons whom he attacked, they are unique. No soldier will read them without fresh feelings of gratitude to the strong champion who thus espoused his cause against all comers:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, November 29, 1864.

"SURGEON C. S. TRIPLER, *Medical Director, Cincinnati, Ohio:*

"SIR: Absence in part, and in part other objects, have prevented an earlier response to your favor of September 26th, inclosing report of Surgeon Stanton, touching the complaints of bad treatment of our men at Camp Dennison.

"Upon a careful reading of the report of Surgeon Stanton, I was forcibly struck with the fact that, while he admitted that insufficient and deteriorated food was furnished the men, and the

hospital fund largely reduced without providing an equivalent to the sick aud wounded, he was utterly unable to discover by what process this was accomplished, or upon whom the responsibility of this state of things should rest. Whether this defect of vision was personal or official—artificial or real—I had not then any means of determining: but I have always entertained the opinion that an *honest* public servant rarely finds a *dishonest* effect without being able to trace it to the proper cause. I was very far from being satisfied with the superficial and gingerly report of Surgeon Stanton. The reports to me of the gross wrongs perpetrated on sick and wounded soldiers at Camp Dennison had become a serious matter. I had several times pressed you for an investigation. You finally send me a report which admits all that has been charged; measurably evades the point of liability, rather seeking to cover up than expose; presents facts that tell an open story of wrong, if not of fraud; and glosses all over with glittering generalities and specious phrases without vigor or honesty of purpose. Still no remedy was proposed; no change of officials recommended; no remedy for the wrongs or sufferings of our men pointed out; but the scarred and wounded veterans of a score of battle-fields were coolly sacrificed to the *esprit de corps* of the medical profession. I felt that your blood would be stirred by this thing; that your reputation, if nothing else, would spur you to a further investigation of this wrong, and an application of a remedy. I waited sometime patiently for such a demonstration, but it came not. I then instituted inquiries on my own account. By whom, and in what manner, I am prepared, on a proper occasion, to disclose. It must be sufficient for the present purpose to state that I officially indorse the parties making it, as capable, truthful, and honest men. No information of theirs comes from hospital patients—but from undoubtedly reliable sources.

"The three following points are clearly established:

"1. That the quantity of the food provided for the convalescent soldier in this hospital for the past six months, has been entirely inadequate.

"2. The quality of an important article—coffee—has been deteriorated.

"3. The variety which is designed to be furnished to the sick under the name of delicacies, has been deficient.

"4. The question of the *capacity* or *honesty* of the Surgeon-in-chief is left to conjecture; from the facts, charity pointing to the former in the absence of the actual and positive proofs as to the latter.

"I am willing to accept the first part of the suggestion myself; but unwilling that it shall any longer work injury and wrong to our soldiers.

"During all this time it is shown, as by Surgeon Stanton, that full rations have been drawn, and a good quality of articles furnished; but the men have not reaped the benefit; and the sick and wounded have languished for the delicacies which the hospital fund should have furnished.

"In relation to the article of coffee it is found:

"1. That instead of the issue of the original berry parched, to be ground in the hospital kitchens, a large coffee-mill has been procured, and the coffee drawn from the Post Commissary has been ground in the large mill, and issued in that form.

"2. The cooks have been instructed to save their coffee grounds after boiling, dry them, and then return them to the issuing clerk of the hospital.

"As a matter of course the coffee is a miserable slop.

"4. The question naturally occurs, 'Do the dried coffee grounds after being returned to the issuing clerk get mixed with a portion of good coffee, and find its way to the soldier's table a second time?' Perhaps Dr. Stanton could have determined this, if he had drank a cup of the 'miserable slop' with which our soldiers are regaled. The smallness of the hospital fund is a matter of surprise. Dr. Stanton admits this himself. He can not imagine the reason. I am not willing to suggest it. The prior history of the hospital proves that, under former management, this fund was not only ample to supply the men with extras and delicacies, but a surplus of several thousand dollars was paid over to other hospitals in 1863.

"I trouble you merely with the points, not copying the very interesting detail with which they are illustrated. There is enough of this in all conscience. If we grow indignant over the starvation and inhuman treatment of our soldiers in Rebel prisons, what emotion will our people manifest when they find the same thing in their own hospitals, even though it occur only from the incapacity of those who should be stewards of our bounty?

"I learn from the public papers, that the Surgeon in charge at Camp Dennison has been

relieved there and ordered to Evansville. From other sources I am advised that efforts are being made to get that order reversed, and continue the present order of things. To the latter, you may be assured, I shall not consent; on the other hand, while I am not only willing but determined to be rid of him in Ohio hospitals, I have strong scruples about having him imposed upon the hospitals of other States. My own judgment is, that his want of capacity, exemplified in this case, disqualifies him for any similar position. Be this as it may, I now insist upon his immediate removal from Camp Dennison; and if you feel any hesitancy about assuming this responsibility, I am ready at any moment to forward a copy of this communication, with the report on which it is predicated, to the War Department. If the removal is not promptly made, I shall ask it direct of the Surgeon-General.

"I am aware that I have not kept strictly within regulations by instituting an investigation into a hospital under your control. I have explained that I waited one month after Dr. Stanton's report for you to move in the matter. It did not seem possible that you would rest in silence over that document. You did not act. From that report, if from nothing else, I knew the wrong existed. You did not apply the remedy. I could not see our men suffer, and daily read their appeals for relief. I sympathized with them if their military guardians did not. Thus you have my reasons for my action. I regard them as sufficient, and am confident the War Department will so consider them.

"I will relieve you from any indignation by making the confession to the Department myself. I have tried to keep within regulations and to co-operate with you. I regret any collision; but I can not hear complaints from our men without investigating them; and where I find wrongs I am always restless until I find a remedy. Very respectfully,

"JOHN BROUGH, Governor of Ohio."*

This very naturally drew out a reply from Surgeon Tripler—the nature of which may be gathered from the Governor's response:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, December 7, 1864.

"SURGEON C. S. TRIPLER, *Medical Director, Cincinnati, Ohio:*

"SIR: I acknowledge your favor of the 3d instant. As I have assurance therein that Surgeon Varian has been relieved from Camp Dennison, my object is accomplished, and, though my time does not admit of extended correspondence on the subject, I owe it perhaps in justice to you to notice a few points.

"1. I have heretofore done full justice to your official conduct as director in the department, and the general promptitude of your action. It was on this account that I was so greatly surprised at what I took to be your acquiescence in the state of things at that camp after the report of Surgeon Stanton.

"I supposed you would regard that report as I did—as an evidence that an immediate change was required there. I read your letter accompanying that report hastily, and did not then recognize, what now appears to me, that you considered it a sufficient explanation, not requiring any immediate action.

"The papers came to me as I was leaving to go East. Had I supposed it possible that you regarded the investigation as satisfactory, I would have advised you that it was not so to me, and required prompt action. Such an idea never occurred to me, and I daily expected to hear that Surgeon Varian was removed.

"2. I do not comprehend the reason for the delay on the ground that Surgeon Varian was detailed by your superiors, and not under your immediate control, A report from you as to his incapacity in the position he filled would have brought a change at any moment. My experience is that the department looks to the care of our men, and not to places for incompetent officers over them.

"3. My course is, where I find a wrong to institute a remedy, and I will not allow any man living to stand in the way of it. I may sometimes act impulsively, but I have not done so in this case. I waited a full month, during which time the wrong prevailed, and no movement of a visible character was made until I took the matter in charge.

"4. I nave no disposition to do injustice to Surgeon Stanton. I have read his report again, and

*Brough's Letter Books for 1864. State Archives.

I can not take back a word by which I have characterized it. He found a grave wrong to our men at camp. He could have acquired the details, and the requisite remedy. He lacked either the capacity or disposition to do so—am willing to admit the latter. He could have ascertained the details fully as well as others did it after him. He took the case as made by Surgeon Varian and there rested it. His *sympathies* stopped there. What were the wrongs of a lot of sick and wounded men to him, compared with the reputation and place of the man through whose *incapacity* these wrongs were inflicted!

"Did he inspect the insufficiency of food and its results? He could have tasted, analyzed the miserable slops called coffee; he could have ascertained that coffee grounds were dried and sent back to the post commissary; he could have ascertained that food was deteriorated, and that it was distributed without regard to the ability of the men to consume it.

"All these things were subject to his knowledge; but he passes them by, and 'draws on his imagination for his facts,' undertaking to speculate about what he could have demonstrated in an hour. This is why I denominated it a 'gingerly report.' If not designed, it was calculated to screen the officer through whose '*incapacity*' these things existed. Surgeon Stanton may be an honest and good officer. I do not seek to controvert your opinions on this point, but he does not conduct investigations to my satisfaction. I desire a little more earnest and thorough inquiry into matters connected with this hospital.

"5. It is proper to say that in the facts communicated to me, no one is based on the statements of the patients in hospitals. I am glad you realize the position of these men. I do the same. I do not want to wrong surgeons, but I will not screen them, nor any other class of officers, either from charges or complaints; many of the latter are fictitious, some of them exaggerated; but all of them, or nearly so, merit investigation, beyond the statements of the surgeon in charge, and outside of his influence.

"I hope we understand our relative positions. I do not feel that I have misjudged or wronged you in this matter, but that you have done injustice to yourself. I desire to co-operate cordially with you. All I have said or done in this case has been directly with yourself, except the investigation I directed when I found you had determined to rest the matter upon the report of Surgeon Stanton. The complaints of men come direct to me. I can not pass them by, especially after this experience. If they can be investigated through your department, I much prefer that course; but I can not abide superficial examinations that stand self-condemned on their face, nor permit incompetent officers to remain in charge for months after they should be dismissed. I can only assure you that my personal feelings toward yourself are as kindly as ever; my severity of speech is not intended to wound but to aid as a corrective in past or future wrongs to our men.

"Very truly yours, JOHN BROUGH."*

These Camp Dennison troubles had scarcely been settled till complaints began to grow more uniform and continuous concerning the bad food at the hospital in Madison, Indiana, where a large number of Ohio patients were collected. The Ohio Agent at Louisville reported these complaints, and from many other sources the Governor satisfied himself of their justice. As in other cases he followed the hesitation of the medical authorities to administer the correctives which he demanded, with swift, strong action on his own account. On the same day he forwarded orders to his agent and notification to the Medical Director, as follows:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, January 5, 1865.

"CAPTAIN V HORR, *Agent, Louisville, Kentucky:*

"SIR: You will please call on Assistant-Surgeon-General Wood, or the Medical Director of your department, and respectfully request that no more transfers of Ohio men be made to the hospitals at Madison, Indiana, while it is under the charge of Surgeon Grant. Send them anywhere else but there. The treatment at that place is inhuman and villainous. I have appealed to the Medical Director of this department for a change, but no movement is made, I ask, there-

*Brough's Letter Books for 1864. State Archives.

fore, that our men be protected from any further injustice and barbarity. You may furnish a copy of this letter. Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, January 5, 1865.

"SURGEON C. S. TRIPLER, *Medical Director, Cincinnati, Ohio:*

"SIR: I am under obligations for the transfer of one hundred Ohio men from that pest-house called a hospital at Madison, to points where, I hope, they will be properly fed and decently treated.

"I respectfully request that the rest of the Ohio soldiers at that point be transferred at the earliest possible moment, and that no more Ohio soldiers be sent to that hospital while it is under the control of Surgeon Grant. If your own reputation as Medical Director of this department does not require a change in the management of that hospital, my duty as Governor of the State is to protect our soldiers, as far as practicable, from the brutal treatment they have received there. If I can not accomplish this through your department, I must attempt it elsewhere. I regret much to be compelled to assume this position.

"It is three weeks since I called your attention to this matter. The complaints accumulate on me every day—and I know them to be well founded. I can not permit the wrong to continue, if I can possibly reach it. If I have failed through you, where I have desired to work in harmony, I must try it otherwise, even if it be against your views and wishes.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

The storm thus raised about the ears of the authorities soon produced a change. An investigation ordered by Governor Morton, of Indiana, resulted in a report that the food furnished had been insufficient and of inferior quality, but that it was now greatly improved. The surgeon in charge resigned. But the Medical Director sought to break the force of the charges, whereupon the Governor responded with a terse exhibit of the process of "medical investigations into alleged mismanagement of hospitals."

"COULMBUS, January 14, 1865.

"SURGEON C. S. TRIPLER, *Cincinnati, Ohio:*

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 9th instant. I do not propose to review its suggestions in regard to Madison Hospital, as I am advised by Surgeon Wood that Surgeon Grant has resigned, to take effect 31st instant. In this act Surgeon Grant has been wiser than his friends. Notwithstanding the whitewashing of a Government inspection, he knows that the special inspection made by Governor Morton, in response to the demands of the Madison people, more than confirmed the report made to me, and that his dismissal was a matter of certainty. His departure from the scene of his petty tyranny and abuse of brave men will unloose tongues that have been tied by fear of him; and if you will take the trouble, next month, to go beyond head-quarters into the wards, you will find that the actions of Governor Morton and myself have been more than justifiable.

"I am very well satisfied that Surgeon Grant has voluntarily retired. What is past can not be recalled. The present and future only can be improved. If abuses can be remedied without unnecessary publicity, perhaps it is as well—for if the wrongs done at that hospital were disclosed to the public, it would shake their confidence in our whole hospital management. As it is, there is enough promulgated to severely damage the reputation of officers to whom that management is intrusted.

"I know nothing of the inspector sent to Madison. He may merit all the encomiums you bestow upon him, but you will allow me, in kindness, to make some suggestions in regard to these inspections:

"1. Inspectors are generally in full sympathy with surgeons in charge. Both classes adopt the theory that men in hospitals are a set of grumblers and fault-finders, whose complaints are to be disregarded.

"This assumption has done infinite wrong, and in many cases covered gross frauds. As a general thing, the assumption is false and wicked.

"2. The inspection rarely goes beyond head-quarters. Full of this false theory, he takes the statements of the surgeon in charge, as he eats his dinner, and justifies it by his theory as he

praises the wines. If he does go beyond, it is after he has received his impressions from the head.

"The assistants understand the bonds of sympathy—they know they are at the mercy of both parties, and they close their lips or evasively approve.

"3. The abused private is not consulted in the matter; or if called up, it is in the presence of interested superiors, who, he knows, will punish him, or 'send him to the front, if he died by the way.' He is, of course, silent.

"4. Upon this character of investigation, the inspector goes forth and makes his report.

"The sore is healed over—the wrong goes on, and our men are further mistreated and abused. I speak of that which I know. I have narrowly watched this thing, and the cases at Dennison and Madison fully justify my position. It is in full proof that at the latter place the correspondence of the men was interrupted, their letters opened and read, and the writers punished for daring to complain. I do not say there were no false charges made, and that there are no grumblers. I know that to be so; but it is not a safe theory upon which to judge all complaints.

"When a whole hospital complains, there is some cause for it. As Medical Director you are the umpire. As such you should receive all the facts and judge of them fairly. The Government and the men alike look to you for this course.

"I do not intend to impeach your motives or your official course, but I want to show you that in the large majority of cases, when you hear the inspector, take all he says for granted, and close the case upon his report, you are acting *exparte*, for you have only the statement of the surgeon in charge, be he incompetent or corrupt. If you follow this course, if you hold all the presumptions in favor of the surgeon and against the men, if you encourage the theory that all complaints are false, because a few are so, if you investigate in the interests of the surgeon instead of against him, you will fail in the great commission that is given to you, and very soon forfeit the high reputation you brought into this department. The sympathies of the Western authorities are with the men who have fought their battles.

"While we are ready to approve all good and competent surgeons in charge of our hospitals, we do not approve them until we know their worth. We are jealous of them until they have won our confidence, and we have no mercy for either the incompetent or corrupt. Our men are objects of our care, and we will not see them wronged. In this we want your sympathy and your aid. We want you to realize our position and work with us. In a word, we ask you to join us in the adjuration to 'doubt all things, prove all things, and hold fast to things which are good.' I have no other purpose myself, no enemies to punish, no surgeons to promote. I want the right for my soldiers, and that I will contend for against all opposition.

"Very truly yours, JOHN BROUGH."*

That this was all just we can not affirm. That it was error on the safe side, if at all, is patent; and the soldiers, who rarely heard of these efforts during his life, and will see his strong words in their favor now for the first time, as they find them here copied from the archives of the State, will learn at last to appreciate the warmth of the zeal in their service which he never cared to trumpet to the world, and which he, nevertheless, made so searching and so effectual for good.

In his dealings with other hospitals, Governor Brough generally kept two main points in view. He strove to have Ohio soldiers transferred, as rapidly as possible to hospitals within the State. And, when Ohio soldiers *in transitu* needed medical assistance, he demanded such arrangements as would insure it without the tedious delay sometimes involved in awaiting an order from a medical director.

*Justice to Surgeon Tripler requires it to be added that he denied the charge of insufficient food furnished to convalescents, and attributed it to the craving appetite always felt by that class of patients, which wise physicians, in hospitals or in family practice, were always compelled to restrain—to the great dissatisfaction of the patients themselves.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST RECRUITING—ITS PROGRESS AND PERILS.

WE have seen in the previous administration the beginnings of the vicious system by which the work of recruiting was poisoned—the system which, when the genuine impulse of volunteering had measurably disappeared, sought by bribery, in the shape of bounties, to secure a sickly counterfeit of it, rather than resort to the honest and impartial draft. We have now to see how the work thus grew more and more difficult, and the drafts it had been sought to shun grew nevertheless the more frequent, till the clear vision of the Governor of the State was able to perceive nothing less than ruin in the near future.

The re-enlistment of the veterans, and the recruiting near the close of Governor Tod's administration, left the State ahead of her quotas under all the calls. But in February, 1864, came a fresh call from the President, under which the quota of Ohio was fifty-one thousand four hundred and sixty-five men. In March came another call, adding twenty thousand five hundred and ninety-five to the quota; in July, another adding fifty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two more; and in December another, under which the final quota of the State was twenty-six thousand and twenty-seven.

The method pursued in raising these required troops was uniform—save in its progressive tendency from bad to worse. Very much against the wishes of Governor Brough, there was left no plan save to offer high and higher bounties. Government, State, county, township bounties, hundreds piled on fresh hundreds of dollars, till it had come to such a pass that a community often paid in one form or another near a thousand dollars for every soldier it presented to the mustering officers, and double as much for every one it succeeded in getting into the wasted ranks at the front. Saying nothing of the desertion, the bounty-jumping, the substitute brokerage thus stimulated, we have only to add that all this extravagance failed in its main purpose—it too rarely got the respective localities "out of the draft." Out of the four calls made upon Brough's administration, which we have enumerated, the second was made before the preceding one had been filled, and for three of them, as many as several drafts were ordered.

It was found that the State had not received proper credits for her previous contributions, and a reduction of over twenty thousand was secured in the assigned quotas. Even with this aid seven thousand seven hundred and eleven men had to be drafted in May, out of whom the Government—so ineffectual had the whole system become—received one thousand four hundred and twenty-one

soldiers, and commutation money for the rest. In September a draft for nine thousand and six was ordered, under which, thanks to the excess of credits in patriotic localities that had already more than filled their quotas, the State obtained a small credit to carry over to the final call. Under this also a little drafting was done in backward localities.

Eleven new regiments were organized in 1864, running from the One Hundred and Seventy-Third to the One Hundred and Eighty-Third, and some fifteen companies were divided among others; while a considerable number of the old regiments, being wasted below the minimum allowed by the department, were either consolidated or reduced to battalions. Early in 1865, under the inspiring aspect of affairs, the new regiments required were rapidly raised and sent to the field; the One Hundred and Eighty-Fourth as soon as the 22d of February, and the last of them, the One Hundred and Ninety-Seventh by the 15th of April. Officers for the new regiments were sought almost exclusively from the meritorious officers of Ohio troops then at the front—two years' active service being held an indispensable prerequisite.

How well or ill each county in the State stood at the close may be gathered from the following table. Here may be seen what counties lagged behind, what ones resorted to the draft, what ones kept up the patriotic impulse to the last and stood ahead of all their quotas, when Appomattox C. H. ended the struggle and sounded the recall:

COUNTIES.	Quotas	Recruits Furnished.	Raised by Draft	Total Furnished	Surplus	Deficit	COUNTIES.	Quotas	Recruits Furnished.	Raised by Draft	Total Furnished	Surplus	Deficit
Adams	161	98	35	133		28	Logan	296	281	3	284		12
Allen	217	202	10	212		5	Lorain	301	285	5	290		11
Ashland	248	233		233		15	Lucas	267	260	6	266		1
Ashtabula	326	294	33	327			Madison	257	234	1	235		22
Athens	194	194	1	195	1		Mahoning	300	274	30	304	4	
Auglaize	168	161	9	170	1		Marion	87	82	7	89	2	
Belmont	428	371	19	389		39	Medina	165	136	1	137		28
Brown	329	296	44	340	11		Meigs	338	305	30	335	3	
Butler	492	452	2	454		38	Mercer	134	122	19	141	7	
Carroll	167	159	5	164		3	Miami	440	429	7	436	4	
Champaign	226	166	19	185		41	Monroe	261	158	105	263	2	
Clark	385	370		370		15	Montgomery	598	534	10	544		54
Clermont	332	323	6	329		3	Morgan	256	225	32	257	1	
Clinton	206	199	7	206			Morrow	186	153	33	186		
Columbiana	259	250		250		9	Muskingum	561	280	12	292		269
Coshocton	271	171	17	188		83	Noble	276	203	16	219		57
Crawford	479	431	1	435		44	Ottawa	102	36	5	41		61
Cuyahoga	669	407	13	420		249	Paulding	74	16	2	18		56
Darke	455	384	24	408		47	Perry	193	159	18	177		16
Defiance	137	91	3	94		43	Pickaway	326	296	22	320		6
Delaware	299	294	3	297	2		Pike	95	63	7	70		25
Erie	207	174		174		32	Portage	264	214	45	259		5
Fairfield	366	341	7	348		13	Preble	246	246		246		
Fayette	127	133	1	134	7		Putnam	147	127	5	132		15
Franklin	679	432	9	441		208	Richland	289	242	67	309	20	
Fulton	174	129	2	131		43	Ross	357	330	9	339		18
Gallia	265	170	9	179		86	Sandusky	294	265	7	272		22
Geauga	145	128	15	143		2	Scioto	233	223	10	233		
Greene	414	386		386		28	Seneca	377	346	13	359		18
Guernsey	236	227	8	235		1	Shelby	221	183	13	196		25
Hamilton	2,143	1,869	179	2,048		95	Stark	408	373	5	378		30
Hancock	277	242	17	259		18	Summit	363	316		316		4
Hardin	199	174	21	195		4	Trumbull	271	221	44	265		6
Harrison	279	230	7	237		42	Tuscarawas	380	252		252		128
Henry	88	63		63		25	Union	202	196	17	213	11	
Highland	311	298	15	313	2		Van Wert	113	107	7	114		
Hocking	136	112	25	137			Vinton	145	90	35	125		20
Holmes	197	127		127		70	Warren	266	248	2	250		16
Huron	429	420		420		9	Washington	361	240	131	371	10	
Jackson	119	99	13	112		7	Wayne	327	279	3	282		45
Jefferson	214	188	5	193		19	Williams	216	169	1	170		46
Knox	359	206	9	215		144	Wood	204	187	1	188		16
Lake	169	102		102		95	Wyandot	231	210	16	226		5
Lawrence	238	220	12	232		6							
Licking	437	392	7	399		38	Total	26,022	21,868	1,415	23,283	88	2,827

On the 23d of August, 1864, the people of the State were startled by a proclamation appealing to them not to offer organized resistance to the draft then impending. The language of the Governor was conciliatory, and he made few disclosures as to any secret knowledge of the danger which he professed to apprehend. After reciting the facts connected with the order for a draft, he mentioned a fear of organized opposition to it, explained the punishments for conspiracy against the Government, and continued:

"Most earnestly do I appeal to the people of the State not to engage in this forcible resistance to the laws, which evil counsellors and bad men are leading them. It can not, and will not, succeed. Its triumph, if it achieve any, must be of a mere temporary character. The Government is not weak. It is strong and powerful. It can not, and it will not, permit an armed insurrection to impeach its strength, or impair its power, while contending with the Southern rebellion. I do not say this to you in any spirit of intimidation, or in any threatening tone. I speak it to you as a warning, and with an imploring voice to hear and heed it. I know what the determination of your Government is, and I fully comprehend the power at hand to enforce it.

"What can you, who contemplate armed resistance, reasonably expect to gain by such a movement? You can not effectually or permanently prevent the enforcement of the laws. You can not in anywise improve your own condition in the present, and must seriously injure it in the future. Judicious and conservative men, who look to the supremacy of Government for the protection and safety of their persons and property, will not sympathize or co-operate with you. You may commit crime; you may shed blood; you may destroy property; you may spread ruin and devastation over some localities of the State; you may give aid and comfort for a season to the Rebels already in arms against the country; you may transfer, for a brief time, the horrors of war from the fields of the South to those of the State of Ohio; you may paralyze prosperity, and create consternation and alarm among our people. This is a bare possibility, but it is all you can hope to accomplish; for you have looked upon the progress of our present struggle to little purpose, if you have not learned the great recuperative power, and the deep earnestness of the country in this contest. The final result will not be doubtful; the disaster to you will be complete, and the penalty will equal the enormity of the crime.

"From the commencement of this rebellion the State of Ohio has maintained a firm and inflexible position which can not now be abandoned. In this internal danger that now threatens us, I call upon all good citizens to assert and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the land. These constitute the great elements of our strength as a nation, and they are the bulwarks of our people. Hold in subjection by persuasion and peaceable means, if you can, all attempts at civil insurrection, or armed resistance to the laws. Failing in this, there is another duty as citizens from which we may not shrink, and to which I earnestly hope we may not be enforced. To those who threaten us with this evil, I say, we do not use any threats in return—there is no desire to provoke passion, or create further irritation. Such men are earnestly and solemnly invoked to abandon their evil purposes; but at the same time they are warned that this invocation is not prompted by any apprehension of the weakness of the Government, or the success of the attempts to destroy it. I would avert, by all proper means, the occurrence of civil war in the State; but if it must come, the consequences be with those who precipitate it upon us.

"JOHN BROUGH."

We now know that it was the discovery of the "Order of American Knights" or "Sons of Liberty," and the knowledge of the extent of their plans, which prompted these precautions. His Private Secretary* has since explained the circumstances: "Governor Brough received his first intimation of what was being done by that secret organization in the State of Ohio from Major-General Rosecrans, whose watchfulness was very extraordinary. The

* Hon. Wm. Henry Smith, subsequently Secretary of State. The extract above given is from a private letter to the author.

Governor then employed secret agents, who penetrated the most hidden recesses of the order, and ascertained all that was going on. One of his agents was a short-hand writer, who took reports of the most remarkable declarations made at their meetings. This same officer aided in distributing the arms to the members—which was done by moonlight—in the country. The Governor was so vigilant—sitting up all night, often for several nights in succession, to receive reports from his agents—that he was able to foil their treasonable schemes without bloodshed."

For bloodshed seems to have been really intended. They met in secret for drill, armed themselves as well as they could, boasted of their strength, and openly threatened that the second draft of 1864 should not take place. But before the draft came on, the regiments of the National Guard (whose history we have next to trace) were pouring back into the State. "I claim very little credit for my own counsels," said the Governor modestly in his annual message some months afterward, "but as regiment after regiment was discharged from the camps, and went to their homes, with arms in their hands and well-known loyalty in their hearts, the wave of rebellion very rapidly subsided; and the conspirators who had been the boldest in their demonstrations of resistance to the laws, were among the first to hurry substitutes into the ranks of the army, or relieve the State of their presence, in order to avoid the service they had openly threatened could not be imposed. The draft went forward promptly, and in the most peaceable manner. The persecution and abuse of Union citizens ceased at once. Law and order were again in the ascendant; and no doubt or fear was entertained as to the perfect ability of the State to maintain them. And yet no force was used; no considerable body of men kept under arms in military array—no parade or exhibition of armed forces. But there spread all over our territory a consciousness that the State was prepared for any emergency; that its protectors were ready at a moment's warning, and could be implicitly relied upon; and that the first movement toward forcible resistance of the laws would be speedily crushed, entailing its consequences upon those who might inaugurate it. It was a peaceful triumph, achieved by the inherent power of a State, in its least pretentious manifestation; and its result and consequences were of a thousand times more value than the expenditure the organization and support of the National Guard have imposed upon the people."

Sundry facts as to this organization were given by the Adjutant-General in his report:

"One of the most noticeable features of the rebellion during the year, in Ohio, which necessarily engaged a large share of the attention of this department, was the existence throughout the State of a formidable secret organization, known as "The Order of American Knights." The origin of this society is directly traceable to the rebellion, of which it has been at all times an auxiliary. Early in the year the Governor organized a system of espionage upon certain suspicious movements of well-known Rebel sympathizers in the State. Through the instrumentality of detectives, and other means not necessary to enumerate, the entire workings of the order, their objects, principles, and strength were ascertained. By comparing the information thus obtained with what had been learned of the order by the military authorities in Missouri, Indiana, and

other Western States, it was clearly demonstrated that there existed in the State of Ohio a secret, treasonable organization, numbering from eighty thousand to one hundred and ten thousand members, bound together by oaths, which they professed to hold paramount to their allegiance to their State and country. This organization was to a considerable extent armed, drilled, and supplied with ammunition. It had a *quasi* military organization, and a system of signals by which large numbers might be called together at the very shortest notice. The written principles of the order recognize and defend the institution of slavery, and its twin abomination, the right of secession. These doctrines were sugar-coated by fallacious arguments and nicely-rounded periods, to tickle the ears of the groundlings, and entice the unsuspecting neophyte to advance to the higher degrees, where all disguise was thrown aside, and the knife was whetted and the gun shotted, to take the life of any man who dared stand up for the cause of the country.

"The purposes and operations of the order were fully known early in the summer, and ample steps were taken to meet any overt act of violence with such a power as would crush it out at once and forever. The programme of the uprising last contemplated embraced the destruction of the railroads and telegraph lines, and the sudden movement of a force to this city; the seizure of the State and United States arsenals here; the release of the Rebel prisoners at Camp Chase, who were to be armed by the arms captured here. The column, thus re-enforced, was to co-operate with John Morgan, or some other Rebel commander, who was expected to demonstrate at some point on the border, more probably in Kentucky. The time fixed for the commencement of this grand movement was the 16th day of August last. This date was learned from several sources, and from lodges in different parts of this and other States. It was also known to the Rebel prisoners at Camp Chase, and of course they were on the *qui vive* for their expected deliverance.

"The real causes of the failure of this movement are known to be the increased vigilance of our military authorities in strengthening the prison and arsenal guards, in arresting the leading conspirators in the several States, and the seizure of large quantities of arms known to belong to the organization."

Serious as this hidden danger would now seem to have been, there was an open one, connected with the work of recruiting the army, which threatened far more alarming consequences. It was no less than the demoralization of the people and the bankruptcy of the country, by the fast-growing evils of the ruinous bounty system.

The machinery itself was imperfect—cumbrous in detail, and open to abuses. "There is more or less corruption in at least one-half the subordinate provost-marshalships of the State," wrote Brough in a confidential letter to the Provost-Marshal-General. Men furnished substitutes who were ineligible. Substitutes deserted by the hundred, and enlisted again for fresh and higher bounties. The business of substitute brokerage came to be almost a respectable way of making a fortune. While the army was thus cheated, the people were impoverished in their efforts to buy soldiers. No Government in the world, in the whole history of war, ever had an army raised at such cost as were the recruits of 1864. No Government in the world could ever long endure such a financial strain. All the bounties, it is true, did not come from the National or State Treasuries but where they were made up by local efforts, the communities in question were thus weakened by the drain, and rendered less capable of bearing the heavy taxation. One way or another, by public or private extravagance in purchasing military duty, the money of the country was being swept into the vortex, credit was being exhausted, debts were accumulating, and sagacious men came to dread bulletins from the treasury far more than those from the army.

From the outset Governor Brough protested against any delays in the draft, having for their object the extension of opportunities for piling up bounties in the hope of getting soldiers. As early as March 14, we find him writing in this vigorous strain to the Secretary of War:*

"COLUMBUS, March 14, 1864.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington City, D. C.:*

"SIR: In your general remark to the Senate, that State executives were pressing the extension of bounties I hope you made a mental reservation in favor of your servant. I have favored the draft steadily from the day the proclamation ordering it on the 10th was issued. The result of this last postponement has fulfilled my prediction to the President.

"Recruiting has virtually stopped. The bounties even will not tempt, and the local authorities and citizens having the fear of the draft removed, are making no further effort to fill quotas. They regard the postponement of the draft as indefinite, both because of the recruiting and because, as they say, 'Ohio is so near being out she will not be drafted, even if a draft is ordered.' We shall do very little more in this State until our people realize that a draft will be had on a fixed day, and that promise must be kept.

"I favor a draft for another consideration. I regard our financial position as rapidly becoming the most critical one connected with the war. With every man we put into the army, costing us over three hundred dollars, we are amassing a debt and corresponding taxation, that will soon force us to resort to the same means as the Confederacy to get rid of it, except that in our case such a measure will be our destruction. If the call is to be filled, let us have the draft on the 1st of April. Yours, very truly,

"JOHN BROUGH."

In other and equally vigorous communications he had even earlier placed himself upon the record, in earnest opposition to the whole bounty system as then administered. We have seen that no man outdid him—no man indeed came near equaling him in the extent of his claims for the families of soldiers, but he did not regard the wasteful bounties to the men as the proper method of supplying the wants of the families they left behind. To Congress he appealed for the aid which Congress alone could give, in at least modifying a system against which no one State could make effectual opposition. His two letters to the Chairman of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives were regarded at the time as the ablest presentment of the case which reached that body from any quarter. With them we may fitly close this account of the recruiting in the last years of the war, and the evils and dangers that beset it:

"COLUMBUS, February 6, 1865.

"HON. R. C. SCHENCK, *House of Representatives, Washington City, D. C.:*

"SIR: The local bounty system is ruining the armies and the Government. The present system of allotting quotas and filling them is weakening if not actually destroying the confidence of the people, and with it our political ability to sustain the Government. It has run into corruptions, or rather created them, of the most serious and alarming character all over the State. This is a general statement I know; but details are plenty enough to make a respectable-sized volume. The temptation to the subordinate under slender pay is great, while the controlling and examining power is too remote. A deputy provost-marshal or a surgeon can only be removed by an order from Washington. He may have influences enough to hold himself in position for months over the head and even against the recommendations of the State Provost-Marshal, who perhaps has not strictly legal evidence, but yet information of such a character as to satisfy him that the man should be removed. Why not regard them as civil officers to be removed when the public service required? Why hold them under the military rule, to be reached only by charges, arrests, and court-martial investigations? Why should they not be responsible to the

*Brough's private Letter Books, State Archives, War Department Letters, 1864, p. 33.

State provost-marshals, and they in turn to the Provost Marshal-General? What is the necessity of all the red-tape that now exists? But a more pertinent and practical inquiry comes up: why not change the whole programme of assigning quotas and filling them? Why not under a call for troops, assign to each State its quota of the call, and leave the assignment of local credits and quotas, and the raising of the men to the State authorities under Government inspection and muster? It can be done for less than half the expense of the present system, and would command the confidence of the people much more than the present system.

"We are daily overwhelmed by delegations and letters from all parts of the State in regard to local quotas, and representations of errors and injustices. We have no information and of course can not give any; we can only refer to the Assistant Provost Marshal-General. His answer is that he has no knowledge of details. The quotas of congressional districts are given to him from Washington, and the rule fixed by which to distribute below that. Men go away dissatisfied—in many cases despondent, in some bitter opponents of the whole Government machinery. It needs simplification, and it can be simplified. It is necessary to bring it nearer to the people, where they can know its workings and hold some one responsible for it. I give you merely a general idea. The details may be a little troublesome, but they can be readily worked out. It would not strike out the provost-marshal's department, but simply relieve it of its tedious and cumbrous details, dividing them round among the respective States. Under it I think we could control and restrain much of the fraud and corruption that is now prevailing, and unless checked will effectually break down the power of the Government to replenish its armies. I can say to you confidentially, that of the thirty thousand men raised, credited, and mustered in Ohio during the last call, over ten thousand failed to reach the front. This appears here of record. Pennsylvania shows a worse result. About one thousand one hundred men have been forwarded to Camp Chase under the present call, and of these two hundred and sixty-three were on the lists last night as 'absent without leave,' and this although the money brought here with them is taken from them on arrival. Still they have been mustered and credited, and fill so much of the 'quota,' though not of the army.

"The State swarms with bounty-brokers, bounty-jumpers, and mercenaries of every description. Men take contracts to fill 'quotas' as they would to furnish hay or wood. They take the largest share to themselves, and frequently the recruit deserts because he says he has been swindled in his bounty. Patriotism and love of the cause are supplanted to a large degree, as a motive of filling our armies by the mercenary spirit of making money out of the operation. In our own State I am alarmed at the enormous debts we are creating and piling upon weak localities. I have not the data to fix it, but I am satisfied it now exceeds six millions of dollars. There is a pay day for it all, either in crushing taxation or dishonor.

"In addition to this apprehension is the painful conviction that it does not give us men to fill our wasting ranks—it does not add to our power to crush the rebellion and end the war. Instead of that it is constantly weakening us, both in a military and financial sense. We are drifting upon the breakers! We are going to ruin! I have been trying to persuade our legislators to provide a State bounty, merely duplicating the bounty of the Government, and prohibit all local bounties or debt on taxation for them. But the answer is, 'other States will not do it,' and we must keep up in the general scramble. I do not know that we can get co-operation, but I would have some faith in doing so if the States had control of filling their own quotas, and were required to produce men for them. Perhaps we might fail, but we would remedy one class of evils and have a chance for the other.

"A recent convention of Adjutant-Generals at this city brought here some experienced and able men. Upon this point of States filling their quotas, there was a full debate and a perfect unanimity of opinion. Is anything practicable in the waning hours of this session of Congress, or will we necessarily go on under the present system through another year? If so, I can only deplore it. I am full of anxiety upon this subject. I would almost try to break the chains that bind me here, and go to Washington if I were convinced I could do any good thereby. Unless we can change our policy I have painful forebodings of the future. We have strength enough, but we are throwing it away; we are weakening our armies by every call and draft, instead of strengthening them; we are piling up enormous debts and taxations upon our people; we are impairing the confidence of the thinking and earnest portion of our people, and pampering the desires of the weak and profligate; we are making a traffic of the holiest duty we owe to the

country, and procrastinating a struggle that we have the power to speedily terminate, if our means were less popularly and more earnestly directed.

"I have written more than I intended, and you will patiently read. I hope I am wrong in my forebodings. I will be gratified to find myself so. I do not profess to be wiser than other men. In this particular I would be almost glad to find myself a fool. It has been a subject of much examination and reflection. I can see its remedy only in the wisdom of Congress—I can not add to that, but I can not refrain from making some suggestions for your consideration in this private way. Very truly yours, JOHN BROUGH."

"COLUMBUS, February 9, 1865.

"HON. R. C. SCHENCK, *House of Representatives, Washington City, D. C.:*

"SIR: After so long a communication only three days ago, I will no doubt be considered obtrusive in again reviewing the subject; but anxiety grows upon me every day, and I can not forbear every exertion to remedy the evils that beset us.

"Present indications are that we will not enlist over ten thousand men out of a quota of twenty-six thousand; of whom fully twenty-five per cent. will fail to reach the service. The argument is constantly repeated, that one State can not inaugurate a reform where other States refuse to co-operate. This sentiment pervades and influences alike legislators and people. The overweening anxiety is to fill the quotas—get the credits, no matter what the material, or how the army is affected. I feel the force of all this, yet I see its consequences not only in my own State but elsewhere.

"It seems to me there must be and is a controlling power somewhere. All admit that the *bounty* is the source of the evil. But it is said that having inaugurated the system we can not get rid of it; that it has passed beyond our control, and we must patiently await the ruin that is rapidly working out. I will not discuss this latter proposition. I simply do not believe it. If we have the moral courage we can control the evil, provided we concentrate our energies and our strength.

"The bounty system began with the General Government—that Government must assume the initiative in restraining it. To that end I suggest that Congress should enact: 1. That no bounty or payment shall be given or made by any locality or community to any man for entering the service, except such bounty as may be provided by his State, which shall not exceed the amount paid by the Government for a like term of service. 2. That the price of a substitute shall be fixed at double the amount of the Government bounty, and no higher sum shall be paid or received. 3. That no soldier shall enlist as substitute out of his own State, and on his offering to do so, shall be returned to his State for punishment.

"These enactments will cut present evils up by the roots, and I fail to see any new ones they can breed. Why is it not in the power of the present Congress to enact them? Do not answer that concentration of action can not be had. We must have it. No measure is before that body of such vital moment as this. We are at the turning point of our destiny, militarily and financially. The next campaign settles the impending controversy for good or for evil.

"But I will not argue it. I make the suggestion and it is the only one I can make that seems to give promise of good results. I hope it will commend itself to your own good judgment, and that you will lend it all your valuable aid.

"I have not written to any of our delegation but yourself. I would like you to show my notes to General Garfield, if it is consistent with your views. I need not repeat that I am deeply solicitous on the subject. I may write a note to our senators to-night, but I can not go into the matter as fully as I have done to you. Very truly yours, JOHN BROUGH."

The next campaign *did* "settle the impending controversy" The sagacity of Brough was not at fault—we are next indeed to see how in other ways and with potent weight his policy was to aid in settling it. But the evils to which his forebodings so gloomily turned were not averted. The frightful expenses of an army of a million men, raised with such waste, to confront the remnant of the hundred thousand that was left to uphold the Rebel banner, still press down the country. For many weary years to come they must continue to press, unless, alas! relief be sought in National dishonor.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HUNDRED DAYS' MEN.

THE summer of 1863 had been marked in Ohio by unusual turbulence and by invasion. The arrests, the trial of Vallandigham, and his subsequent defiant candidacy for the Governorship, the organized efforts to resist the draft, the dangers along the whole southern border, and the invasion by John Morgan, had combined to make the year memorable in our local annals. As the season for miiitary operations in 1864 approached, Governor Brough displayed special anxiety to be prepared for similar dangers.

Toward the close of February he discussed with ex-Governor Dennison the plan of having a few regiments of the volunteer militia of the State called into active service for duty along the southern border; and, at his request, Governor Dennison visited Washington to urge this policy upon the Secretary of War. Mr. Stanton doubted the immediate necessity, and for various reasons, specially including the jealousy of other States, which it would arouse, discouraged the proposition.

On the 15th of March Governor Brough addressed the Secretary at some length, renewing his proposition, and strenuously urging its necessity. "Passing events in Ohio and in Canada," he wrote, "point to a pressing danger of raids upon us from that quarter; while our southern frontier, including that of Indiana, is undoubtedly to be the object of an assault by Morgan and his forces, as soon as their preparations are completed." The true way, he argued, to prevent such raids, as well as the only economical way, was to have a force of drilled men on the frontier. A knowledge that the State was prepared to receive him would be the surest way to prevent Morgan from coming, and he insisted that he ought therefore to have authority to call out two to four regiments. But the view which other States would take of such a measure, still seemed sufficient reason for delay.*

Meantime all saw the critical point of the war to be approaching. The Nation had enormous armies in the field, but they were larger on the pay-rolls than in the list of men present for duty at the front. A General had been promoted to the chief command whose avowed policy for conquering the rebellion was the lavish use of overwhelmingly superior forces. The Government stand-

* Brough's private Letter Books, State Archives, War Department Letters, pp. 36-37.

ing aghast at the frightful expenses into which the bounty system and this policy of demanding untold numbers had plunged it, held success in the impending campaign to be indispensable—it could not, as was declared, bear up under such a drain for another year.

Because, therefore, success *then* was held to be vitally necessary, and because the General in command would only promise a prospect of success, on condition that he should have treble or quadruple the number of soldiers his antagonist could muster, it became an object of the utmost solicitude that every veteran in the forts about Washington, or the block-houses along the railroads, should be added to the ranks then about to plunge into the blind, bloody wrestling of the Wilderness. But neither forts nor railroads could be left exposed.

John Brough was the first to comprehend the situation and divine its wants. He was led, likewise, to it by a continuation of his recent effort. He had sought the protection of his State by placing its militia in the field in such numbers that an invader would keep away He now sought a similar but larger end, the protection of the Capital and the whole territory of the North, by keeping the enemy so busy on their own soil that they would have no opportunity for incursions Northward. Under his suggestions the State militia law had been carefully revised and improved, and the militia force which Governor Tod had left was in excellent condition. He conceived, therefore, the idea of calling out this militia to hold the forts and railroads, while Grant should throw his whole strength upon the Rebel army, crush it, and end the war. Within a hundred days—such was then the understanding of the Rebel peril, and such was undoubtedly a correct apprehension of the possibilities which a Frederick or Napoleon might have grasped—the struggle should be over. For the lass great effort that should end the contest, therefore, he rightly held that Ohio would make any sacrifice, and that the sister States to the westward could be induced to unite with her.

Accordingly, on his suggestion, a meeting of the Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa was held at Washington. Governor Brough stated his ability to furnish thirty thousand men. Governors Morton and Yates believed they could each add twenty thousand. There was some difference as to the time for which the offer could be made, but the term of one hundred days was finally agreed upon; and under Governor Brough's direction the following proposition was prepared:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, April 21, 1864.

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

"I. The Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin offer to the President infantry troops for the approaching campaign, as follows:

Ohio	30,000
Indiana	20,000
Illinois	20,000
Iowa	10,000
Wisconsin	5,000

"II. The term of service to be one hundred days, reckoning from the date of muster into the service of the United States, unless sooner discharged.

"III. The troops to be mustered into the service of the United States by regiments, when

War: "More than thirty thousand National Guards are now in camp and ready for muster." At half-past seven the reports showed thirty-eight thousand men in camp, and clamorous to be sent forward. Considering the exhaustion, the previous discouragements, the period in the war, it was the grandest uprising of soldiers, the most inspiring rush of armed men from every village and hamlet and walk of life that the whole great struggle displayed.

Governor Brough gave fitting expression to the general feeling of admiration which the stirring spectacle evoked, in an address, the next day issued:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, May 3, 1864.

"TO THE NATIONAL GUARD OF OHIO:

"The Commander-in-Chief cordially and earnestly thanks you for your noble response on yesterday to the call made for the relief of our army, and the salvation of the country. This manifestation of loyalty and patriotism is alike honorable to yourselves and your noble State. In the history of this great struggle it will constitute a page that you and your descendants may hereafter contemplate with perfect satisfaction.

"The duty to which you will be assigned, though comparatively a minor one, will be none the less beneficial to the cause of the country. While you hold fortifications, and lines of army communications, you will release veteran soldiers, and allow them to strengthen the great army that is marshaling for the mightiest contest of the war. In this you will contribute your full measure to the final result we all so confidently anticipate, and so much desire—the end of the rebellion, and the restoration of peace and unity in the land.

"There is no present imminent danger that calls you from your peaceful avocations. But, it is necessary that we enter upon the spring campaign with a force that will enable us to strike rapid and effective blows when the conflict opens. Though we have met with a few reverses this spring, the general military situation is everywhere hopeful, and those in command of your armies were never more confident. But we can not permit this war, in its present proportions, to linger through another year. It is laying a burden upon us which, by vigorous and united exertion, we must arrest. It is true economy, as well as the dictate of humanity, to call to the termination of this contest a force that will be sufficient for the purpose. Time, treasure, and blood will alike be saved in augmenting our forces, and making the contest short and decisive. The hope of the Rebel leaders is in the procrastination of the war. In this a political party in the North sympathizes with them, and is laboring, by the same means to secure a political triumph at the expense of the unity and future prosperity of the Nation. The first we must subdue with our arms within the hundred days, and then we can turn upon the other and win over it a more peaceful, but not less glorious victory.

"I am not ignorant of the sacrifices this call imposes upon you, nor of the unequal manner in which it imposes the burdens of the war. You must reflect, however, that hitherto we have experienced comparatively little of the inconveniences and depression consequent upon a state of war. If a part of these come home to us now, we can well afford to meet, for so short a time, the tax imposed upon us, especially when the sacrifice gives promise of materially hastening the close of the contest. The burden must necessarily be unequal, for the Union men of this country must work out its salvation. The disloyal element is not to be relied upon either to encourage our armies, or to aid in the crushing of the rebellion. You are, in this particular, not unlike your ancestors who achieved the independence of your country against a foreign enemy on the one hand, and the tories of the revolution on the other.

"Remember then, that like unto those who wrought out your nationality, through adversity that you have not yet experienced, the greater the sacrifice the higher the honor of those who are called to preserve it.

"Fully comprehending the effects of this call upon the industrial interests of the State, I would not have made it, had I not been fully impressed with the necessity of an increase of our forces, as the most effective means of hastening the close of the contest and the advent of peace. I have done what I conscientiously believed to be my duty in the present position of affairs, and you have responded in a manner that challenges my admiration, and will command the gratitude of the country.

"Go forth, then, soldiers of the National Guard, to the fulfillment of the duty assigned to you. I have entire confidence that you will meet all its requirements with fidelity and honor. The prayers of the people of the State will follow you; and may your return be as glorious as your going forth is noble and patriotic. JOHN BROUGH."

Then followed the difficult work of consolidation. Since the original organization of the volunteer militia, thousands of its members had entered the National service, and every regiment was thus reduced below the minimum. The principle adopted was to break up the smaller companies and divide the men among the others in such proportions as were needed. Army officers of experience were called in to aid in this delicate duty; Colonel W P. Richardson at Camp Chase, General A. M. McCook at Camp Dennison, and Colonel Aquila Wiley at Camp Cleveland.

On these, and on all others, the Governor now pressed again and again the importance of haste. "Nothing," as an eye-witness wrote, "was neglected. There was no detail so small that it did not receive the personal attention of the Governor. He had an eye on every officer and kept him to his work. There were men selfish and unpatriotic enough at this time to seek to create disturbance by filling the minds of the men with fear that they were being entrapped only to be offered up as a sacrifice to the Moloch of war. To a Major of a regiment that refused to be mustered, he telegraphed: 'The Guard will be promptly mustered out at the end of the hundred days. The faith of the Government and the State are both pledged to this. The regiment can serve in the State if it wants to do so. We want a regiment at Camp Chase to guard Rebel prisoners and patrol Columbus. No other regiment wants to do it. Men who refuse to muster will be held to this service. The muster into the United States service is a mere form to make the payment from the Government instead of the State. Advise me if this is satisfactory.' This regiment was mustered within a few hours, and asked to be allowed to go out of the State. Delay in the organization of regiments was not tolerated. To Colonel Jackson, of the Ninth, he telegraphed: 'Your regiment was reported ready yesterday President Jewett says no requisition has yet been made for transportation. The War Department is thundering at me for these troops every hour. No trivial cause for delay must be suffered to intervene. Jewett says he can have a train this afternoon if immediate notice is given. Why can not this be done? Time is precious. Make every hour count.' To Major-General McCook, at Camp Dennison, he telegraphed nearly the same. Mustering officers and quartermasters were kept driving, and, with a few exceptions, they were willing to do all in their power, and the importance of this energy and haste will be more appreciated when it is remembered that at this time Ohio was the only State furnishing militia to take the place of veterans."*

The War Department was amazed and caught napping. It had no expectation of such a response, and was unprepared with mustering officers. But for this—so tremendous was the energy with which the work was driven forward—

* From a newspaper sketch of the raising of the Hundred Days' Men, written by Hon. Wm. Henry Smith.

the whole force might have been on its way to the field several days sooner. As it was, within two weeks, over thirty thousand men, fully armed and equipped, were put into the service. Within a single week after the assemblage, it was found that there were several thousands more in camp than the Government had agreed to accept, and Governor Brough was telegraphing:

"E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

"I have five or six regiments organized and in camp more than my quota. Will you take them or must I disband them? If you take them where shall they be assigned? Answer early as they are crowding me. JOHN BROUGH."

On the same day the Secretary of War replied as follows:

"I will accept all the troops you can raise. The other States will be deficient and behind time. We want every man now. Let us have all your regiments within the next week. *They may decide the war.* EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

Before this indeed, the Secretary, finding with what implicit confidence he might call upon Ohio in hours of need, had telegraphed:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 5, 1864.

"GOVERNOR BROUGH: General Sigel's advance has exposed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and a guerrilla force of about a hundred have seriously injured the shops and several engines at Piedmont. Mr. Garrett says that a regiment of your men will, if promptly forwarded, prevent any further injury.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 5, 1864.

"GOVERNOR BROUGH: If you have any regiments organized, please forward them immediately to Wheeling and.Cumberland. The Rebels, in small squads, are already on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and unless driven off may do considerable damage. Sigel has moved his force down the Valley, and is too far off to do any good.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 13, 1864.

"GOVERNOR BROUGH: Official dispatches have been received from the Army of the Potomac. A general attack was made by General Grant at four and a half o'clock A. M. yesterday, followed by the most brilliant results. At eight o'clock Hancock had taken four thousand prisoners, including Major-General Edward Johnson and several Brigadiers, and between thirty and forty cannon. *Now is the time to put in your men.*

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

In answer to the first of these dispatches the first of the National Guard regiments left on the 5th of May, three days after reporting in camp. The last one was ready to leave on the 16th. Within that time forty-one minimum regments and one battalion of seven companies, in all thirty-five thousand nine hundred and eighty-two men, had, as the Adjutant-General, with justifiable pride, recited in his report, "been consolidated, organized, mustered, clothed, armed, equipped, and turned over to the United States military authorities for transportation and assignment."

Two days later Governor Brough had the pleasure of sending this cautious recital:

"COLUMBUS, May 18, 1864.

"E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

"Ohio has sent regiments as follows: Four to Baltimore, Maryland, two to Cumberland, thirteen to Washington, and the fourteenth will leave to-night; three to Parkersburg, four to

Charleston, three to New Creek, three to Harper's Ferry. Has stationed one at Gallipolis, two at Camp Dennison, two at Camp Chase, two regiments and a battalion of seven companies at Johnson's Island; being forty regiments and one battalion, comprising an aggregate of thirty-four thousand men. This work has been completed in sixteen days.

"JOHN BROUGH."

But before Mr. Stanton received this, he had already made haste to express his gratitude. "The Department and the Nation are indebted to you," he telegraphed, "more than I can tell, for your prompt and energetic action at this crisis."

The provision that members of the National Guard in active service should not be exempt from the draft then pending, was obviously calculated to create a feeling that they were being unjustly dealt with. Governor Brough sought a change in this respect, which should cause the burdens of the draft to fall upon the opponents of the war, the great class which had thus far evaded military duty, and was now peacefully at home, while the more patriotic had been suddenly carried by thousands to the front. He regarded the National Guard movement as having pretty well sifted out the young Union men liable to military duty, and he wanted the draft, therefore, at this opportune moment, to fall upon the communities at home, where the Peace men were now largely in the majority. His efforts failed, but he persisted—the correspondence shows with what results:

"COLUMBUS, May 4, 1864.

"E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

"The National Guard of Ohio have fully responded to my call. They do not want to be credited on the quota, and they want the draft to go forward, but they ask to be exempt from it, that the draft may fall upon the stay-at-home men. That is, if the name of a man is drawn who belongs to the National Guard, it be laid aside the same as an enlisted volunteer, and another name be drawn. For many reasons, I recommend this, if it can properly be done. It will increase rather than decrease our military strength, and somewhat equalize the burdens of service. Our Guard is composed exclusively of Union men. JOHN BROUGH."

"COLUMBUS, May 4, 1864.

"E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

"Your dispatch received. I will crowd the force by all practicable means. Carefully consider and grant, if possible, my request to exempt the National Guard from the present draft making it fall on the '*shirks.*' There is great future value in this movement.

"JOHN BROUGH."

WASHINGTON CITY, May 4, 1864.

"HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN BROUGH, *Governor of Ohio:*

"After much consideration of your suggestion in regard to the draft, it seems to me impossible for the Department to conform to your wishes, for the following, among other reasons:

"1. Any change in the terms agreed upon between the Governors and the President in one instance, would form certain occasion for an infinite number of changes that would be applied for by others, and would lead either to great discontent at their being refused, or to serious injury to the service by adopting them.

"2. The terms of the arrangement were called for by the Committee on Finance, and formed the basis of their recommendations for the appropriation. In their view, and in the view of General Grant, it was deemed an indispensable condition that the special volunteers should in no wise interfere with the operation of the law for drafting. A change now made in the particular you mention, would be charged immediately as a breach of faith on the part of the Executive with Congress, and might lead to very serious complications.

"E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

"GENERAL HEAD-QUARTERS, STATE OF OHIO,
"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, Columbus, May 5, 1864.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

"My request was to exempt the members of the National Guard, actually in service, from operations of the present draft to fill Ohio's quota on the last call, but not to extend to any draft on any future call. No other State tendering militia can object to this, as their quotas are all full; neither does it break any faith with Congress, as it does not change the position of the State as to filling her quota by draft. I propose that the draft shall go on, and the quota filled thereby, but simply to limit its operations to men who have not enlisted or responded to the call for the National Guard. Thus I put you thirty thousand National Guards into the hundred days' service, and by draft fill my quota of ninety-two hundred from other citizens of the State. I do not reduce you a man in the service, but add to it in the number of men who may be drafted from the Guard. I do not ask any credit for the Guard on quotas, nor any exemption for it on future calls, if any are made. Is not this reasonable and just? I know it will be acceptable to our people.

JOHN BROUGH."

"COLUMBUS, July 5, 1864.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

"SIR: I respectfully urge that in the pending call for additional men, the principles be established:

"1. That at the expiration of the notice of fifty days, any balance of the quota of any State that may be deficient, shall be drafted from the population of the State that may not be, at the time, in the service of the United States.

"2. That this be construed to embrace the one hundred days' men of the several States furnishing them, and that if any such men be drafted, the name of such man be set aside, and another name be drawn to fill the place.

"3. That this rule be observed only while the hundred days' men are in service, and for fifty days thereafter; and after the expiration of such time, this class of men to become liable to other and future calls, as other citizens of the State.

"4. I submit to you the expediency of providing that if hundred days' men shall volunteer under the first call, they be allowed to join such regiments as they may elect, and be credited with such time as they may have served under the hundred day call, not exceeding fifty days.

"I do not press this point beyond your own convictions as to its policy and propriety. The three first propositions, however, I do urge as a matter of justice to the men who have so promptly come forward in the hundred day service, and as a fair and equitable distribution of the burdens of the war among those who have heretofore avoided them. I do not see any legal difficulty in exempting from the first call and draft men who are actually in service at the time, however proximate their term of service, especially if they become liable to a future call after that service has expired. The principle seems to me just and equitable, and I urge its adoption.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

Subsequently, however, under an opinion from Solicitor Whiting, of the War Department, all men actually in the service of the United States—no matter for what term of service—at the time of the draft, were held to be exempt from its operations. But no credit was ever given the State on subsequent quotas for this magnificent and instant re-enforcement of the National armies on the sudden call.

Of the whole volunteer militia of the State but one company absolutely refused to obey the order calling it out. Under the authority of the Governor, this case was dealt with as follows:

"GENERAL HEAD-QUARTERS, STATE OF OHIO,
"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, Columbus, May 26, 1864.

"SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 314.

"Company B, Captain Wendell Mischler, Fortieth Battalion, National Guard, is hereby *dishonorably dismissed* from the service of the State of Ohio, with forfeiture of all pay and allow-

ances, or having refused to come to the relief of the Government, under the recent call of the President for one hundred days' troops.

"The National Guard of Ohio, by its promptness in responding to said call, has won an immortality of honor, and justice to it demands that all recusants should be promptly punished, and the Guard relieved from the odium of so disgraceful a course of action.

"To the honor of the Guard, it is announced that the above company was the only one among the forty-two regiments sent to the field that lacked faith in the honor of their State and adopted country, and refused to fly to the relief when the fate of the country was trembling in the balance.

"They can return to their homes and say to their friends and neighbors that they have regarded their country and its safety as secondary to their own personal ease and security; and that in the hour of most imminent peril to that Government which had received and protected them when aliens, they basely betrayed their trust, and refused to follow their gallant comrades to the field of honor and of danger.

"No member of said company will be allowed to enlist in any other company of the National Guard, under any circumstances whatever, as men who wish to be 'soldiers in peace and citizens in war,' will not be allowed to disgrace the Guard, or peril the State and Nation by their presence and example.

"By order of the Governor: B. R. COWEN, Adjutant-General of Ohio."

The sudden summons of the National Guard to active service was specially likely to lead to suffering among the families thus left, at a week's warning, unprovided for. Profoundly alive to this aspect of the movement, Governor Brough lost no time in appealing to the citizens at home for aid

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, May 9, 1864.

"TO THE MILITARY COMMITTEES AND THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE:

"The departure of the National Guard from the State, in the service of the country, will necessarily work much individual hardship. In many cases in each county, families of laboring men, dependent on the daily labor of the head, will be left almost wholly unprovided for. The compensation of the soldier will not enable him to provide for the daily wants of his family. We who remain at home, protected by the patriotism and sacrifices of these noble men, must not permit their families to suffer. The prompt response of the Guard to the call has reflected honor upon the State. We must not sully it by neglecting the wants of those our gallant troops leave behind. No such stain must rest upon the fair character of our people.

"As organized, is ever better than individual action, I suggest to the people of the several counties that they promptly raise, by voluntary contribution, a sufficient sum to meet the probable wants of the families of the Guards, who may require aid, and place the same in the hands of the military committee of the county, for appropriation and distribution. The committee can designate one or two good men in each township who will cheerfully incur the trouble and labor of passing upon all cases in their townships, and of drawing and paying such appropriation as may be made to them. Citizens, let this fund be ample. Let those whom God has blessed with abundance contribute to it freely. It is not a charity to which you may give grudgingly. It is payment of only part of the debt we all owe the brave men who have responded to the call of the country, and whose action is warding off from us deadly perils, and saving us from much more serious sacrifices. What is all your wealth to you if your Government be subverted? What the value of your stores if your public credit or finances be ruined, or Rebel armies invade and traverse your State? Be liberal and generous then in this emergency. Let no mother, wife, or child of the noble Guard want the comforts of life during the hundred days; and let these noble men feel on their return that the people of the State appreciated, and have, to some extent, relieved the sacrifices they so promptly made in the hour of the country's need.

"As these families do not come within the means provided by the Relief Law, we must look to voluntary contributions to provide for them. In aid of these, I feel authorized to appropriate the sum of five thousand dollars from the Military Contingent Fund. This sum will be apportioned among the several counties in proportion to the number of the Guard drawn from each, and the chairman of the military committee early notified of the amount subject to his order.

"In many cases men have left crops partly planted, and fields sown, that in due time must be harvested or lost. In each township and county there should be at once associations of men at home who will resolve, that, to the extent of their ability, they will look to these things. It is not only the dictate of patriotism, but of good citizenship, that we make an extra exertion to save the crops to the country, and the accruing value to the owners, who, instead of looking to seed-time and harvest, are defending us from invasion and destruction. Men of the cities and towns, when the harvest is ready for the reaper, give a few days of your time, and go forth by the dozens and fifties to the work. The labor may be severe, but the sacrifice will be small, and the reflection of the good you have done will more than compensate you for it all.

"In this contest for the supremacy of our Government, and the salvation of our country, Ohio occupies a proud position. Her standard must not be lowered; rather let us advance it to the front. No brighter glory can be reflected on it than will result from a prompt and generous support to the families of the Guard. Let us all to the work.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

A few days afterward, changing his views as to the proper interpretation of the law providing relief for soldiers' families, the Governor addressed a separate appeal to the military committees of the several counties:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, May 16, 1864.

"TO THE MILITARY COMMITTEES:

"Upon more careful examination of the provisions of the Relief Law, I feel constrained to change my former position as to the right of families of the National Guard to its benefits. They have the same rights as families of other soldiers in the service. Still, our people should bear in mind that with the large addition thus made to the dependent families of soldiers, this fund will now be severely burdened. The taxation was made on the basis of our quotas under the calls. We have now added over thirty thousand men; and to that extent have increased the number of families that will require aid. Therefore, it is necessary that we should add to the fund, by voluntary contribution, to the extent, at least, of this increase of its liability. You should see that your county commissioners levy the discretionary tax for this year; or, at least have a clear record of a refusal to do so.

"Some complaints in regard to the action of trustees in the distribution of this fund, are answered in this form:

"1. It is asked, Where the absent soldier owns a house and lot, or a small tract of land on which his family resides, is the family thereby debarred from relief? Certainly not; unless the property, independent of furnishing a home for the family, is productive of the means of supporting it. Unproductive property may be an incumbrance, in the way of taxes and other expenses. Sensible and well-meaning men should not have any trouble in deciding questions of this kind. A helpless family may not be able to work ground, even to the partial extent of a livelihood. The simple question with practical men should be: Does the family, considering all its circumstances, its capability to produce, its ordinary industry and economy, need aid to live comfortably? If so, the aid should be extended. It is mortifying to add, that in a few cases trustees are represented as deciding that where the family held a small homestead, entirely unproductive, it was not entitled to relief until the property be sold, and its proceeds consumed. Such a position is at variance alike with the provisions of the law, and the dictates of humanity.

"2. It is asked whether the family of a deceased soldier in receipt of a Government pension is entitled to relief? The answer depends upon the circumstances, sensibly viewed. Is the pension, considering the size and helplessness of the family, sufficient for its support? If not, relief should be extended from the fund, and the amount of the pension is to be taken into the account when equalizing the fund in the township.

"Other questions that may arise should be settled, not by the strict rules of legal refinement, but upon the principles of practical common sense. The trust should be liberally and honestly construed. There is no requirement to practice a niggardly economy, but to fairly distribute the fund in the spirit of justice and humanity, and accomplish with it the greatest amount of good.

"In cases where the military committees feel warranted in doing so, they can relieve themselves of some labor and responsibility, and probably secure a more equitable distribution, by

apportioning the voluntary contributions among the townships, upon the basis adopted by the county commissioners, and handing the amounts to the township trustees, to be paid out in the same manner, and as a part of the relief fund.

"Please have this circular published in your county.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

The service of the National Guard did not accomplish the result that had been expected with such confidence, alike by National and State authorities. It did relieve the men whom Grant wanted from forts and railroads, but with these re-enforcements he did not win the great victory that had been expected; the war was not ended within the hundred days; and, in a certain sense, therefore, the great movement was a failure.

In another and larger sense it was not. In accordance with the prophetic declaration of her first war Governor, Ohio still led throughout the war. She was incomparably ahead of all the States that had united with her in the offer of hundred days' men to the Government, alike in the numbers that she furnished and in the promptness with which they were forwarded. Even Indiana, usually so near the front, fell far behind her now. The Ohio National Guard regiments guarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from the river to the sea-board; they manned the forts at Baltimore, and filled the fortifications around Washington. They liberated the garrisons over this great extent of territory, and thus swelled Grant's army with thirty thousand veterans. They grew restive under mere guard-duty, and finally begged that they too might go to the front.* Nearly all of them were under fire; and none brought discredit upon the Commonwealth that sent them forth. Into the details of their service we can not enter here. Elsewhere† we have sought to tell the story of each; it is enough here to add that their numbers, promptness, and uniform bearing drew forth, not only such eulogies as we have already quoted, but this, at the close of their service, from Mr. Lincoln himself:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON CITY,
September 10, 1864.

"The term of one hundred days, for which the National Guard of Ohio volunteered having expired, the President directs an official acknowledgment of their patriotism and valuable service during the recent campaign. The term of service of their enlistment was short, but distinguished by memorable events in the Valley of the Shenandoah, on the Peninsula, in the operations of the James River, around Petersburg and Richmond, in the battle of Monocacy, in the intrenchments of Washington, and in other important service. The National Guard of Ohio performed with alacrity the duty of patriotic volunteers, for which they are entitled, and are hereby tendered, through the Governor of their State, the National thanks.

"The Secretary of War is directed to transmit a copy of this order to the Governor of Ohio, and to cause a certificate of their honorable service to be delivered to the officers and soldiers of the Ohio National Guard, who recently served in the military force of the United States as volunteers for one hundred days.

[Signed] "ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

In calling out the National Guard Governor Brough assumed a responsibility and ran a risk, from which all but the boldest would have shrunk back.

*The One Hundred and Thirty-Second, Colonel Haines, of Logan County, was the first to ask to be sent to the front. Several others speedily followed.

†Volume II, Sketches National Guard Regiments.

It did not accomplish all the good he hoped, and it may have helped to swell the unpopularity which we are next to see growing at home and in the army against him. But it was through no fault of his that Grant was foiled in the Wilderness, and faced with Lee's steady front at every bloody step of his painful progress toward Richmond. Brough had done what he could to "organize victory;" he had kept the State, whose honor he so jealously guarded, far in advance of all her sisters, and had displayed an energy and devotion beyond all praise. Others of his actions may have produced more lasting good, but none displayed more consummate ability, and none reflected brighter honor upon the State.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ROUGH'S TROUBLES WITH OFFICERS, AND HIS FAILURE TO BE RENOMINATED.

THE anomalous position of regimental officers—owing their commissions to the Governor of their State, but owing him no obedience—looking to him for promotions, but looking elsewhere for the orders under which romotions must be won—has already been described. It insured difficulty etween the Governor and his officers, no matter what policy of promotion e might adopt. Governor Tod had preferred to get on without a policy. At ne time he would promote according to rank, at another time in spite of rank; ow he would give the ranking Sergeant the vacant Second-Lieutenancy; again e would jump a Captain over the heads of all superiors to the vacant Lieuten-nt-Colonelcy; to-day he would be governed by the recommendations of the olonel; to-morrow by the recommendations of military committees or personal cquaintances; the next day by the apparent sentiment of the regiment; the ext by the requirements of rank.

That this was unwise is not here argued. Perhaps it was well thus to set-le each case as it arose, upon such varying considerations as should seem to uggest the need of a peculiar treatment; certainly it resulted in less difficulty han a contrary course was to bring on. But Governor Brough was a man of evere methods. He must work on clearly-defined rules, or he could work with o satisfaction.

One of his earliest efforts, therefore, was to secure a system of promotions. He saw the evils resulting from promotion on the recommendation of the com-anding officer, the openings it gave for tyranny and for favoritism, the abso-ute mastery of the fortunes of subordinates it secured to the Colonel. Looking o the regulations and the orders of the War Department, he saw a way pro-ided for driving out incompetent officers, and where they were not incompe-ent, he conceived it unjust to ignore their rank in making promotions to fill acancies. It was a cardinal theory with him to bear only his legitimate respon-ibilities, and to compel all others to do as much. He was unwilling to assume he responsibility of punishing inefficient officers in the field; that was made he duty of those who were conversant with the facts, and were therefore able o resort to the remedy in the regulations. He would, therefore, promote

according to rank, save in cases where known intemperance would make this course one of immediate danger to the command, and would put upon the regiment itself the task of ridding its roster of men who proved unfit, and who stood in the way of the promotion of others.

Acting on such views he early promulgated his noted "General Order No. 5," the fertile source of many of the troubles which embittered his administration, and turned the officers of the army against him:

"GENERAL HEAD-QUARTERS, STATE OF OHIO,
"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, Columbus, February 6, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS No. 5.

"Hereafter, all vacancies in established regiments, battalions, or independent companies will be filled by promotion according to seniority in the regiment, battalion, or independent company, except in cases of intemperance.

"Existing orders from the War Department afford the necessary facilities for ridding the service of incompetent or inefficient officers, by ordering them before an examining board, which will relieve the Governor from the disagreeable necessity of deciding the merits of an officer on the mere opinion of the regimental or other commander.

"Section ten of an act of Congress, approved July 22, 1861 (General Orders No. 49, series of 1861), provides as follows:

"'That the General commanding a separate Department or detached army, is hereby authorized to appoint a military board or commission of not less than three nor more than five officers, whose duty it shall be to examine the capacity, qualifications, propriety of conduct and efficiency of any commissioned officer of volunteers within his Department or army, who may be reported to the board or commission, and upon such report, if adverse to such officer, and if approved by the President of the United States, the commission of such officer shall be vacated; *Provided, always*, that no officer shall be eligible to sit on such board or commission whose rank or promotion would in any way be affected by its proceedings, and two members, at least, if practicable, shall be of equal rank of the officer being examined.'

"No officer shall be deprived of his right to promotion on the mere expression of his commanding officer that he is not competent to discharge the duties of the position to which his seniority entitles him.

"In the case of promotions of sergeants the same rule will govern, and for this reason: commanding officers of regiments and other organizations will give careful attention to the appointment of non-commissioned officers, that none but competent, proper, and efficient men shall be brought into the line of promotion.

"Officers who seek to be detailed on duty which detaches them from their commands, will be considered out of the line of promotion during their continuance on such detached service. Notice of such detail must be furnished this department, and also notice of the time they are returned to their commands.

"Commanding officers must promptly deliver all commissions to the parties for whom they are intended. By order:

"B. R. COWEN, Adjutant-General of Ohio."

Abstract theory would pronounce this rule perfect; practical results might give a different verdict. The leading officers claimed that Governor Brough did not always act on his own regulation, and they were opposed to it at any rate from the start, for very obvious reasons. Their power to promote or retard promotions was measurably taken away; and it was from this an easy step to open hostility against the man who had done it. Then Governor Brough himself was led, by the logic of his position, into becoming more and more the champion of the private soldier as against the officer, and of the subordinate officer as against his superiors. That a strong sense of justice to the weak

inspired this is plain; that it proved sometimes subversive of all commonly-accepted rules of subordination and military etiquette can not be denied.

Disputes with the officers in the field soon sprang up. For a time these were kept within bounds, but as the officers began to feel more and more outraged, they threw off the tone of deference to the Governor. He, on the other hand, treated them as he would his railroad operatives; held them to the same rigid performance of duty; rebuked with as little search for soft phrases when he thought they were neglecting their work. Thus, by and by, a state of affairs sprang up which led to the most acrimonious correspondence, to the dismissal of officers for disrespect to the Governor, and to a combination of officers against Brough's renomination.

To such a pass did things come that, on a reference by the Governor to the Colonel of a regiment of a complaint which a soldier of the regiment had chosen to send to the Governor, this extraordinary interchange of indorsements on the soldier's letter could ensue:

"HEAD-QUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, THIRD DIVISION FOURTH A. C.,
"New Market, March 25, 1865.

"Respectfully returned. This communication to the Governor is a studied assault on my character as an officer, and should not have received the official attention of the Commander-in-Chief of the military of Ohio. It certainly will receive no attention from me until it shall have gone to the Governor through the soldier's commanding officer. This private channel of slandering military officers, has been too freely used, and has certainly received tacit sanction at the Capital. As inattention to a soldier's wants and rights by an officer is among the gravest of offenses, so is such a charge, when not well founded, a low slander.

"If his Excellency desires to know the history of this case, it will afford me pleasure to give it, but his request must in no way indorse the grave charges of wanton cruelty against me.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"H. K. MCCONNELL, Colonel Seventy-First Ohio Infantry."

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, April 13, 1865.

"Returned to Colonel McConnell as unofficer-like and insolent. It is alike the prerogative and the duty of the Commander-in-Chief to hear and investigate the complaints of the humblest private against the acts of his commanding officer. He does not acknowledge any regulation requiring a private to ask permission of the officer, of whose injustice he complains, to graciously permit him to forward his petition. In every case of this kind the officer has been first called upon for a statement of facts or explanation of the case, and the officer who throws himself upon his dignity, and talks of slander and defamation, naturally provokes the suspicion that he has no better explanation or defense. Colonel McConnell can act his own pleasure in regard to farther report in this case. He can have no mitigation of the terms in which it was originally called for. In the mean time, he can rest assured that this department will receive the complaint, and redress, as far as practicable, the grievances of the soldiers of the State, as it will protect itself from the insolence of officers who do not comprehend the courtesies and duties of their positions.

"By order of the Governor. SIDNEY D. MAXWELL,
"A. D. C., etc., to Governor Brough."

Long before this, a gallant officer, soon to lay down his life for the cause, had been betrayed by the feeling which was already spreading among men of his rank against the Governor, into a letter which drew out this response:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, March 8, 1864.

COLONEL DANIEL MCCOOK, *Fifty-Second Regiment O. V. I., McAffee Church, Georgia:*

"SIR: When the Colonel of the Fifty-Second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry clothes his communications in language becoming 'an officer and a gentleman,' they will be courteously

responded to. How true his allegations may be as to the Provost-Marshal, I have not taken the trouble to inquire; but as to this department, both directly and inferentially, they are alike insulting and unfounded. As I can not present as disrespectful a communication as this to the Provost-Marshal, I leave Colonel McCook to redress his own grievances, until he appreciates a more courteous and respectful manner in seeking it through this department.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

While thus addressing officers who treated him with disrespect, he was remorselessly hunting down others whom he believed to be shirks, in a manner which these letters that follow may illustrate:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, July 21, 1864.

"MAJOR W. G. NEILSON, *Annapolis, Maryland:*

"SIR: I am surprised to learn to-day that you left the regiment on the second day of May, and have not been with it since; that a part of the time you have been sick, but the greater portion you have been managing to keep on detached service out of the field. I do not know how much of this is true, but so long an absence from the regiment requires an explanation. I have no fancy for officers who play off from their regiments, and I have therefore written the War Department requesting that your case be investigated.

"The regiment requires its officers; if you can not serve in your line of duty, you should not prevent another from doing so. Yours truly, JOHN BROUGH."

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, August 5, 1864.

"MAJOR W. G. NEILSON, *Twenty-Seventh Regiment U. S. Colored Troops, Elmira, New York:*

"DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 3d instant. I gave you reports that reached me, and of the truth of which I had no knowledge, while I have not charged you with any improper conduct or shirking from duty (though others have done so), and do not make any such charges now. I am still impressed with the fact that in the critical condition of your regiment you should not have laid sixty days inactive without at least some effort to relieve it, or some communication with this department. It is very certain that your prestige with the regiment is gone. I will have it full to the maximum in fifteen days, and it needs officers badly. As you admit you can not return to it, the question is with yourself whether you will deprive it of an officer, and remain a drone in the service.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH, Governor of Ohio."

The Governor was no less outspoken in defense of officers whom he believed to be doing their duty, and against whom prejudicial efforts were making at head-quarters or in the department. Of his representations on this class of subjects, the letter below may serve as a sample, while it also illustrates his views of the strong practice at elections which the times would warrant:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, October 14, 1864.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER, *Commanding Department, Cincinnati:*

"SIR: I am informed that Colonel Greene, in charge of draft rendezvous here, is asking that Major Skiles, Eighty-Eighth Regiment O. V I., in charge of Tod Barracks here, be relieved and superseded. I have not had any conversation with Colonel Greene myself, but my information comes from responsible parties. Major Skiles is one of the very best officers we have in service here. His offense, I am informed, is that he acted as marshal of a Union torch-light procession here on Saturday night, and on election day refused to allow Mr. Congressman Cox to go within the barracks to electioneer among the soldiers, where the poll was opened. On the one hand, it is said that Colonel Greene is a sympathizer with General McClellan; of this I have no evidence. On the other hand, an army officer states his position to be that he holds it improper for an army officer, either regular or volunteer, to take any part in elections beyond his vote. On whichever ground it is placed is to me immaterial. Major Skiles has done his duty as an officer, and I hold he is doing it as a citizen, and in both he is sustaining the Government and aiding to crush the rebellion. I therefore respectfully protest against his being superseded therefor. Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

We have spoken of the charge by the officers that Governor Brough did not uniformly adhere to his own rule about promotions, as laid down in "Order No. 5." They pointed to a class of cases like that of Captain Mayer as proof:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, November 17, 1864.

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. P. HATCH, *Jacksonville, Florida:*

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 26th instant. While I have great respect for your opinions, I think I have fully examined and understand the troubles in the One Hundred and Seventh Regiment. Captain Mayer is, in my judgment, so intimately connected with them that his promotion to the command would be a step I can not consent to take. I frankly told him so when he called on me, some months since; and I further said, what I now repeat, that I would hail his resignation as a token of future promise and usefulness of the regiment. I have seriously thought of asking his removal by the War Department, but have heretofore forborne, what, upon less provocation, I shall hereafter do. During my absence the Adjutant-General sent him a commission as Major, which I directed should be revoked.

"In the hope of promoting the efficiency of the regiment, I have to-day appointed Captain J. S. Cooper Lieutenant-Colonel, and sent him to the regiment. He is a good officer and known to the command. He is conversant with the troubles in the regiment, and I trust he will be able, by a conciliatory but firm course, to remedy them. I shall not permit Captain Mayer to embarrass him for an hour after that fact comes to my knowledge. I have no personal feeling in the matter; my only object is to promote the harmony and efficiency of the regiment.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

The letter-books of Brough's administration, in the State archives (from which the documents here are taken), swarm with similar evidences of his activity, his remorseless pursuit of men whose conduct he thought unsatisfactory, his habitual disregard of the dignity of officers, his championship of the private soldiers, his watchfulness for those he suspected to be shirks. Thus, within two or three weeks after his inauguration, we find him addressing the Secretary of War* concerning Colonel De Haas, of the Seventy-Seventh Ohio: "The fact is presented that during twenty-one months' service of said regiment, since Colonel Mason took command, Colonel De Haas has been with it but one hundred and sixty-one days, and those were during the time it was not engaged in field service. He has been in action with it but once, and that but two hours; and my information is (from other sources than Colonel Mason) that his record on that occasion is anything else than honorable. On seven days' furlough he has been absent six months. The regiment should not be sent back under this officer. He stands in the way of the promotion of officers who have shared the privations of the regiment. If the power were mine I would find a way to right this wrong."

A few days later,† we find him writing to Colonel J. A. Lucy, of the One Hundred and Fifteenth Ohio: "You will save yourself and your officers some trouble and improve the *morale* of your regiment by refraining from sending me the proceedings of indignation meetings on the subject of promotions. If an error is committed by this department it does not require the machinery of a national convention to have it corrected!"

Some soldiers in the Second Ohio Heavy Artillery complained that they had been treated with unjust cruelty by some of the officers. Brough straight-

* On 25th January, 1864. † February 11, 1864.

way wrote to General Steedman, in whose command the regiment was, asking that the complaints be quietly investigated.

He defended "Order No. 5" against all complaints, and wanted it adopted as the rule also in the promotions beyond the rank of Colonel. "Let me illustrate," he said, in the course of a long letter about affairs in Sherman's army "The nomination of Colonel Harker to a Brigadier-Generalship has cost us four of the best Colonels in the army. He was No. 16 in the rank of Ohio Colonels; and, of the fifteen ranking him, twelve at least were as meritorious as himself. Two of these have resigned and been discharged the service honorably. Two more have resignations pending."

In this matter he had been opposed by Senator John Sherman, between whom and himself strife as to promotions seems to have been common. On another occasion, Brough having recommended Colonels Van Derveer and Gibson for Brigadier-Generalships, Sherman wrote to him, asking that he would withdraw these recommendations, for the purpose of insuring the promotion of Colonel Stanley. Brough replied: "I respectfully protest against the injustice of overslaughing his (Stanley's) ranking officers, who are his equals in merit."

In the re-enlistment of the veterans, Fuller's well-known brigade was credited to Tennessee instead of Ohio, to the great astonishment of the officers, as well as of the Governor. Colonel Edw. F Noyes, of the Thirty-Ninth, and other officers concerned, wrote earnestly to the Governor on the subject, protesting against the change. He seems finally to have been convinced that Fuller himself was to blame for it, and that the new muster-rolls had been purposely made to show that the enlistment took place in Tennessee (which was technically true), for the purpose of compelling Ohio to raise more troops. Brough thereupon writes to Judge Spaulding at Washington, complaining of Fuller's action, and adding: "I submit whether these facts constitute a good reason for his promotion to a Brigadier-Generalship."*

Thus, on all hands, Brough's brusque ways with the officers, and his utter indifference to their feelings when he felt they were in the wrong, were raising up enemies for him, whose enmity was to prove potential. A case was yet to come which should attract more general attention, and seem to the army to involve some elements of persistent injustice. On this the feeling against him concentrated. It was a much-disputed case, but the facts generally agreed upon were about these:

In accordance with a policy which we have seen to be somewhat common with him, Governor Tod had given a commission to Sergeant John M. Woodruff, of the One Hundred and Eleventh, on condition that he should recruit thirty men for the regiment, and take them back with him to the field. Two days after Governor Brough's inauguration Woodruff reported at Columbus, gave proofs of having the men, and received the commission in due form. When, however, he presented himself in the field to Colonel J. R. Bond, the commandant of the regiment, that officer took his commission, but refused to

* A movement for which was then on foot. The rolls were finally changed, and the regiments thus restored to Ohio.

muster him into the service, for the reasons, as subsequently appeared, (1), that Woodruff had been commissioned without any recommendation from the regiment, not having been even sent home to recruit, but to conduct drafted men back to the regiment; (2), that some of the men whom he claimed as recruits, entitling him to the commission, had not been recruited by him; and (3), that he merited no promotion by behavior either in the regiment or at home.

Governor Brough did not learn for some months that his commission to Woodruff was being ignored. The news then came in a letter of complaint from Woodruff himself, dated 22d May, 1864. He thereupon asked Colonel Bond to report the reasons for preventing his muster. To this the only response received was as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH O. V I.,
Near Acworth, Georgia, June 9, 1864.

"Respectfully returned to the Adjutant-General of Ohio, a report having been made in the case to the department.

(Signed) "JOHN R. BOND, Colonel One Hundred and Eleventh O. V. I."

This Brough construed as referring to a report sent to the War Department, and as, therefore, intimating that the matter was one with which the Governor of Ohio had nothing to do, and on which the Colonel did not propose to be catechised. Meantime Woodruff had been severely wounded and crippled for life, and the Governor had issued to him, in acknowledgment of his gallantry, a commission as First-Lieutenant. He now at once forwarded to the Secretary of War Woodruff's letter, the inquiry of the Adjutant-General, and Bond's reply—making no recommendation, but calling the Secretary's attention to the language of Bond's reply, and stating that he had failed to report as requested.

The Secretary of War had a profound admiration for Governor Brough, as had also the President. They held him the ablest of the Governors, relied implicitly upon him, and about this time were specially grateful to him for the splendid keeping of his promise of hundred-days' men. The result could, of course, be foreseen. A special order was promptly issued, "dishonorably dismissing Colonel Bond from the service for refusing to recognize the commissions of the Governor of Ohio." A copy of this order was sent to Brough, but no other correspondence was had on the subject.

Subsequently Colonel Bond explained that the report referred to in his offensive indorsement above quoted was in reality one which he had previously sent to the Governor on this case, which had never been received. Supposing that before his reply could reach Columbus this report must come to hand, and that, therefore, his indorsement would be understood, and a longer explanation needless, he sent it as quoted, being the more disposed to be very brief where he could, because they were then in the midst of the Atlanta campaign and on the march. He had many warm friends in Toledo, who interested themselves in his case, and made efforts, both at Columbus and Washington, to have him reinstated. To this end a special order was finally procured from General Halleck, directing him, as an indispensable preliminary, to make a satisfactory

apology to Governor Brough. On this document, when received, Brough placed the following indorsement:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, November 12, 1864.

"The within is, probably, a technical fulfillment of the order of the Secretary of War, but, in my judgment, it is deficient in the elements of repentance and frankness. It does not meet the fact that Colonel Bond had determined, from favoritism to others and personal repugnance, that Woodruff should not be mustered.

"The record shows that after a personal interview with the Adjutant-General of Ohio, in August, he went to his regiment and reported that the commission would be revoked, and mustered another man over him, thus filling the only vacancy in the regiment.

"The Adjutant-General says he made no such communication. The averment that Woodruff had not recruited his men is a pretext. He produced evidence of that fact when the commission was issued. Captain Beal's statement that he recruited the men is not justified.

"In my judgment the good of the regiment and of the service require that Colonel Bond should be relieved from his command, for these reasons:

"1. This is his second offense of this character. In 1862 Governor Tod was compelled to procure a special order of the War Department to muster a Lieutenant and Adjutant. The offense was passed over.

"2. He has passed a large portion of his time away from his regiment. He has been twice arrested for gross intemperance, and was six months absent from the regiment at home under one of these arrests. Both arrests were released without trial, under promise of reformation.

"3. He has been, and is now, in political sentiment, opposed to the head of the Government, and, consequently, its policy in the prosecution of the war; and in this particular is very obnoxious to a large majority of his command.

"He appeals to have the stigma of a dismissal removed. While I respectfully, but earnestly, protest against his being assigned to command again, I have no objections, if the Department sanctions such a course, to a reinstation, accompanied by an immediate resignation. I leave this for the Secretary to determine. I am convinced the service would be benefited by the retiracy in one form or the other. JOHN BROUGH, Governor of Ohio."

Some, at least, of the charges thus made could probably have been sustained; but there was a good deal of sympathy with Bond, especially among the officers of the army. He was said to be brave, and a good fighting Colonel, and to such a man they held that much ought to be pardoned. The matter got into the newspapers; several of the most influential journals of the State attacked Brough's course in the case, as exhibiting a petty spirit of personal revenge and an unwillingness to drop his cause of quarrel after the most satisfactory apologies. The latent hostility to the Governor, which his previous treatment of many others had aroused, now broke out openly, and he speedily became intensely unpopular, with a large portion of the officers, at least, of that army which, a year before, had given him forty-one thousand votes, to only two thousand against him.

We can now see that much of this feeling was unwarranted. Among the confidential letters in the State Archives, for the term of Brough's administration, is one on this subject, touchingly expressing his appeal to the safe judgment of time, which may be properly made public. It is addressed to Colonel W H. Drew, then the acting military agent of the State at Chattanooga. This gentleman seems to have expressed fears as to the effect which the feeling aroused by the Bond case would have on the Governor's political prospects. He replied on the 20th of February, 1865, explaining the facts at some length, and concluding in this wise and temperate strain:

"This is a simple history of the affair. I had no personal feeling in it—never saw Colonel Bond until he first called on me—never had any controversy with him until it grew out of this affair. I treated him and his counsel with uniform courtesy and kindness; heard them patiently, and assured them I had no offended dignity to avenge and propitiate. My only object was the good of the service, and to prevent the return to it of an officer who I conscientiously believed should not be there. I understand the case is now under review at Washington. I can not tell what may be its result, but I am satisfied I have done nothing but my duty in regard to it.

"Personally, I am very indifferent as to political consequences to myself on account of this, or any other of my public acts. The most earnest desire I have is to be permitted to retire from a position I did not seek, and really involuntarily assumed. I am equally indifferent as to who may be my successor, though I confess to some anxiety that he shall be one who will make it a cardinal principle not to put in the military service, or continue there, officers who disqualify themselves by intemperate habits or immoral conduct.

"Now for the moral of this long story. You, as well as myself, have an important duty to perform toward our men who can not help themselves. To do this successfully, we must sometimes crucify our feelings and our animosities. We may think wrong is being done—that friends are being injured—that improper means are being used to forward ambitious purposes. But we must pass this all by in the present. Time and truth will set all things right. To hasten this end we must avoid controversies with those who have power that they can use, either to favor or injure the success of our labors. Your relation to the commander is such that you should be extremely cautious as to your feelings and utterance where third parties are concerned. If he looks to high political position you need not become his partisan, but you should not become his opponent, nor make him yours in such form as to impair your usefulness to the men under your charge. Avoid harsh expressions, avoid controversies, avoid even allusion to an irritating subject. While I personally appreciate and prize your friendship for and confidence in me, I would not for a moment you should weaken your own position or usefulness by assuming my defense against any charges or imputations. Living or dead, I have no fears of any assaults that may be made upon my public acts. I know they have all been dictated by honest motives. They may be marked by errors, but not by weakness or dishonesty. And so time and truth will prove them.

"This is a miserable scrawl, but I have not time to re-write. Accept in a purely confidential character, and believe me Very truly yours,

"JOHN BROUGH."

Other causes combined to increase the unpopularity which originated in the army. The Governor was rough, harsh, and implacable with men who were guilty of little offenses. His honesty was fierce and aggressive, and it led him to denounce many men for practices which the most considered quite in the line of official precedents. He utterly scorned the arts of popularity, and refused to court the "local great men" of Columbus and other political centers in the State. His manners were often offensive, and his personal habits, in some respects at least, if not in all with which he was freely charged, were not correct. Besides all this, the call on the National Guard had left some soreness in the minds of many people whom it inconvenienced.

He still had hosts of friends throughout the State; men who could overlook all minor considerations in their admiration for his splendid ability, and their gratitude for the incorruptible honesty, the economy, and the wonderful and wise zeal that had marked his service of the State. These urged him to be a candidate for renomination. For a time he held the question under advisement, declaring that he would consider it only in the light of what would be best for the Union party. Then he wrote to all who addressed him on the subject, that while he believed he might secure a nomination, he was unwilling to struggle

for it; that it would be better for the party to have a candidate who would arouse less personal hostility, and that he would not enter the contest. And finally he addressed this frank and characteristic communication to the press:

"COLUMBUS, June 15, 1865.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF OHIO:

"I accepted the nomination of the Union party for Governor of Ohio two years ago with unfeigned reluctance. I did not seek or desire it, and I only accepted from considerations of public duty, which, in view of the state of the country, it clearly imposed upon me. I came into office with the firm determination that if the military power of the rebellion should be broken and the war closed during the first term of my administration—which I confidently anticipated—under no circumstances would I be a candidate for re-election. This determination I freely communicated to my friends. During the past spring, under pressing importunities from nearly every section of the State, I allowed this position to be modified to this extent, that while I would not seek the nomination, and did not desire it, yet if it was conferred with a reasonable degree of unanimity and good feeling, I would not decline it. I however reserved to myself the privilege of following my original purpose, and withdrawing my name from the canvass whenever, in my judgment, the same should become requisite to the harmony of the convention and the success of its nominations.

"Many prominent men of the Union organization will bear me witness that I have frequently urged upon them the conflicts that would arise from my renomination. In times like those through which we have passed in the last four years, no man who filled the position, and honestly and conscientiously discharged the duties of the office of Governor of Ohio, could hope to escape censure and opposition, or fail to destroy what politicians term his 'availability' as a candidate for re-election. Such was the case with two of my predecessors, who were earnest, good men. I could not, and did not, hope to avoid the same result; and therefore I made the reservation, and based it upon my own judgment of passing events. Even if I desired the position, I owe the people of the State too much to embarrass their future action for the gratification of my own ambition. As I have no political desires, either present or future, the path of duty becomes not only plain, but personally pleasant.

"After a careful survey of all the surroundings, I am entirely satisfied that the same considerations of duty that pressed upon me the acceptance of a nomination two years ago, as imperiously require that I should decline it at the present time. Under this conviction, I respectfully but unconditionally withdrew my name from the convention and the canvass.

"I am aware that by this decision I do violence to the wishes and feelings of a host of friends, whose good opinions I cherish. But they must pardon me. I have no sentiment of doubt or distrust, either of their friendship or good judgment; but I see my own course so clearly that I may not turn aside from it.

"Of course I have no personal regrets or disappointments. On the contrary, I am highly gratified that I can honorably retire. I doubt very much whether my health—much impaired by close confinement to official duties—would sustain me through a vigorous campaign; while increasing years, and the arduous labor of a long life in public positions, strongly invite me to retirement and repose during the few years that may yet remain to me.

"To the people of the State, who have so nobly sustained me, I owe a lasting debt of gratitude. I have served them, during the trying periods of my administration, to the best of my ability. I know that I have done it conscientiously and honestly. I look back upon my record with but a single regret, and that is, that I have not been able to make it more effective in the cause of the State and Nation. Very respectfully,

"JOHN BROUGH."

CHAPTER XIX.

CLOSE OF BROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION.

TO the illustrations of Governor Brough's activity for the army, for the soldiers in the hospitals, for recruiting, and for the advancement of Grant's campaign, it is fitting to add here some indications of the influence he exerted upon the Union party. Early in 1864 he openly committed himself to the renomination of Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency. He seized the opportunity, however, of a malignant attack upon Secretary Chase, which that gentleman had some apparently substantial reasons for supposing to have been made with the connivance of the President, to address him his congratulations on the triumphant manner in which he had passed the investigation that ensued. In reply to Mr. Chase's acknowledgment of this letter he wrote again, striving to soften the asperities between Mr. Chase and Mr. Lincoln, and to convince him of the hopelessness of any effort to defeat Mr. Lincoln:

"JUNE 1, 1865.

"HON. S. P. CHASE, *Washington City, D. C.*

"MY DEAR SIR: An unusual pressure of business engagements has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your esteemed favor of the 19th instant. I confess I feel highly gratified, not only that you found some benefit, however slight, in the suggestions I had the honor of making to you, but that you appreciate and so kindly credit me with the motives that prompted them. Not the least of these, let me now assure you, was the cordial personal friendship which I have ever entertained for you; a sentiment I have cherished from the first day of our acquaintance, and which no difference of opinion in public matters has ever interfered with. I confess to you I had other motives—the condition of the country, the value and importance of your services in the Treasury, the disaster that would follow a breach in the public councils and your retiracy, the shock to our whole system of credit and finance—but I felt that all these were reconcilable with the personal desire I had for the preservation of your own high character and reputation. I was satisfied then, and am now, that your best vindication, and your highest meed of honor, would be found in remaining at your post, and demanding through your friends in Congress a full investigation of the charges made against you. I urged that course on the Ohio delegation, and they pledged themselves to it. The result has justified you nobly before the country. It has sustained you, and sustained your friends. You stand better before the Nation to-day than if Blair had not afforded you the opportunity for so triumphant a vindication. I know this result has been reached at a terrible cost of personal feeling to yourself—but these things are ever so. It is the penalty men pay in this age for inflexibly holding and pursuing a course dictated by honor and integrity. It is said that every worldly affliction has its consolation. Yours must be that your personal suffering is immensely less than would have been the consciousness that you merited the reproaches cast upon you, and that your friends could not successfully vindicate your official conduct. I am more than gratified if I contributed to a result

that I am satisfied has alike enured to your benefit and the protection of the Nation from a serious disaster.

"While I have no palliation for the course of Blair, you must allow me to say, in all kindness, that I think you in error in attributing any portion of his malignaty to the promptings or even the knowledge of the President. I think Mr. Lincoln erred in his original promise to reinstate Blair in the army. Having given that pledge, his innate honesty of character prompted him to keep it. I think that at the last moment he saw that error more clearly than he did the means of correcting it. But I am most certain that it was no part of his purpose to prompt or even to justify Blair's hostility to you. The whole affair has been an unfortunate one. I do not feel willing to discuss it; but while, with my knowledge of all the facts, I concede that a little sterner course on the part of the President would have produced better results. I do not find in them any evidence of falsity or hostility on his part toward you personally or officially. I admit that I have been anxious to find this so—but I do not think that my judgment has been colored by my desires in this particular.

"While I would have preferred not to have opened the political campaign at so early a day, I accept the nomination of Mr. Lincoln as one that I think would have been made as certainly sixty or ninety days hence. It is to an unusual extent an impulse of the popular mind, and nothing but a great disaster to our cause would have changed it. I do not regard it as a measure of hostility to you or any other of the distinguished men whose names were connected with the canvass. It grows out of the circumstances, and, perhaps, the necessities of the case. It is the point upon which the public anxiety, for a favorable result to our great struggle, has concentrated as promising more of harmony and unity of action than any other. After much reflection, I am inclined to accept it as the best practicable result we could attain.

"I do not sympathize in your apprehensions as to the result. I have no reasonable doubt as to the election of Mr. Lincoln—that is, if the Union party of the country can elect any man of undoubted Union sentiments and policy. That which would defeat him, would defeat any other man on the same platform; that is, disaster to our cause in the field. We must achieve success with our arms; we must see the 'beginning of the end' of this rebellion during this year; we must defeat the Fabian policy of the Rebels by bold and vigorous progress—or he who foretells adverse political results, will not be entitled to the reputation of a prophet. But with military success comes political triumph; and I think I see more certain indications of that now than at any former period of the war. There may be, and there will be, some dissenters from this nomination; some will find one cause in the past, and others an apprehension in the future. But I am impressed with the peculiarity of this contest. While there is an anxious and earnest desire to terminate this great struggle, there is an equal purpose to terminate it rightfully, and a fixed determination to lay aside all prejudices, and sacrifice for the present all preferences and wishes, to accomplish the great end. The nearer we approach this end through the successes of our arms, and the firmness and energy of our Government, the more irresistible will the popular tide become—and all opposition will be swept away by it. You may see this indicated by the late convention at Cleveland. There are leading politicians enough who do not prefer Mr. Lincoln—but they did not cast their fortunes with that manifestation of opposition to him. They realize the political 'situation,' and stand back. They see the risiug of the tide and wait to calculate its altitude. They know that the success of our cause by the military arm leaves no room to doubt the political result. I do not care to contemplate the other side of the picture; but this conviction impresses itself upon my mind, that if disaster does come in the field, and we can not breast it under Mr. Lincoln, we should be as badly, if not worse, defeated under any other political leader.

I crave your pardon for the infliction of this terribly long epistle. I did not contemplate the half of it when I took up my pen. It is my honest view from my own stand-point; whether correct or judicious, you can determine. It is hastily written, without choosing phrases, and is given as friend to friend in our friendly relations. I have only to repeat that though we may differ on these points, it is my earnest desire that these relations may not thereby be disturbed.

"Very truly yours, JOHN BROUGH."

Later in the Presidential campaign there were grave apprehensions, among some, of Mr. Lincoln's success, and at the time there were reports of a move-

ment designed to force him off the Republican ticket. Possibly with reference to this, the following letter was sent to Mr. Theodore Tilton:

"COLUMBUS, September 5, 1864.

"THEODORE TILTON, ESQ., *Editor Independent, New York:*

"SIR: I have the note under date of 3d instant of Messrs. Greeley, Godwin, and yourself. I answer your interrogatories:

"1. I not only regard the election of Mr. Lincoln as a *probability*, but I am satisfied that unity and co-operation in the Union element can easily make it a *certainty*.

"2. At this time I have no doubt of the result in the State of Ohio.

"3. Under these convictions I answer your three interrogatories very decidedly in the negative.

Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

The unpublished letters of the Governor abound in evidences of his continued and constant activity for the service of the State.

In February, 1864, he writes to the Secretary of War concerning the appointment of an officer from New Hampshire as Provost-Marshal for Ohio, after the resignation of Provost-Marshal Parrott: "Is Ohio so poor in men and material that it is necessary to import upon her? I have now four crippled Colonels who can not for some time go back to the field (either of whom is abundantly competent for this place), and all desiring some position of usefulness, but they find themselves some morning turned out to shift for themselves. Are our veterans to be made to know that their toils and dangers go for nothing? Is the Colonel who left his leg at Mission Ridge,* or he who came from Ringgold covered with wounds, to be told that a place he could fill in Ohio is reserved for some sound Colonel from New Hampshire? Have we done anything to merit this slight? Respectfully, but firmly, I protest against this wrong to the State and its band of war-worn veteran officers."

In January, 1864, he writes to the Secretary of War, calling his attention to the exposed condition of the Border, and asking for artillery, owed by the Government under old militia laws. Stanton at first objected; but Brough persisted until his efforts resulted in the equipment of four complete batteries, which, during the hundred days' movement, did good service.

He remonstrated against the injustice which kept between twenty and thirty independent batteries in the field from Ohio, and asked a regimental organization for them, that their officers might have some chance of promotion. "I more than ask," he said in a letter to the Secretary of War, in February, 1864, "I urge that at least two regiments of artillery be created from Ohio batteries now in service. They are all re-enlisting—must they go back as independent batteries only?"

He felt the passions of his kind at witnessing the horrible condition of some of the starved Union prisoners, on their return from Southern confinement. A relative of General Cass, of Michigan, and a personal friend of his own, wrote to him about this time, asking his influence to secure the release on parole of a Rebel General, then confined at Detroit, that he might remain with friends

* Understood to refer to Colonel Wiley, Forty-First Ohio.

there who would entertain him, and be responsible for his conduct. This is Brough's reply:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, May 23, 1864.

"GENERAL JOHN E. HUNT, *Detroit, Michigan:*

"SIR: I have your favor of the 19th instant. All prisoners of war, civil and military, are under the sole charge of Colonel William Hoffman, Commissary-General of Prisoners, Washington City. I can not interfere with them if I would, and I can not give an order to any to communicate with them without his permission.

"I am glad it is so. Some four weeks ago I saw, at Baltimore, the arrival of a vessel loaded with our prisoners from Belle Isle, who, in the very refinement of barbarism, had been reduced by starvation to mere skeletons, for no other purpose than to incapacitate them for further service in the Union armies. Over one-third of these men were too far gone to be resuscitated, and died within forty-eight hours after arrival. While I would not retaliate on Rebel prisoners by practicing like means, I confess, General, I have very little sympathy with, or desire to parole or release from confinement, men who have been upholding a rebellion that has deluged the land with sorrow and blood—and whose leaders have resorted to cruelty and barbarism in the treatment of prisoners more infernal than any ever practiced by savages. The higher the rank and social position of men, the less are they entitled to sympathy. They sinned against light and knowledge. Therefore I am glad their fate is not in my keeping, lest, under such provocation, I should not be over merciful.

"I return letter as requested,

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

Some lawyers, understood then to be sympathizers with the rebellion, wrote him a letter urging with pertinacity, but without much courtesy, his duty to help to get some claims of clients allowed at Washington. He replied:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbus, May 26, 1864.

"C. & C., *Attorneys, Athens, Ohio:*

"GENTLEMEN: I have been honored with two epistles from your firm. The inclosures in your first communication I forwarded to the War Department. Your second note I shall send after them, giving you an introduction to the Secretary.

"I duly appreciate the lecture you so emphatically read to me as to my duty to my constituents, but I fail to see any obligation to become the agent of 'attorneys' to press their claims upon the departments, especially when those 'attorneys' are blessed with a manner of communication so much more emphatic and persuasive than my own. Your clients undoubtedly committed their interests to your hands in consideration of your business energy, and your influence with the departments at Washington; and it would be improper for me to rob you of the honors of success, by any interference on my part. On the other hand, while I am ever ready to respond to the appeals of my constituents, I do not recognize the right of 'attorneys' to command my services for their own benefit, especially when in so doing they berate and denounce the Government which it is alike my pleasure and my duty to support.

"Very respectfully, JOHN BROUGH."

In marked contrast was the cordial letter—to select one out of many—which he wrote in November to Samuel Pike, of Washington C. H., sympathizing with his fatherly solicitude for the special exchange of his son, but adding that, heartily as he wished he could help him, he felt bound to oppose all special exchanges, for the reason that they tended to render more hopeless the case of those still kept in Southern prisons, and to postpone still further the day of their deliverance.

While the struggle lasted, Governor Brough was second to no Statesman of the Nation in the clearness of vision with which he perceived the popular demand, or in the zeal with which, amid all discouragements, he enforced the

necessity for the steady prosecution of the war to the ends of human freedom and National supremacy. In the height of the personal vexations we have shown as surrounding him, he closed his message to the Legislature with these brave words:

"Instead of voting this war 'a failure,' and commanding a 'cessation of hostilities,' the people have declared it a success thus far in its progress, and required its continuance until the rebellion is suppressed, and their Government restored to its original power and usefulness. They have counted its cost and measured its sacrifices; they have voted to themselves heavy taxation, and if necessity requires it, more calls upon them to fill up the ranks of their armies; they have left their authorities no discretion; have forbidden them to take any backward step, but to press onward with energy and vigor, calling for and using all the resources of the Nation until the Rebel power is broken, and the peace and unity of the country is restored. They have gone further, and declared with clear and unmistakable emphasis that with the conquest of this rebellion must perish its most potent element, as well as one of its exciting causes; and that when peace sheds its blessings again upon our people this shall be, what God and our fathers designed it—A LAND OF HUMAN FREEDOM.

"From the commencement of this great contest the State of Ohio has occupied no doubtful or hesitating position. Our people have assumed their burdens with alacrity, and borne them with cheerfulness. They have responded with promptitude to every call that has been made upon them; and without passing the bounds of becoming modesty, they may point with emotions of pride to the record which her sons have made for the State in the council and in the field. Ohio officers have commanded with distinction and honor in nearly every department of the service; and Ohio soldiers have battled with exalted courage and patriotism upon nearly every field of the war, and marched over portions of every State that the treasonable leaders took into rebellion. At all times and at all places they have nobly done their duty; achieving for themselves and reflecting upon their State the highest honor. True, there have been grievous sacrifices; there has been mourning at many hearth-stones; and we have often been called upon to pause in our exultation over the noble conduct of our living heroes, to lament our heroes dead; but even the eye bedimmed with tears has caught a glance of the future, and the stricken heart has found consolation in the assurance that all these sacrifices will be hallowed in the triumph of freedom, and the coming greatness and glory of our country. The commandment of the people is to you and to me, in our allotted spheres, to move onward to the accomplishment of this great end; and to contribute all of ability and usefulness we possess to the consummation of that grand triumph in which not only we ourselves but the friends of free government throughout the world will rejoice."

When at last the tidings from Appomattox C. H. flashed across the Land, and the rapidly following reduction of the army that was no longer needed began, Secretary Stanton found nowhere more efficient aid in hurrying the soldiers back to their peaceful avocations than in the Executive of Ohio, on whom he had so often relied. The tables elsewhere given* may show the rapidity with which the work was done, but they can not exhibit the fervid energy with which the Governor pressed it at every point; the persistency with which he assailed the paymasters and mustering officers, forcing them to work harder than they were accustomed, and greatly arousing their indignation thereby; the vehemence with which he strove to prevent the addition of unnecessary expenses for a single day to the enormous debt under which the Nation was staggering. At the same time he hastened temporary provision for a home for disabled soldiers.† These were services that gained him no credit then; we owe them at least the reward of grateful remembrance now.

*Vol. II, p. 7.

†Charles Anderson became Governor of Ohio before these arrangements for the Soldiers'

The simple words with which the Governor had concluded his address to the people of the State, declining the canvass for renomination, were soon to receive a sad significance. "I doubt very much," he then wrote, "whether my health—much impaired by close confinement to official duties—would sustain me through a vigorous campaign, while increasing years and the arduous labor of a long life in public positions, strongly invite me to retirement and repose during the few years that may yet remain to me."

But the Government had other purposes. Secretary Stanton wished to retire at the close of the war, and it was arranged that the man whom of all others he and Mr. Lincoln held fittest for the place should succeed him. Governor Brough was expected to assume charge of the War Department at least at the close of his term as Governor, if not at an earlier date.

Neither his own longings for a few years' retirement and repose, nor Mr. Lincoln's wish that his services should be transferred to the National arena, were to be gratified.

In the midst of his labors his health began to give way. The store of strength on which he had been drawing so profusely, was even lower than he thought when, with some natural forebodings, he doubted whether it would be sufficient to carry him through the labors of an active canvass of the State. Through the closing work, connected with the disbandment of the army, he labored more unremittingly than ever, often spending the whole night at his desk, in his efforts to hasten the reduction of expenses. No human system could endure this strain.

Early in June, while his health was broken down by harassing labor, and before he seemed to have recovered from the shock and anxiety consequent upon the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, he stepped upon a stone in such a way as to bruise the foot and give a severe sprain to the ankle. His great weight and the soreness of this foot compelled him for days to lean heavily upon his cane, and in the diseased and impoverished condition of his blood, inflammation in the hand was thus brought on. In both foot and hand gangrene set in, and for two months his sufferings were continuous and acute. The liveliest alarm was manifested by the Government at his condition. The Secretary of War sent out the army Surgeon most conversant with such cases, to remain in constant attendance upon him, in conjunction with the Surgeon-General of the State. Daily dispatches as to his condition were required to be forwarded to the Government. Every care which family affection or professional skill could suggest was given, but it all proved vain. He was literally worn out in the public service, and his system had no powers of recuperation. After incredible sufferings he at length passed into a state of insensibility, from which he was never in this life aroused. He died at his residence in Cleveland, on the afternoon of the 29th of August, about half a year before the expiration of his term of office, and some weeks before the election of his successor.

Home were finished. He placed it under the charge of five trustees, Surgeon-General R. N. Barr; Hon. Lewis B. Gunckle, of Dayton; Hon. Jas. C. Hall, of Toledo; Stillman Witt, Esq., of Cleveland; and Hon. Chas. F. Wilstach, of Cincinnati. It was first located at the old Tripler Hospital, near Columbus.

Of the administration thus brought to an untimely close it may be said that it was at once the most vigorous and the most unpopular, as well as perhaps the most able with which Ohio was honored throughout the war. It grappled with no such sudden rush of momentous and new questions as did Dennison's; it passed through no such gloomy periods of depression as did Tod's. With fewer necessities therefor, it created more dissatisfaction than did either. Governor Brough was impetuous, strong-willed, indifferent to personal considerations, often regardless of men's feelings, always disposed to try them by a standard of integrity to which the world is not accustomed. His administration was constantly embroiled—now with the Sanitary Commission—then with the officers in the field—again with the surgeons. But every struggle was begun and ended in the interest of the private soldiers as against the tyranny or neglect of their superiors; in the interest of subordinate officers as against those who sought to keep them down; in the interest of the men who fought as against those who shirked; in the interest of the maimed as against the sound; in the interest of their families as against all other expenditures. Never was a Knight of the old Chivalry more unselfishly loyal to the defense of the defenseless.

We write no apology for his errors, attempt no concealment of his vices. We have no sympathy with the false charity that would belie history in order to hide them. They were such that, proud as is the heritage of fame he has left us, no parent in the State can point to John Brough as an example for his boy But they rarely injured the public service; and they scarcely mar the picture he has left us of statesmanlike ability and of patriotic devotion; of an integrity like that of Cato, and an industry without a parallel.

CHAPTER XX

MILITARY LEGISLATION OF THE STATE.

WITH the death of Governor Brough properly ends our account of the War Administrations of Ohio. What followed was merely the resumption, with a rapidity that approached the marvellous, of their civil duties by the returning soldiers.

After the initial war legislation of the Legislature at the session of 1860–61, we have taken little pains thus far to trace the additional acts by which the spirit of the people was mirrored in their laws. We may here, therefore, fitly present a summary of the legislation on military matters at succeeding sessions throughout the war:

LEGISLATION OF 1862.

Dr. Scott, member from Warren County, introduced into the House in January, 1862, a bill for the relief of soldiers families. The bill provided for a levy of three-fourths of one mill on the dollar valuation on the grand list of the taxable property of the State. The revenue so raised was to be disbursed, without compensation by the commissioners of the several counties of the State, to the families of all volunteers enlisted in the service of the United States from this State. [A similar bill was introduced by Mr. Ready in 1863, and passed, providing for a levy of one mill on the dollar—to be disbursed in the same manner.]

Several bills of a local nature were passed at the session of 1862, authorizing the county commissioners of several of the counties to transfer moneys from certain county funds to the relief fund for soldiers families.

Mr. Sayler, member from Hamilton County, introduced in the House in January, 1862, a bill to enable the volunteers of Ohio, when in the military service of the State or of the United States, to exercise the right of suffrage, and designating the manner in which, where, and by whom, such elections should be conducted. The bill was referred to a select committee, who reported it back without recommendation.

A bill upon the same subject was introduced into the Senate by Mr. Gunckle, Senator from the Montgomery District, which was passed by the Senate, and transmitted to the House for its action, where, after its second reading, it was referred to a select committee, who reported it back without recommendation, when the House ordered it to be laid on the table. No further action was had upon this bill at that session.

At the second session in 1863, Mr. Odlin, member from Montgomery County, reported from a select committee of the House an amended bill, which provided that whenever any of the qualified voters of this State shall be in the actual military service of this State or of the United States, they may, upon the usual days for holding county, state, congressional, and presidential elections, exercise the right of suffrage at any place where there shall be twenty such voters, as fully as if present at their usual places of election. The remaining sections of the bill provide

the manner in which and by whom such elections shall be conducted; requiring the return of the poll-books used and ballots voted at such election to the proper county and State officers. This bill (House Amendments to S. B., No. 143) was passed by the House, and the amendments were agreed to by the Senate.

Mr. Stiver, member from Preble County, introduced into the House a bill to prohibit persons in this State from trafficking with persons engaged in armed hostility to the Government of the United States. The penalty for violation of the provisions of this act was imprisonment in the penitentiary. The bill passed both branches of the General Assembly.

Mr. Flagg, member from Hamilton County, introduced into the House in April, 1862, a bill authorizing the Governor to contribute out of his contingent fund to the Cincinnati branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, such sums of money as in his discretion he might deem proper, to be applied to the relief of the wounded and sick soldiers of the State of Ohio. The bill passed both branches of the General Assembly.

A bill reported from the Senate Judiciary Committee was passed by both branches of the General Assembly in January, 1862, exempting from execution the property of all persons mustered into the service of the United States, so long as they continued in such service, and two months after muster out. This law was amendatory of the act of May, 1861.

Mr. McVeigh, Senator from the Fairfield District, introduced into the Senate a bill supplementary to the act of April, 1861, to provide for the defense of the State, and for the support of the Federal Government against rebellion, and making appropriations for the payment of claims for the purchase of arms and equipments for the militia of the State; also troops of the United States where such purchases were made under the authority of the Governor, and creating a board of commissioners for the examination and adjustment of claims against the State arising out of military transactions. The Auditor of State, Secretary of State, and Attorney-General, constituted the board. The bill was passed by both branches of the General Assembly, 1862.

Mr. Hitchcock, from a select committe of the Senate, reported a bill providing for the appointment by the Governor of pay agents, whose duty it was to visit the volunteers from Ohio in the service of the United States, and obtain from them allotments of pay and remittances of money for the benefit of their families or friends. All moneys received by such agents was to be paid into the State Treasury. The bill was passed by both branches of the General Assembly, in 1862, and was found, for a year or two, to give tolerable satisfaction by its workings.

Mr. Eggleston, Senator from Hamilton County, introduced into the Senate a bill appropriating three thousand dollars to aid the Cincinnati branch of the United Sanitary Commission, in promptly and efficiently giving relief to such wounded and sick Ohio soldiers in the service of the United States as might be brought to that point for care. The bill passed both branches of the General Assembly in 1862.

A joint resolution was passed in January, 1862, tendering thanks to General Thomas and Colonels Garfield and McCook, and men of their commands, for the victory achieved by them in Kentucky over the enemies of the Union.

A joint resolution was passed in February, 1862, tendering thanks to General Grant and Flag-Officer Foote, and men of their commands, for the courage, gallantry, and enterprise exhibited in the bombardment and capture of Fort Henry; also for capture of Fort Donelson.

A joint resolution was passed in February, 1862, tendering thanks to General Burnside and Commander Goldsborough, and men of their commands, for the victories achieved in North Carolina.

A joint resolution was passed in March, 1862, tendering thanks to Brigadier-General Curtis, Brigadier-General Sigel, and Colonels Asboth, Davis, and Carr, and men of their commands, for the victory achieved over the Rebel forces under Van Dorn, Price, and McCulloch, at Pea Ridge, in the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas.

A joint resolution was passed in March, 1862, declaring that the Government could make no peace save on the basis of an unconditional submission to the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws; that the future peace and permanency of the Government, as well as the best

interests of humanity, demanded the speedy trial and summary execution of all the leading conspirators; and that, in the name of the people of Ohio, the Legislature protested against any peace, save upon this basis.

A joint resolution was passed in April, 1862, tendering thanks to Brigadier-General Shields and officers and men of his command for their gallant conduct in the victory achieved at Winchester, Virginia.

LEGISLATION OF 1863.

Mr. Krum, from a select committee of the House, reported a bill to provide for bounty paid to Ohio volunteers who enlisted and were mustered into the service of the United States, under the calls of the President issued on the second day of July and on the fourth day of August, A. D. 1862, and creating the County Commissioners of the several counties of this State a County Board, whose duty it shall be to ascertain and make record of the amount of such bounty paid, or agreed to be paid, to volunteers in their respective counties, and the manner in which such bounty was paid, or agreed to be paid; and authorizing the county commissioners to assess a tax upon the taxable property entered upon the grand tax duplicate of their respective counties for the payment of such claims. The bill passed both branches of the General Assembly.

Mr. McVeigh, Senator from the Fairfield District, introduced a bill to provide more effectually for the defense of the State against invasion. This bill authorized the Governor, in case of invasion of the State, or danger thereof, to call into active service the militia of the State, or such numbers as, in his opinion, might be necessary to defend the State and repel such invasion, and making an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars for the payment of the necessary expenses that may be incurred by the Governor in calling out the militia of the State for any of the objects provided for in this act, and empowering the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund to borrow such sum on the faith and credit of the State, and to issue certificates to the parties loaning the State the said sum, bearing six per cent. interest, payable semi-annually, exempt from taxation under the authority of this State. This passed both branches of the General Assembly.

Mr. Sinnet, Senator from the Licking District, introduced a bill empowering the Governor to appoint such number of military claim agents as the good of the service might require, whose duty it was to investigate, give advice, and take such other action as would enable discharged Ohio soldiers speedily to obtain, free of charge, the money due them from the General Government for military service. This passed both branches of the General Assembly.

A joint resolution was passed in January, 1863, tendering thanks to Major-General Rosecrans, staff, officers, and men under their command, for the achievement of the victory at Murfreesboro', Tennessee.

A joint resolution was passed in January, tendering thanks to Major-General Benjamin F. Butler for his distinguished services to the country during the rebellion.

A joint resolution, passed in February, 1863, tendering thanks to the Eighty-Third, Ninety-Sixth, and Seventy-Sixth Ohio Regiments, and the Seventeenth Ohio Battery, for gallantry and good conduct at the capture of Arkansas Post.

A joint resolution, passed in March, 1863, tendering thanks to patriotic citizen-soldiers of the State—the "Squirrel Hunters"—for their gallant conduct in repairing to points of danger on the border to defend the State from the threatened invasion of the Rebel hordes under the command of Kirby Smith.

A joint resolution, passed in March, tendering thanks to Major-General Lew. Wallace, for the promptness, energy, and skill exhibited by him in organizing, planning the defense, and executing the movements of soldiers and citizens under his command at Cincinnati, at the time of the threatened invasion of Ohio by the forces under Kirby Smith.

A joint resolution, passed in March, authorizing the Governor to procure lithographed discharges for the "Squirrel Hunters."

A joint resolution, passed in March, tendering thanks to Captain Abner Read, commander of United States gunboat "New London," for his patriotism, gallantry, and distinguished services against the enemies of his country.

[Captain Read captured fourteen, and aided in the capture of nine more vessels of the enemy, and also captured two Rebel forts, Wood and Pike.]

The trustees of Green Lawn Cemetery, which is located near Columbus, Ohio, having presented a lot in their cemetery grounds for the burial of Union soldiers who died in the camps in the vicinity of Columbus, the General Assembly, by joint resolution, authorized the Governor to contribute a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars out of his military contingent fund for the removal of the dead bodies of those brave men, and their proper interment in the grounds thus given for this purpose.

LEGISLATION OF 1864.

Mr. Odlin, member from Montgomery County, introduced into the House, in March, 1864, a bill to enable the qualified voters of any city in this State, who may be in the military service of this State or of the United States, to exercise the right of suffrage when absent in such service of the United States or of this State, on the days provided by law for electing the municipal officers thereof, the same as if present at their respective places of voting in said cities. The elections under this act were to be conducted in the same manner as provided in the act of April, 1863. The bill passed both branches of the General Assembly.

Mr. Odlin, from the House Committee on Finance, reported a bill to provide more effectually for the defense of the State against invasion. This bill authorizes the procurement of arms, field batteries, equipments, camp equipage, subsistence, munitions of war, and all other means and appliances as may be necessary to provide the State against invasion, riot, insurrection, or danger thereof, and making an appropriation of one million dollars to pay the expenses incurrred by the Governor under authority of this act. The bill passed both branches of the General Assembly. Under it four batteries were equipped.

Mr. Gunckle, Senator from the Montgomery District, introduced into the Senate, in February, 1864, a bill to provide relief for the families of soldiers and marines. The act authorizes a levy of two mills on the dollar valuation of the grand list of taxable property of the State, and in counties where the State levy shall be insufficient, grants the board of county commissioners power to levy and assess an additional amount, not exceeding one mill on the dollar valuation on the grand list of taxable property of such county; also city councils the power to levy and assess an additional amount, not exceeding one-half mill on the dollar valuation of the grand list of taxable property of such city, for the purpose of affording the relief contemplated by this act.

The benefits of this act extend to the families of colored soldiers and marines actually in the service of the United States, or who have died or been disabled therein.

In cases of refusal or neglect of township and county officers to discharge the duties required by this act, the Governor was empowered to appoint suitable persons, citizens of such counties, to perform said duties.

Mr. Stevenson, Senator from the Ross District, introduced a bill to authorize county commissioners, trustees of townships, and city councils to levy a tax for the payment of bounties to volunteers, and to refund subscriptions made for that purpose. The act authorizes the commissioners of the several counties, the city council of the several cities, and the trustees of each township in this State (if they deem the same expedient), in 1864, to levy a tax upon the taxable property within their respective jurisdictions for the purpose of raising a fund to pay bounties to volunteers, and fixing the amount of bounty to be paid each volunteer at one hundred dollars.

In order to anticipate the proceeds of the tax authorized by this law, the county commissioners, township trustees, and city councils were allowed to borrow moneys or transfer money from certain other funds in the county, township, or city treasuries.

This act also authorizes the payment of bounty to each veteran volunteer not having previously received a local bounty. Said bounty not to exceed one hundred dollars.

This act also authorizes, upon proper evidence shown to the county commissioners, township trustees, or president of the proper city council, the payment of all moneys advanced by individuals for the purposes named in this act.

Mr. Sinnet, a Senator from the Licking District, introduced into the Senate, in February, 1863, a bill to organize and discipline the militia of the State. This bill was passed by both branches of the General Assembly. See *ante*, Chap. "Organization of the National Guard."

Colonel John M. Connell, Senator from the Fairfield District, introduced, in March, 1864, a bill for the same purpose, and repealing the act of 1863. It differed therefrom mainly in being better arranged and more clearly expressed, in changing the name "Volunteer Ohio State Militia" to "National Guard," in giving a more satisfactory system of exemptions, in abandoning the effort to keep up an official organization of the common militia until it shall be called out, and in perfecting the organization and arrangements for drilling the National Guard. The Adjutant-General, in his report for 1864, stated that the original draft for this bill was prepared by Hon. Len. A. Harris, then Mayor of Cincinnati.

On the passage of the bill four Senators voted in the negative: Messrs. Converse, Lang, O'Connor, and Willett, all Democrats.

Mr. Lang moved to amend the title as follows:

"A bill establishing an expensive and oppressive standing army in the State of Ohio, and to tramp out of existence the few last vestiges of civil liberty still remaining with the people."

The same Senators who voted negatively on the passage of the bill, voted affirmatively on the motion of Mr. Lang to amend the title.

An act was passed in March, 1864, authorizing and requiring the Governor to appoint a commission of three persons, whose duty it was to examine claims growing out of the Morgan raid. The commissioners were required to appoint times and places for the examination of claims within the counties through which said raid passed, and to give notice by publication in a newspaper. The commissioners had power to call and examine witnesses. All claims examined by the commissioners to be reported to the Governor, separated into the following classes:

1. Claims for property taken, destroyed, or injured by the Rebels.
2. Claims for property taken, destroyed, or injured by the Union forces under command of United States officers.
3. Claims for property taken, destroyed, or injured by Union forces not under the command of United States officers, with a statement showing specifically in each case under what circumstances, and by what authority such property was so taken, injured, or destroyed.*

An act was passed in February, 1864, to prevent enlistments of residents of this State, by unauthorized persons, in or for military organizations of other States, and to punish any citizen of the State who, by offers of bounties or otherwise, should attempt to induce such enlistments.

An act was passed in March, 1864, to establish in the office of the Adjutant-General a bureau of military statistics, for the purpose of perpetuating the names and memories of the gallant and patriotic men of this State who volunteered as privates in the service of the United States, which was to be done by preserving lists of their names, and sketches of the organizations to which they belonged.†

An act was passed in March, 1864, for the relief of debtors in the military service of the United States, providing that any party in a suit against whom judgment had been entered without defense made, while the said party was in the service, should have the privilege of re-opening judgment or order in his case at any time within one year after his discharge, for presentation of his defense.

LEGISLATION OF 1865.

An act was passed in February, 1865, creating a bureau of soldiers' claims, and providing for the appointment by the Governor of a commissioner, whose duty it shall be to furnish and give all necessary instructions, information, and advice, free of charge, to the soldiers and marines of Ohio, or their heirs or legal representatives, respecting any claims which may be due them from this State or the United States. ‡

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* The results of the investigation under this law have been given, *ante*, Chap. "The Morgan Raid."

† Repeated efforts were subsequently made to secure an appropriation for publishing this matter, but it would have made a cart-load of volumes, and the Legislature always refused.

‡ An attempt to make this bureau amount to something led to serious complications with the State Military Agent at Washington.

A supplementary act to the act of March, 1864, enabling qualified voters of cities, etc., who may be in the military service of the State, or of this United States, to exercise the right of suffrage, was passed March 31, 1865. It gave the privilege of voting for all township officers save assessors, and adapted other provisions of the existing law to correspond with this.

A relief bill for the families of soldiers and marines in the State and United States service was passed in April, 1865, providing for a State levy of two mills on the dollar valuation of the grand list of taxable property of the State, and should the fund so raised be insufficient, authorizing the county commissioners to make an additional levy of two mills, and city councils an additional levy of one mill.

An act was passed in April, 1865, for the relief of discharged soldiers and marines, being merely a modification of the State Agency system for their benefit.

An act supplementary to an act entitled "an act to provide a board of commissioners to examine certain military claims," and making an appropriation for their payment, was passed in April, 1865. It gave system to previous legislative action looking to the payment of the irregular claims arising out of the necessity for haste and vigor in the early part of Governor Dennison's military administration.

A considerable number of new amendments to the National Guard law were passed.

An act to provide bounty for veteran volunteers, who had not previously received local bounty, was passed in April, 1865, authorizing the trustees of the several townships of this State to issue to each re-enlisted veteran volunteer a bond for the sum of one hundred dollars, bearing six per cent. interest, redeemable at the pleasure of the trustees, one year after the date thereof.

An act was passed in April, 1865, to authorize the trustees of townships, councils of cities, and commissioners of counties in this State, to levy a tax to refund money borrowed or pledged for local bounties. Bounty under this act limited to one hundred dollars.

A bill was introduced into the Senate in March, 1865, to establish a soldiers' home. The home so established to be maintained at the expense of the State, for the care and support of such soldiers of the State as have been disabled in the war.

The bill provided for the purchase of Ohio White Sulphur Springs Farm and buildings, at a cost not to exceed fifty thousand dollars.

For the management and control of said home the Governor was authorized to appoint six trustees, who shall hold their office for one, two, and three years. Their successors for three years each.

The board of trustees were empowered to appoint a superintendent and other necessary officers for the home. The home to be governed by such rules and regulations as shall be made by the board, and approved by the Governor.

The board shall admit as many disabled soldiers as the home will comfortably contain, having due reference to a just and equitable distribution of the benefits thereof to the several counties of the State.

All soldiers admitted to the home were required to transfer to the board all incomes which they are entitled to receive from the State, United States, or other sources, except the amount of two dollars per month.

The board was authorized to receive and accept in trust for said home any donations of land, money, or other property, and to hold or dispose of the same for the benefit of the home, as they deemed most advisable.

The commissioners of the several counties of the State were authorized and required to appropriate out of the fund raised for the relief of soldiers' families, a sufficient amount to support indigent and disabled soldiers within their respective counties, until such dependent soldiers shall be transferred to the home established by this act.

Fifty thousand dollars were to be appropriated for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act.

The bill did not pass. The General Assembly of 1866 passed a law establishing a home, which is now in successful operation near Dayton.

At the session of the General Assembly in 1867 a memorial from Major-General Eaton and

others, was presented to the Senate, asking an appropriation by the State to aid in erecting a monument to the memory of Major-General James B. McPherson, at Clyde, Ohio.

The memorial was referred to a select committee of one—General Warner, Senator from the Licking District—who, in his report upon the prayer of the memorialists, recommended the adoption of the following joint resolution:

"*Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That the sum of five thousand dollars is hereby directed to be appropriated out of any funds in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated, to aid in the erection of a monument at Clyde, Ohio, to the memory of Major-General James B. McPherson."

The resolution was adopted by the Senate by a strict party vote, every Democrat voting against it.

The resolution was then transmitted to the House, by which body it was indefinitely postponed.

CHAPTER XXI.

OHIO SURGEONS IN THE WAR.

NOTHING in the general management of Ohio military affairs throughout the war did more to raise the character of the State than the care with which medical officers were selected, and the unusually high class of officers thus obtained.

Among the many excellent acts for which ex-Governor Dennison has never received proper credit, was his determination, in the very climax of the confusion that followed the first call to arms, that no Ohio regiment should enter the field without a surgeon whom the best judgment of the profession in the State would pronounce fitted for the place. It was the time of crudities in every branch of military organization—when troops were electing their officers, and regiments were demanding thirty wagons each for transportation, and recruits were receiving quarters at first-class hotels at Government expense. To have perceived, in the midst of this rawness and ignorance, the necessity for rigid examinations of medical officers was a piece of sagacity that was to inure to the benefit of every soldier sent out, and to secure for the State pre-eminence in the surgical and medical history of the war.

Within a few days after the organization of troops began, Governor Dennison appointed George C. Blackman, M. D., of Cincinnati; J. W Hamilton, M. D., of Columbus; and L. M. Whiting, M. D., of Canton, a board to examine all applicants for appointments as surgeons or assistant-surgeons for Ohio regiments. No one was to be eligible who had not been regularly educated, had not been a practitioner in good standing for ten years, and could not pass a rigid examination before this board; while for even the assistant-surgeons, five years of previous practice were required.

The system thus begun was kept up through the succeeding administrations. As the business of the war became more systematized, the State Surgeon-General assumed charge of such matters, and saw to it that the standard required by the examining board should be raised rather than lowered. During the summer of 1861, Drs. Blackman and Whiting retired, and S. M. Smith, M. D., and William M. Awl, M. D., of Columbus, took their places. These gentlemen discharged the delicate duties of the board throughout the administration of Governor Dennison. Governor Tod, on his entrance into office, appointed C.

C. Cook, M. D., of Youngstown; John W Russell, M. D., of Mount Vernon; and John A. Murphy, M. D., of Cincinnati. Afterward, on the death of Dr. Cook, Gustav C. E. Weber, M. D., of Cleveland, took his place Through the administration of Governor Brough these gentlemen were retained; but during the absence of Dr. Weber in Europe, and the illness of Dr. Murphy, Drs. S. M. Smith and Starling Loving, of Columbus, acted in their places. Before these gentlemen—all commanding the confidence of the profession throughout the State—every surgeon or assistant-surgeon for an Ohio regiment was compelled to pass. The examination was exhaustive, and moral habits in the applicant, temperance, and fair standing in the profession, were required as rigorously as satisfactory answers to the professional questions.*

When, having appointed General McClellan in the hope of having him as military adviser, Governor Dennison asked of him who should be made Surgeon-General, a prompt recommendation was given to George H. Shumard, of Cincinnati, and an appointment was as promptly made. The profession, particularly in Cincinnati, manifested some astonishment, and began to inquire who Dr. Shumard was. Presently it came to be known that he was really a reputable physician, though long absent from Cincinnati, engaged in geological surveys in Texas when the war broke out, and for years previously a resident of Arkansas. He had avowed his Union sentiments in spite of the terrible pressure of public opinion against him, and when he was finally forced to flee, General McClellan, in introducing him to Governor Dennison's attention, had spoken of him as "the last Union man of Arkansas." These facts tended to mollify the first harsh judgment of the profession; but they never quite reconciled themselves to his appointment as Surgeon-General of Ohio; and he was never popular.

He nevertheless did some valuable, though fragmentary service. The troops first hurried into the field were ignorant of everything necessary to comfort or health in camp life; the camps were filthy, the hospitals crowded, ill-ventilated, and worse attended, the medical supplies insufficient. To the correction of these evils Dr. Shumard addressed himself with industry and zeal. He visited the camps of the State troops, helped to organize their medical departments, and did what in him lay to inaugurate system in medical matters. But he was made to feel so keenly the opinion of the profession that he was an interloper, enjoying undeserved promotion over Ohio physicians, that he was very glad to embrace the opportunity of entering the United States service as a brigade surgeon.

He was succeeded by William L. McMillen, M. D., of Columbus, who had enjoyed opportunities of becoming familiar with army surgery in Russian hos-

* The following is a summary of medical officers appointed, resigned, promoted, dismissed, and deceased during the rebellion:

"Appointed—Surgeons, 287; Assistant-Surgeons, 694. Resigned—Surgeons, 122; Assistant-Surgeons, 171. Promotions—Assistant-Surgeons to Surgeons, 165; Surgeons and Assistants to Surgeons and Assistants U. S. V., 45. Dismissed—Surgeons, 2; Assistant-Surgeons, 12. Deceased—Surgeons, 18; Assistant-Surgeons, 24."

pitals during the Crimean war. He served as Surgeon-General during the few remaining months of Governor Dennison's administration.

Governor Tod appointed Gustav. C. E. Weber, M. D., Professor of Surgery in the Cleveland Medical College, as Surgeon-General on his staff. This gentleman was of German birth and education, and was a physician of high repute in Cleveland and throughout the State. He began the system of hospital boats, of which we have already had occasion to speak at length; visited the field of Pittsburg Landing and labored faithfully among the wounded, till he was himself prostrated by disease; visited hospitals where Ohio soldiers were congregated elsewhere, and particularly those in Washington; had repeated conferences with the Surgeon-General of the United States army and co-operated zealously with him in promoting the good of the service; perfected the system of examination for applicants for appointment as regimental surgeons, and made it more stringent and systematic.

When Dr. Weber's health gave way he was succeeded by Samuel M. Smith, M. D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in Starling Medical College, and long a well-known and highly esteemed practitioner in Columbus. Dr. Smith had completed his medical studies in Paris, and had long been recognized as one of the foremost men in the profession in the State. He continued the system of hospital boats, and gave the closest personal attention to its workings. He was a man of peculiarly warm temperament, and his whole heart was in the work to which he now devoted himself. He made repeated personal visits to the great battle-fields; was always prepared to forward corps of select surgeons and nurses wherever needed; was active in seeking occasions for rendering aid to the medical officers in the field, and watchful as to the conduct of those whom he sent out. He maintained the high standard of appointments to the medical service.

When Governor Brough entered upon the duties of his office he selected his personal friend, R. N. Barr, Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College of Cleveland, and a man of excellent standing in the profession, as his Surgeon-General. There was now less necessity for attention to the wants of the troops in the field, or special efforts to render assistance after great battles, since the more perfect organization of the medical strength of the army and the operations of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions left less for the medical authorities of the several States to do. The Government now had its own hospital boats, hospital cars, and abundant medical supplies; while, for special wants, the thorough organization of the charitable commissions might be safely trusted. Dr. Barr's duties were, therefore, more closely confined to the routine of office work than had been those of his predecessors. It is high praise to say that he kept up the standard they had fixed.

Under the administrations of these several gentlemen the State expended, on her own account, in bringing home her wounded or in sending additional surgeons and supplies to them on the battle-fields where they fell, nearly two hundred thousand dollars.

Professor J. H. Salisbury, of Cleveland, under an appointment from Gov-

ernor Tod, visited a number of hospitals in the different theaters of military operations, looking after the condition of the Ohio sick and wounded, and making known their wants. He gave, however, the larger share of his time to experiments and investigations bearing on the great epidemics that invade the army, and specially on chronic diarrhea, malarial fevers, and camp measles, as well as on the army ration as largely entering into the causation of many army diseases. He made meritorious experiments looking to the proof of the theory that some of these diseases have a cryptogamic origin, and presented an elaborate report, which was given to the profession as an appendix in successive reports of the several Surgeon-Generals.

Besides the regimental surgeons,* who embraced a representation of the best professional talent of the State, a number of the leading physicians entered the United States service as "United States Volunteer Surgeons," with the rank of Major, or as assistants, with the rank of First-Lieutenant, after an exhaustive examination under authority of the Secretary of War, before a board of regular army surgeons at Washington.† They were assigned to duty as surgeons in charge of hospitals, division or corps surgeons, and in more than one instance as medical directors of great departments.

One of these, Dr. Wm. H. Mussey, of Cincinnati, was subsequently promoted to be one of the small board of medical inspectors, who stood next to

* Whose names appear, together with the important facts of their military history, in the rosters of their respective regiments, in Vol. II.

† SURGEONS OF VOLUNTEERS, WITH RANK.

RANK.	NAME.	DATE OF COM.	BORN.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Major	CHAS. O'LEARY	Aug. 3, 1861	Ireland	Cincinnati	Division Surgeon.
Do.	WM. CLENDENIN	" 5, "	Penn	Cincinnati	Ass't Med. Dir. Dept. Cumberland.
Do.	JAS. D. ROBINSON	" 5, "	Ohio		
Do.	GEO. H. SHUMARD	" 5, "	N. J	Cincinnati	Superintendent Hospitals, Louisville.
Do.	F. N. BURKE	Sept. 4, "	Ireland	Cincinnati	
Do.	D. W. HARTSHORN	" 4, "	Mass		
Do.	GEO. C. BLACKMAN	Oct. —, "	N. Y	Cincinnati	Division Surgeon. [Insp's of Army.
Do.	WM. H. MUSSEY	" 10, "	N. H	Cincinnati	Prom. to Lt. Col. and member Board Med.
Do.	NORMAN GAY	Dec. 24, "	Vt	Columbus	Corps Medical Director.
Do.	RUFUS H. JOHNSTON	" 24, "	Mass		
Do.	FREDK. SEYMOUR	" 24, "	England	Cincinnati	Hospital Surgeon, Nashville.
Do.	WM. W. HOLMES	April 4, 1862	Ohio	Athens	Division Surgeon.
Do.	A. J. PHELPS	" 4, "	Ohio	Portsmouth	Med. Director, Department Kentucky.
Do.	CLARKE MCDERMOTT	" 14, "	Ireland	Dayton	Med. Purveyor and Surg. in charge, Cumberland Hospital, Nashville.
Do.	HOWARD CULBERTSON	Nov. 7, "	Ohio		
Do.	FRANCIS SALTER	" 7, "	England	Delaware	Corps Medical Director.
Do	JNO. M. ROBINSON	Feb. 19, 1863	Ohio		Hospital Surgeon.
Do.	GEO. R. WEEKS	" 19, "			Hospital Surgeon.
Do.	SAM'L D. TURNEY	March 26, "	Ohio	Circleville	Div. and Post Med. Dir., Murfreesboro'.
Do.	ELMORE Y. CHASE	May 27, "	Ohio		
Do.	A. G. SWARTZWELDER	July 9, "	Penn		Division Surgeon.
Do.	ROBERT FLETCHER	Nov. 20, "	England	Cincinnati	Medical Purveyor, Army Cumberland.
Do.	SAMUEL HART	Jan. 19, 1864	Ohio		Hospital Surgeon.
Do.	J. Y. CANTWELL	May 18, "	Ohio		Division Surgeon.
Do.	W. C. DANIELS	June 30, "	N. Y	Toledo	Division Surgeon.
Do.	HENRY Z. GILL	" 30, "	Penn		
Do.	THOS. B. HOOD	" 30, "	Ohio		
Do.	CHAS. H. HOOD	Nov. 25, "	Ohio		
Do.	M. C. WOODWORTH	" 25, "	N. Y	Warren	Hospital Surgeon.
Do.	—— WOODWARD		Ohio	Warren	Division Surgeon.
	ASS'T SURGEONS.				
1st Lieutenant	EDWIN FREEMAN	Nov. 7, 1862	N. S	Cincinnati	Hospital Surgeon, Cincinnati.
Do.	J. W APPLEGATE	Feb. 19, 1863	Ohio		
Do.	M. K. MOXLEY	" 19, "			
Do.	GERHARD SAAL	Sept. 9, "	Germ'ny	Cincinnati	Hospital Surgeon.
Do.	HENRY M. KIRK	Nov. 7, "	Penn		
Do.	SAMUEL KITCHEN	Jan. 8, 1864	Canada		
Do.	JOHN MCCURDY	" 8, "	Ireland	Youngstown.	
Do.	J. SYKES ELY	April 20, "	Ohio		
Do.	JOHN S. MCGREW	July 26, "	Ohio	Cincinnati	Division Medical Director.

the Surgeon-General and his Assistant as the ranking officers of the medical service in the army. In this capacity he proved singularly industrious in his search for mismanagement or abuses, and unshrinking, to a degree rarely witnessed, in exposing them and applying the necessary correctives. He was specially watchful as to the character of the medicines and supplies furnished the hospitals, the rations issued to soldiers in the field, and the quality of clothing furnished to the troops. On the battle-fields his authority was interposed to save the wounded from unscrupulous operators. In all respects, he was an untiring and faithful public servant.

Dr. Wm. Clendenin, of the same corps, aside from his professional services, was esteemed for the thorough system of registration of sick and wounded which he introduced, first into some hospitals under his own care, and afterward into the entire medical service of the army Under the old regulations it was impossible to trace, from the hospital records, the successive stages of any particular case, where the patient had either been transferred to another hospital or granted a furlough. Under the system introduced by Clendenin's blanks the hospitals of the entire service could be explored, the case could be followed anywhere, its ultimate result was always discoverable, and the entire multiform experience of the war thus became available for the instruction and advancement of the profession. Dr. Clendenin filled various posts of enlarged usefulness, and finally became Assistant Medical Director of the Army of the Cumberland. His chief, the honored director in this army through a large part of its bloody experience (Dr Glover Perrin), though an old officer of the regular army, may, nevertheless, be properly reclaimed by his native State in a record like this. In establishing the chain of hospitals from Louisville to Kenesaw, and in organizing the medical and surgical work after the great battles that mark this historic route, he did a work second to none in importance, and ever worthy to be gratefully cherished, not only by his State, but the Nation whose soldiers he served and saved.

Another of the brigade surgeons, Dr. Fletcher, rose to distinction in the same field, as Medical Purveyor at Nashville for the great armies that, step by step, won Stone River and Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, and Atlanta, and swept thence to the sea and back through the Carolinas. He was pronounced by the Surgeon-General among the best, if not the best, of the purveyors in the service, and the grateful testimony of Rosecrans, Thomas, and Sherman more than confirms the encomium. Dr. McDermott of Dayton did a similar work as Medical Purveyor at Murfreesboro' for a time, and afterward took charge of the noted Cumberland hospital at Nashville, the largest in the department.

Dr. A. J Phelps, at first a regimental surgeon, and then "surgeon of volunteers," became Medical Director of one of the army corps under Thomas, and afterward Medical Director of the Department of Kentucky. Dr. Francis Salter passed through the same promotions and became the chief medical officer of the cavalry of the whole army Dr. W W Holmes became Medical Director in the command of General Cox, and gave up his life in the service. Dr. Norman Gay of Columbus became a Corps Medical Director.

The high standing which these examples may illustrate, extended throughout the long rolls of regimental surgeons as well. They can appear on the rolls only in connection with their respective regiments; but they were constantly called to other and important fields of duty. Thus Dr. James, of the Fourth Ohio Cavalry, became the chief medical officer of the entire cavalry of the army, and held this place till the end of his service—making his administration notable for improvements in the ambulance system specially adapted to the peculiar wants of the cavalry service, a new form of haversack for cavalry use, and other reforms. Dr. Muscroft of the Tenth Ohio became a division surgeon, and performed a great variety of service on army boards, medical inspections, and the like. Dr. Brelsford of Bellbrook had charge of the important hospitals at Cumberland. The list might be indefinitely extended. They made large and valuable contributions to the Army Museum of Surgery and Surgical and Medical Pathology at Washington; in reports and office labors they did their full share toward the advancement of the profession which the war brought about; most of all, with a faithfulness more nearly uniform than could reasonably have been expected, they devoted themselves to the relief of those ready to perish on the ghastly battle-fields, and in the more ghastly hospitals that over half the continent marked the last sacrifices of the loyal people for the life of the Nation. In this work some of them fell on the battle-fields, more breathed their last in the hospitals, where they had so often ministered to the wants of others,* more still carried back to civil life constitutions broken down by the exposures they had courted in the service of our braves.

*DEATHS OF MEDICAL OFFICERS DURING THE REBELLION.

RANK.	NAME.	REGIMENT.	DATE.	REMARKS.
Surgeon	R. R. McMeans	3d O. V. I.	Oct. 30, 1862	
"	H. H. McAbee	4th "	Sept. —, 1864	Killed by railroad accident.
Ass't Surg.	James Davenport	9th "	Mar. 29, 1863	Died of disease contracted in service.
Surgeon	W. W. Holmes	12th "	April 28, 1862	Died of consumption.
"	Henry Spellman	15th "		Died at Evansville, Indiana.
Ass't Surg.	J. H. Biteman	19th "	Sept. 25, 1865	Died in Texas.
"	John G. Purple	20th "	May 13, 1862	Died of disease contracted in service.
"	William Y. Dean	25th "	Sept. 17, "	Died of disease contracted in service.
"	G. S. Guthrie	32d "	Feb. 20, 1864	Died at Chattanooga.
"	John A. Soliday	32d "	Mar. 26, 1865	Died at Goldsboro', North Carolina.
Surgeon	Francis D. Morris	35th "	Sept. 23, 1864	Died at Hamilton, Ohio.
Ass't Surg.	John N. Minor	42d "	Dec. 13, 1862	
Surgeon	W. W. Bridge	46th "	Aug. 6, 1864	Died at Marietta, Georgia.
Ass't Surg.	Greenleaf C. Norton	46th "	Aug. 10, 1862	
"	J. K. Lewis	48th "	Oct. 11, "	
"	A. J. Rosa	52d "	Feb. 20, 1864	Died at Lookout Mountain.
"	Samuel Mathers	53d "	May 23, 1865	Died at Seminary Hospital, Columbus, O.
"	N. H. Fisher	56th "	Jan. 25, 1862	
Surgeon	John P. Haggett	57th "	April 30, "	
"	William D. Carlin	57th "	Dec. 26, "	Died at Memphis, Tennessee.
Ass't Surg.	Bruno Laukriet	58th "	Oct. 27, "	
"	William S. Moore	61st "	July 3, 1863	Killed at Gettysburg.
"	Moses B. Haines	69th "		
"	E. W. Steele	74th "		
Surgeon	Charles R. Pierce	76th "	Jan. 29, 1863	Died at Vicksburg, Mississippi.
Ass't Surg.	Robert P. Muenschor	76th "	Oct. 2, 1862	
"	Pardon Cook	77th "	Sept. 23, 1863	
Surgeon	L. C. Brown	85th "	Nov. —, 1862	
"	A. Longwell	88th "	Mar. 18, 1865	Died at Camp Chase, Ohio.
"	Alfred Taylor	89th "	May 23, 1863	Drowned in Ohio River.
"	F. W. Marseilles	98th "	May 1, 1864	Died at Chattanooga.
Ass't Surg.	G. W. Sayres	102d "	Sept. —, "	Died at home.
"	F. M. Andrews	103d "	Oct. 9, "	Died at Atlanta.
Surgeon	Charles A. Hartman	107th "	May 9, 1863	Killed at the battle of Fredericksburg.
Ass't Surg.	D. H. Silver	111th "	June 27, 1864	Died at Knoxville, Tennessee.
Surgeon	A. R. Gilkey	116th "	June 4, 1863	Died at Winchester, Virginia.
"	Thomas J. Shannon	116th "	Oct. 19, 1864	Killed in battle
Ass't Surg.	Martin Doty	174th "	Dec. 10, "	
"	Z. Northway	6th O. V. C.	Nov. 10, "	Died at home.
"	R. H. Tullius	7th "	Sept. —, "	Died at Ripley, Ohio.
Surgeon	James W. Thompson	10th "	Nov. 25, "	Died at home.
"	William F. Brown	136th O. N. G.	June —, "	

In all this it can at least be claimed that Ohio stood second to no State in the Union. Certainly, in the care with which her medical officers were selected, and in their uniformly high professional character, she was in advance of the most; and in the early period in the war at which the rigid system of examinations before appointment was instituted, she was in advance of all.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE RELIEF WORK; AID SOCIETIES, ETC.

OF the position of the great State throughout the war, of its support of the National armies, of its support of the National purpose, of its official care for its stricken ones, we have now some hope of having spoken—if not satisfactorily, at least suggestively But of that great popular movement which made care for the soldiers and their families the business of life for our tenderest and best at home while the war lasted, no man may speak. Charity is not puffed up, Charity vaunteth not itself; and the myriad works of love and kindness to which the best of both sexes and all ages devoted themselves, fell like the gentle dew and like it disappeared—leaving no sign and having a memory only in the immortality of their beneficent results.

In closing, therefore, this sketch of the home history of the State during the war, with a reference to the unofficial efforts of the whole people in behalf of their soldiers, we may gather up some records of their organized action through the medium of Aid Societies, and Sanitary Commissions, and Christian Commissions, and Soldiers' Fairs; some names of the fortunate ones whose privilege it was to work as the almoners of the people's bounty; some traces of the more public demonstrations. But the real history of the work will never be written, never can be written, perhaps never ought to be written. Who shall intrude to measure the love of the Mothers, and Sisters, and Wives, at home for the Soldiers in the field?—who shall chronicle the prayers and the labors to shield them from death and disease?—who shall speak worthily of that religious fervor which counted loss, and suffering, and life as nothing, so that by any means God's work might be done in the battle for Liberty and Right?

Some of the mere tangible results, the organizations and visible work and dollars and cents of the great movement, that gathered into one common effort as they had never been gathered before, all the elements of a vast community, we may here set down; and, with that, rest.

The largest and most noted organization in Ohio for the relief of soldiers was, of course, the "Cincinnati Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission." This body throughout its history pursued a policy little calculated to advance its own fame—admirably adapted to advance the interests of the soldiers for whom it labored. It had but one salaried officer, and it gave him but a meager support for the devotion of his whole time. It spent no large funds in preserving statistics, and multiplying reports of its good works. It entered into no elaborate scientific investigations concerning theories as to the best sanitary conditions for large armies. It left no bulky volumes of tracts, discussions, statistics, eulogies, and defenses. Indeed, it scarcely left a report that might satifactorily exhibit the barest outline of its work. But it collected and used great sums of money and supplies for the soldiers. First of any considerable bodies in the United States it sent relief to battle-fields on a scale commensurate with the wants of the wounded. It was the first to equip hospital boats, and it led in the patient faithful work among the armies, particularly in the West, throughout the war. Its guardianship of the funds committed to its care was held a sacred trust for the relief of needy soldiers; the incidental expenses were kept down to the lowest possible figure, and were all defrayed out of the interest on moneys in its hands before they were needed in the field, so that every dollar that was committed to it went at some time or other directly to a soldier, in some needed form. In short, it was business skill and Christian integrity in charge of the people's contributions for their men in the ranks.

In some of these features it differed from other organizations of the Sanitary Commission. We mean here to utter no word in condemnation of the policy which they thought it wisest to pursue; we only speak of these features as peculiar and noteworthy. And with this introduction we can give no fitter record of a great work, faithfully done and modestly told, than in a synopsis of the operations of the Cincinnati Branch of the Sanitary Commission, understood to have been prepared under the eye of its executive officers:*

"Soon after the surrender of Fort Sumter, the President and Secretary of War were induced by certain gentlemen to issue an order authorizing them and their associates to co-operate with the Government in the relief of sick and wounded soldiers, and to prosecute such inquiries of a sanitary character as might further the same end. Under this authority these parties organized the United States Sanitary Commission, and have since elected to that body a few others not originally acting with them. They also construed their powers as enabling them to create a class of associate members, several hundred in number, residing, respectively, in almost every loyal State and Territory. The duties of these associates, and the extent to which they share the power committed to the original members, have never been precisely defined.

"Appointments were made as early as May, 1861, of several such associate members, resident at Cincinnati; but no organization of a Branch Commission was effected until the succeeding fall.

"Through the instrumentality of Dr. W. H. Mussey, the use of the United States Marine Hospital, an unfurnished building, originally intended for Western boatmen, was procured from Secretary Chase, a board of ladies and gentlemen organized for its management, and the house furnished by the donations of citizens, and opened for the reception of sick and wounded soldiers in May, 1861. This institution was carried on without cost to the Government, all necessary

* From the History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair (C. F. Vent & Co., Cincinnati), pp. xxiii to xxx.

services of surgeons and nurses, and all supplies, having been provided gratuitously until August, 1861, when the success of the enterprise induced the Government to adopt it, and it was taken charge of by the Medical Director of the Department.*

"The Western Secretary of the Sanitary Commission having given notice to the associate members resident in Cincinnati of their appointment, the Cincinnati Branch was formally organized at a meeting at the residence of Dr. W. H. Mussey, November 27, 1861. Robert W. Burnet was elected President, George Hoadly Vice-President, Charles R. Fosdick Corresponding Secretary, B. P. Baker Recording Secretary, and Henry Pearce Treasurer.

"The body thus created was left almost wholly without instructions or specification of powers. It had no other charge than to do the best it could with what it could get. It was permitted to work out its own fate by the light of the patriotism and intelligence of its members. If any authority was claimed over it, or power to direct or limit its action, it was not known to the members for nearly two years from the date of its organization.

"The steps actually taken were, however, from time to time, communicated to the United States Sanitary Commission at Washington, and by them approved. Delegates more than once attended the sessions of that body, and were permitted to participate in its action. The Branch were requested to print, as one of the series (No. 44) of the publications of the Commission, their report of their doings to date of March 1, 1862, and two thousand five hundred copies of the edition were sent to Washington for distribution from that point.

"Previous to the organization of this Branch, an address had been issued by the United States Sanitary Commission to the loyal women of America, in which the name of Dr. Mussey was mentioned as a proper party to whom supplies might be sent. A small stock had been received by him, which was transferred to the Branch, and circulars were at once prepared and issued, appealing for the means of such useful action as might seem open. A Central Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society for Cincinnati and vicinity was organized,† and the co-operation of more than forty societies of ladies in Hamilton County thus secured. This Society, it is proper to add, continued its beneficial connection with the Branch in vigorous activity, furnishing large quantities of supplies of every description, for nearly two years, and until the dispiriting effect of the change hereafter to be noticed, in the relations of the Branch to the work of distribution, paralyzed its efforts, and resulted, finally, in a practical transfer of the labors of the ladies to other fields of no less patriotic service.

"The camps and hospitals near Cincinnati were subjected to inspection, and all necessary relief was furnished. Concert of action was established with the Volunteer Aid Committee, appointed at a public meeting of citizens in October, 1861, of whom Messrs. C. F. Wilstach, E. C. Baldwin, and M. E. Reeves were elected members of the Branch. Their rooms, kindly furnished, free of expense, by the School Board, became its office and depot, and finally, in the spring of 1862, a complete transfer was made of all the stock in the hands of that Committee to the Cincinnati Branch, and the former body was merged in this.

"Under the stimulus of constant appeals to the public, and by the wise use of the means received, the confidence of the community having been gained, large quantities of hospital and camp supplies, and some money, were received, and the members entered with zeal upon the duty of distribution. The force which the United States Sanitary Commission then had in the West consisted of the Western Secretary and a few inspectors, who were engaged in traveling from camp to camp, without any fixed head-quarters. That body was not prepared and did not profess to undertake this duty.

"A serious question soon presented itself to the mind of every active member of the Branch—whether to prosecute the work of distribution mainly through paid agents, or by means of voluntary service. At times there have been differences of opinion upon the subject, and some of the members have had occasion, with enlarged experience, to revise their views. The result of this experience is to confirm the judgment that the use of paid agents by such an organization, in such a crisis, is, except to a limited extent, inexpedient. It has been clearly proved that volun-

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* Mrs. Cadwell became its matron. Her name is a sacred one with thousands of soldiers throughout the West.

† Of which Mrs. George Carlisle was President, and Mrs. Judge Hoadly Secretary. All its members were devoted workers.

tary service can be had to a *sufficient* extent, and such service connects the army and the people by a constantly renewing chain of gratuitous, valuable, and tender labors, which many who can not serve in the field esteem it a privilege to be permitted to perform in the sick-room and the hospital.

"The members of this Branch felt at liberty to pledge publicly, in their appeals for contributions, that the work of distribution should be done under their personal supervision, subject, of course, to the control of the proper medical officers of the army; and, until late in the autumn of 1862, they faithfully kept this pledge, and were able to effect, as they all believe, a maximum of benefit with a minimum of complaint. Fault-finding never ceases while the seasons change; but the finding of fault with the gratuitous services of men well known in a community has no power to injure.

"While their labors were prosecuted under this plan, nearly every member of the Branch was brought into personal contact with the work of distribution. They were present on the battle-field of Shiloh. They were first at Perryville and Fort Donelson, at which point they inaugurated the system of hospital steamers. They called to their aid successfully the services of the most eminent surgeons and physicians, and the first citizens of Cincinnati. They gained the confidence of the Legislature of Ohio, which made them an appropriation of three thousand dollars, and of the City Council of Cincinnati, who paid them in like manner the sum of two thousand dollars, and of the Secretary of War and Quartermaster-General, who placed at their control, at Government expense, a steamer, which for months navigated the Western waters in the transportation of supplies and of the sick and wounded. They fitted out, in whole or part, thirty-two such steamers, some running under their own management, others under that of the Governor of Ohio, the Mayor of Cincinnati, the United States Sanitary Commission, and the War Department.

"The relief furnished at Fort Donelson by this Branch constituted a marked, and at the same time, novel instance of their mode of management, which may properly receive more specific mention here, as it elicited high praise from the Western Secretary and the compliment of a vote of encouragement from the United States Sanitary Commission. In this case a handsome sum was at once raised by subscription among the citizens, and the steamer 'Allen Collier' was chartered, loaded with hospital supplies and medicines, placed under the charge of five members of the Branch, with ten volunteer surgeons and thirty-six nurses, and dispatched to the Cumberland River. At Louisville the Western Secretary accepted an invitation to join the party. It was also found practicable to accommodate on board one delegate from the Columbus, and another from the Indianapolis Branch Commission, with a further stock of supplies from the latter. The steamer reached Donelson in advance of any other relief agency. Great destitution was found to exist—on the field no chloroform at all, and but little morphia, and on the floating hospital 'Fanny Bullitt,' occupied by three hundred wounded, only two ounces of cerate, no meat for soup, no wood for cooking, and the only bread, hard bread—not a spoon or a candlestick. The suffering was corresponding. Happily the 'Collier' bore an ample stock, and with other parties on a like errand, who soon arrived, the surgeon's task was speedily made lighter, and his patients gained in comfort. The 'Collier' returned after a short delay, bringing a load of wounded to occupy hospitals at Cincinnati, which this Branch had meanwhile, under the authority of General Halleck, and with the aid of that efficient and able officer, Dr. John Moore, then Post-Surgeon at Cincinnati, procured and furnished.

"This was but the beginning of very arduous and extensive services personally and gratuitously rendered by members of this Branch. They traveled thousands of miles on hospital steamers on their errands of mercy, and spent weeks and months in laborious service on battle-fields and in camps and hospitals. They aided the Government in the establishment of eight hospitals in Cincinnati and Covington, and suggested and assisted the work of preparing Camp Dennison, seventeen miles distant, as a general hospital, for the reception of thousands of patients. They bought furniture, became responsible for rent and the pay of nurses, provided material for the supply table, hired physicians, and in numberless ways secured that full and careful attention to the care and comfort of the soldier, which, from inexperience, want of means, or the fear of responsibility, would otherwise, during the first and second years of the war, have been wanting.

"During the period to which allusion has been made, the United States Sanitary Commission had few resources, and those mostly employed in proper service at the East, where the members principally reside. This Branch was called on to aid that body, and to the extent of its means,

responded. At one time (early in 1862) it was supposed impossible to sustain that organization, except by a monthly contribution from each of the several branches, continued for six months; and this Branch was assessed to pay to that end the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars per month for the time specified, which call was met by an advance of the entire sum required, viz.: two thousand three hundred and seventy-five dollars. This sum, small as it now seems in comparison with the enormous contributions of a later date, was then considered no mean subsidy by either of the parties to it.

"In May, 1862, the Soldiers' Home of the branch was established, an institution which, since its opening, has entertained with a degree of comfort scarcely surpassed by the best hotels of the city, over eighty thousand soldiers—furnishing them three hundred and seventy-two thousand meals. It has recently been furnished with one hundred new iron bedsteads at a cost of five hundred dollars. The establishment and maintenance of the Home the members of the Cincinnati Branch look upon as one of their most valuable works, second in importance only to the relief furnished by the 'sanitary steamers' dispatched promptly to the battle-fields, with surgeons, nurses, and stores, and with beds to bring away the wounded and the sick, and they may, perhaps, be permitted with some pride to point to these two important systems of relief inaugurated by them. The necessity for the last-mentioned method of relief has nearly passed away; we hope it may soon pass away entirely, never to return. The Home long stood, under the efficient superintendence of G. W D. Andrews, offering food and rest to the hungry and way-worn soldier, and reminding us of the kind hearts and loyal hands whose patriotic contributions and patient toil, supplementing the aid furnished by the Government through the quartermaster and commissary departments of the army, enabled them to establish it. To this aid of a generous and benign Government, dispensed with kindness and alacrity by the officers who have been at the heads of these departments in this city, this institution is indebted, in great measure, for its existence and usefulness.

"The importance of perpetuating the names of all soldiers whose lives had been or might be sacrificed in the defense of our Government, being an anxious concern of many of the members of our Commission, and regarded by them as of so much importance, they early resolved that, so far as they could control this matter, not only should this be done, but that their last resting-place should be in our beautiful city of the dead, Spring Grove Cemetery. An early interview was had with the trustees, who promptly responded to the wishes of the Commission, and gratuitously donated for that purpose a conspicuous lot, near the charming lake, of a circular shape, and in size sufficient to contain three hundred bodies. In addition thereto, this generous association have interred, free of expense for interment, all the soldiers buried there. This lot having become occupied, the Commission arranged for another of similar size and shape near by, for the sum of fifteen hundred dollars. The subject of the payment of the same having been presented to the Legislature of Ohio, the members unanimously agreed that, as a large proportion of those who were to occupy this ground as their last home were the sons of Ohio, it was the proper duty of the State to contribute thereto. In accordance therewith, an appropriation of three thousand dollars was made for the purpose, subject to the approval of his Excellency, Governor Tod. A third circle, of the same size and shape, adjacent to the others, was therefore secured at the same price. The propriety of this expenditure was approved of by the Governor, after a careful examination of the ground and its value. Two of these lots have been filled, and the third is in readiness for occupancy, should it become necessary. A record is carefully made on the books of the cemetery, of the name, age, company, and regiment of each soldier interred there, that relatives, friends, and strangers may know, in all time to come, that we, for whom their lives were given, were not unmindful of the sacrifice they had made, and that we properly appreciate the obligations we are under to them for their efforts in aiding to secure to us and future generations the blessings of a redeemed and regenerated country.

"In view of the work of this Branch from the commencement, we can not but express our heartfelt gratitude to that kind Providence which has so signally blessed its efforts, and made the Commission instrumental in the distribution of the large amount of donations which have been poured into their hands by full and free hearts, for the benefit of sufferers who are bravely defending our country and our homes.

"It will be seen that one and a half per cent. on the cash receipts, from the commencement, will cover all expenses for clerk-hire, labor, freight, drayage, and other incidental matters; and

this comparative small expense is, in great measure, owing to the extreme liberality, which should here be gratefully acknowledged, of the free use of the telegraph wires, and the free carriage of hundreds of tons of stores by the several express companies, railroads, and steamboats.*

"With all this liberality our supplies would long since have been exhausted by the constantly-increasing requirements of our soldiers, had not the sagacity and enterprise of a number of energetic and patriotic gentlemen suggested the idea of and inaugurated the Great Western Sanitary Fair of this city, the wonderful result of which realized (to the Commission) over a quarter of a million dollars. R. W. BURNET, President.

"GEO. HOADLY, LARZ ANDERSON, Vice-Presidents.

"J. J. BROADWELL, Recording Secretary.

"R. W BURNET, THOMAS G. ODIORNE, CHARLES F. WILSTACH, Executive Committee.

"Geo. K. Shoenberger, A. Aub, M. Bailey, Eli C. Baldwin, Joshua H. Bates, E. S. Brooks, A. E. Chamberlain, Rev. B. W. Chidlaw, Charles E. Cist, C. G. Comegys, M. D.; Geo. F. Davis, Charles R. Fosdick, L. B. Harrison, James M. Johnston, B. F. Baker, David Judkins, M. D.; Edward Mead, M. D.; George Mendenhall, M. D.; W. H. Mussey, M. D.; Henry Pearce, Elliott H. Pendleton, Chas. Thomas, Mark E. Reeves, E. Y. Robbins, all of Cincinnati; Charles Butler, of Franklin; James McDaniel, J. D. Phillips, R. W. Steele, of Dayton; David S. Brooks, of Zanesville. J. B. HEICH, General Secretary."

To this sketch it need only be added that the Cincinnati Branch of the Sanitary Commission continued to devote its moneys sacredly to the precise purpose for which they were contributed. At the close of the war many thousands of dollars were in its treasury. These it kept invested in United States bonds, using the interest and drawing on the principal from time to time as it was needed for the relief of destitute soldiers, and specially for their transportation to their homes, in cases where other provision was not made for them. Three years after the close of the war it still had a remnant of the sacred sum, and was still charging itself as carefully as ever with its disbursement.

Incomparably the greatest and most efficient organization of this kind for the aid of soldiers, outside of the leading city of the State, was that first

*The following statement shows fully the receipts and disbursements of money from the treasury to August 11, 1864. A detailed account of the variety of stores and supplies which has passed through the storeroom of the Branch would cover many pages. The value can not be accurately estimated, but the donations alone exceed one million of dollars.

RECEIPTS.

From the State of Ohio (part of $3,000 appropriated)	$1,000 00
" city of Cincinnati—donation	2,000 00
" citizens of Cincinnati—donations	38,265 73
" citizens of other parts of Ohio	14,423 43
" sale of unconsumed rations at Soldiers' Home	2,175 52
" Sanitary Fair (per committee)	235,406 62
" citizens of California, through the United States Sanitary Commission	15,000 00
" interest and premium on securities	5,655 00
Total	$313,926 30

DISBURSEMENTS.

For purchase of medicines		$1,412 37
" three sets of hospital-car trucks		3,108 00
" expenses at rooms (for salaries of clerks, porters, laborers, freights on receipts, shipments, etc.)		16,402 18
" Ladies' Central Soldiers Aid Society		3,104 65
" charter of hospital steamboats		13,272 31
" disbursements on account of Soldiers' Home		5,502 49
" supplies for distribution to hospitals, camps, etc.		146,215 40
" remittance to United States Sanitary Commission		2,003 75
Balance on hand, eighty five-twenty bonds	$80,000 00	
Thirty-eight one-year certificates	37,184 45	
Cash in bank	5,720 70	
	122,905 15	
Total		$313,926 30

After this date the receipts were mainly from the interest on the investments in United States

known as the "Soldiers' Aid Society of Northern Ohio," and afterward as the Cleveland Branch of the Sanitary Commission. Indeed it may be questioned if, considering its location and opportunities, it was not the first in efficiency in the West.

On another account it deserves honorable distinction and a cheerful award of pre-eminence. *It was the first general organization in the United States for the relief of soldiers in this war.* The "Woman's Central Association of New York," which has been generally regarded the first, was organized on the 25th of April, 1861. The Cleveland association was organized on the 20th of April, 1861, five days earlier than that in New York, and only five days after the first call for troops. For the quick charity of her generous women let Cleveland bear the palm she fairly merits, and Ohio—proud in so many great achievements—be proud also of this.

Of the spirit with which the women of Cleveland entered upon the work

bonds. The following summary was afterward published of aggregate receipts of Sanitary stores from December 1, 1861, to March 28, 1865, by the Cincinnnati Branch:

Arm-slings, 3068.
Alum, pulv. 3 pounds.
Arrow Root, 3 pounds.
Ale, 10 bls., 14 hlf. bls., 12 kgs., 2,592 bottles.
Apples, green, 1547 bus.
Apple Butter, 34 bls., 48 hlf. bls., 115 kegs, 9 boxes, 116 cans and jars
Agricultural Implements, 25.
Artichokes, 1 bushel.
Blankets, 5,976.
Bedticks, 9,106.
Bed Gowns, 369.
Boots and Shoes, 1,285 pairs.
Bags, 995.
Basters, 61.
Bedste'ds, Cots, etc. 732.
Iron Bedsteads, 100.
Bed Pans, 244.
Bowls, drinking, 3019.
Brushes, 305.
Beets, 91 bush.
Beans, 35¼ bush.
Butter, 10,233 pounds.
Bread, 2,043 loaves.
Barley, Pearl, 2,690 lbs.
Buckets, 360.
Bowls, wash, 516
Beef, dried, 11,051½ lbs.
Blacking, 15 boxes.
Brooms, 83.
Blackberry Root, 137 pounds.
Blackberry Syrup, 7 bls., 4 hlf. bls, and 13 kegs.
Beef, Extract of, 6 c'ns.
Comforts, 13,902.
Cushions, 21,953.
Coats, 2,914.
Crutches, 1,250.
Combs 7,830.
Carrots, 7½ bush.
Cabbage, green, 6 hhds, 11 bls., 181 bush., and 522 heads.
Candles, 118 pounds.
Crackers, 137,488 lbs.
Codfish, 5,460.
Cups and Saucers, 270.
Canteens, 28.
Cinnamon, 25 pounds.
Cocoa, 407 pounds.
Chocolate, 312 pounds.
Coffins, 72.
Chambers, 344.
Cologne, 77 bottles and 1 gallon.
Chairs, 341.
Coffee, 1,133 pounds.
Chickens, dressed and live, 2,659.
Citric Acid, 20 bottles.
Corn-meal, 10,553 lbs.
Coffee Mugs, 402.
Cheese, 1,606 pounds.
Corn, parched, 503 lbs.
Corn, dried, 783½ lbs.
Cigars, 3 boxes.
Candlesticks, 72.
Cakes, 2,639 pounds.
Corn Starch, 7,177 lbs.
Collars, 53.
Coffee Pots, 87.
Condensed Milk, 61,761.
Cranberries, fresh, 1 barrel.
Catsup, 3 bls., 4 hlf. brl., 3 kegs, 9 jugs, 1,181 bottles.
Cabbage in curry, 176 bls. and 386 hlf. bls.
Checker Board, 31.
Currant Wine, 2 kegs and 1 jug.
Compound Tincture of Gentian, 10 gallons.
Drawers, 47,312 pairs.
Dressing-gowns, 3,789.
Dried Fruits, 250,743 pounds.
Dishes, 90.
Dippers, 49.
Desks, 3.
Drinking tubes, 108.
Dandelion Root, 2 lbs.
Eggs, 15,319 dozen.
Egg-beaters, 4.
Envelopes 73,800.
Eye-shades, 1,949.
Fruits, 75,079 cans and jars.
Flour, 2 bls.
Fish, white, 7 bls. and 1 keg.
Flaxseed, 209 pounds.
Faucets, 24.
Fans, 10,214.
Feeders, 180.
Flat-irons, 6.
Finger-stalls, 626.
Foot-warmers, 6.
Farina, 13,139 pounds.
Fruit Saucers, 288.
Funnels, 2.
Fly-brushes, 171.
Flannel, 1,466 yards.
Groceries, Sundries, 2,700 pounds.
Green Corn, 3 sacks.
Groats, 100 pounds.
Gastrions, 3 pounds.
Grapes, 130 boxes and 2 half boxes.
Ginger, dry, 2,239 pkgs. and 4 cans.
Ginger, Essence of Jamaca, 16 bottles.
Gooseberries, ripe, 6 bushels,
Graters, 23.
Garden Seeds, 20 boxes.
Gridirons, 4.
Hospital Car-trucks, 3 sets.
Handkerchiefs, 64,345.
Hats and Caps, 1,156.
Housewives, 3,878.
Hams, 686.
Haversacks, 18.
Hops, 561½ pounds.
Herbs, 55½ pounds and 227 packages.
Hatchets, 16.
Herrings, 22 boxes.
Hominy, 1,955 pounds.
Honey, 9 cans 2 bottles.
Havelocks, 319.
Horseradish, 1 keg, 1 sack, 63 jars, 228 bottles.
Hea l Covers, 13.
Ice, 81 tons.
Ice-cream Freezers, 2.
Ink, 432 bottles.
Knives and Forks, 1,208
Kettles, 13.
Lard Oil, 2 kegs and 1 can.
Lanterns, 128.
Lumber, 14,500 feet.
Lemons, 131 boxes and 83 dozen.
Liquorice, 6 pounds.
Lemon, extract of, 120 jars.
Lemon Syrup 141 bottles.
Linseed Oil, 1 keg.
Lobsters, 26 cans.
Lard, 41 pounds.
Ladles, 2
Lead Pencils, 209 doz.
Meats, 4,165.
Mittens, 11,174 pairs.
McLean's Pills, 6 bxs.
Miner'l Plants, 250 bxs.
Milk, 129 gallons.
Mattresses, 472.
Mellons, 7.
Mustard, ground, 14½ pounds. 102 bottles, and 898 boxes.
Mops, 78.
Macaroni, 3 boxes.
Molasses, 4 hlf. bls. and 8 kgs, 15 cans, 15 jugs, 15 bottles, and 78 gallons.
Mugs, 200.
Mosquito Bars, 1,758.
Mess Pans, 28.
Mutton Tallow, 123 c'ns and 5½ pounds.
Mustard Seed, 21 lbs.
Neck-ties, 914.
Napkins, 1,359.
Nuts, Hickory, 19 bush.
Nuts, Walnuts, 6 bush.
Nails, 1,350 pounds.
Night-caps, 153.
Nutmegs, 13 pounds.
Needles, 7,000.
Oat-meal, 495 pounds.
Oranges, 23½ boxes.
Oysters, 1,310 cans.
Oakum, 6 packages.
Onions, 10,908 bushels.
Pillows, 26,234.
Pillow-cases, 71,671.
Pants, 2,993 pairs.
Pin-cushions, 8,963.
Pig's Feet, 29 kegs.
Pepper, ground, 60¼ lbs. and 1,587 papers.
Parsnips, 17¼ bushels.
Pretzels, 282.
Prunes 280 pounds.
Porter, 36 dozen.
Pen-holders, 84 dozen.
Pins, 15 packs.
Peppers, 6 bottles and 6 jars.
Potatoes, 29,592 bush.
Peaches, ripe, 24 bush.
Pie Plant, 56 pounds.
Pepper-sauce, 113 bottles.
Puzzles, 7.
Pickles, 911 bls., 355 hlf. bls., 501 kegs, 6 firkins, 14 crocks, 77 bottles, 752 cans and jars.
Portable Lemonade, 300 cans.
Paper, Writing, 288 rms
Rice, 921 pounds.
Raisins, 19 boxes.
Rags, Lint, and Bandages, 55,018 pounds.
Shawls, 54.
Spit-cups, 1,125.
Slippers, 6,590 pairs.
Sheets, 37,777.
Socks, 50,774 pairs.
Shirts, 104,199.
Strainers, 20.
Slippery-elm Flour, 2 packages.
Shoulders, Pork, 556 pounds.
Strawberries, 24 boxes.
Sardines, 23 boxes.
Sausages, 375 pounds.
Spittons, 292.
Straw, 79 bales.
Sponges, 15 packages.
Scissors, 24 pairs.
Stretchers, 16.
Stone Jugs, 612.
Soap, 3,689½ pounds, 1,017 cakes, 168 bars, and 6 boxes.
Sago, 1,032 pounds.
Spoons, Table and Tea, 2,028.
Sugar, 5,797½ pounds.
Shovels, 6.
Spices, 6 boxes, 67 packages, and 15 pounds.
Skimmers, 14.
Suspenders, 547 pairs.
Salt, 401 pounds and 2 barrels.
Sticking salve, 6 boxes and 11 rolls
Saucepans, 60.
Sour-krout, 1,174 bls., 193 hlf. bls., 17 kegs, and 5 jars.
Starch, 7,732 pounds.
Solitaire Boards, 25.
Steel pens, 5 gross.
Towels, 62,126.
Tin Cups, 21,341.
Tincture of Blackb'ry Root, 5 gallons.
Turnips, 99 bushels.
Tamarinds, 6 jars.
Thumb-stalls, 22.
Tin Plates, 1,062.
Tinware, assorted, 2 boxes.
Tongues, dried, 717.
Toast, dry, 26 bls. and 1,680 pounds.
Tumblers, 762.
Tea, 1,570½ pounds.
Tables, 34.
Tea Pots, 33.
Tapioca, 76 pounds.
Tobacco, 3,088 papers, 8¾ boxes, 1,051 lbs., and 3 barrels,
Thread, Patent, 198 lbs
Tomatoes, ripe, 3¼ bush
Turkeys, live and dr'sd, 29.
Tomatoes, canned, 2,765 pounds.
Urinals, 125.
Vests, 538.
Vermicelli, 70 pounds.
Vinegar, 19 bls., 3 kegs, 4 jugs, and 10 bottles.
White-wash brushes, 24.
Wines, Liquors, and Cordials, 28,269 bottles.
Wash-stands, 100.
White Lead, 1 keg.
Whisky, 10 gallons.
Yeast Powders, 20 lbs.
Yeast Cakes, 28 lbs.
Yeast, 7 sacks.

that was to be so long, so sad, and so honorable, no better illustration can be given than this extract from the (unpublished) "History of the Cleveland Branch Sanitary Commission," by Miss Mary Clark Brayton:

"Two days later (April 23, 1861), while busy but unskillful hands were plying the sad task of bandage-rolling, a gentleman from the camp of instruction just opened near the city begged to interrupt. Mounting the platform, he announced that one thousand men, from towns adjoining, were at that moment marching into camp, and that, expecting (with the pardonable ignorance of our citizen-soldiery at that early day) to be fully equipped on reaching this rendezvous many had brought no blankets, and had now the prospect of passing a sharp April night uncovered on the ground. This unexpected occasion for benevolence was eagerly seized. Two ladies hastened to engage carriages; others rapidly districted the city. In a few minutes eight hacks were at the door, two young ladies in each, their course marked out, and they dispatched to represent to the matrons of the towns this desperate case. At three o'clock this novel expedition set off; all the afternoon the carriages rolled rapidly through the streets; bright faces glowed with excitement; grave eyes gave back an answering gleam of generous sympathy. A word of explanation sufficed to bring out delicate rose blankets, chintz quilts, thick counterpanes, and by nightfall seven hundred and twenty-nine blankets were carried into camp.

"Next morning the work was resumed, and before another night every volunteer in Camp Taylor had been provided for.

"While yet this 'blanket raid' was going on the ladies at the meeting, startled by sound of fife and drum, hurried to the door just in time to see a company of recruits, mostly farmer lads, march down the street toward the new camp. These had 'left the plow in the furrow,' and, imagining that the enlistment-roll would transform them at once into Uncle Sam's blue-coated soldier-boys, they had marched away in the clothes that they were wearing when the call first reached them. Before they turned the corner motherly watchfulness had discovered that some had no coats, that others wore their linen blouses, and that the clothing of all was insufficient for the exposure of the scarcely-inclosed camp. On this discovery the bandage meeting broke up, and the ladies hurried home to gather up the clothing of their own boys for the comfort of these young patriots. Two carriages heaped with half-worn clothing drove into camp at sundown."

Of the results to which this spirit ultimately led, the barest outlines may be read in these suggestive figures:

Estimated value of stores disbursed	$1,000,000 00
Total cash disbursed to November, 1867	$162,956 09
Number registered at Soldiers' Home	56,645
Number lodgings given at Soldiers' Home	30,000
Number meals given at Soldiers' Home	112,000
Number of soldiers supplied with employment	206
Number of claims received at the Free Agency	1,900
Receipts (net) of Cleveland sanitary fair	$78,000
Number of Aid Societies enrolled as branches	525

Office of the Society still open (November, 1867) for settlement of remaining claims—about three hundred.

And of the general history of their work we can give no better outline than in this summary by one of the members:

"The officers, at organization, were: Mrs. B. Rouse, President; Mrs. John Shelley, Mrs. Wm. Melhinch, Vice Presidents; Mary Clark Brayton, Secretary; Ellen F. Terry, Treasurer.

"No changes occurred, except the resignation of Mrs. Shelley, on removal from the city in 1863, when Mrs. Lewis Burton was elected to her place. She soon resigned and Mrs. J. A. Harris was chosen to succeed her. The list as given below best expresses the working force of the society throughout its whole existence:

"Mrs. B. Rouse, President; Mrs. Wm. Melhinch, Mrs. J. A. Harris, Vice Presidents; Mary Clark Brayton, Secretary; Ellen F. Terry, Treasurer; Carrie P. Younglove, Document Clerk.

"The society was the outgrowth of an earnest purpose to do with a might whatsoever a woman's hand should find to do. In the eagerness to work, no form of constitution or by-laws was ever thought or spoken of. Beyond a membership fee of twenty-five cents monthly, and a verbal pledge to work while the war should last, no form of association was ever adopted; no written word held the society together even to its latest day.

"The entire business of influencing, receiving, and disbursing money and stores—the practical details of invoicing, shipping, and purchasing—were done by the officers of the society. There was no finance, advisory, or auditing committee of gentlemen, as was usual elsewhere in such institutions. The services of officers and managers were entirely gratuitous, no salary was ever asked or received by any one of them. Several of the officers made repeated trips to the front; to head-quarters Sanitary Commission at Louisville and Washington; to hospitals of Wheeling, Louisville, Nashville, and minor points; to the battle-fields of Pittsburg Landing, Perryville, Stone River, and Chattanooga. These trips were undertaken with a view to stimulate the benevolence of the people of Northern Ohio, by informing them of the real needs of the sick and wounded. The officers were happily able to bear their own charges, and not one cent was ever drawn from the treasury of the society for traveling or other expenses.

"The teritory from which supplies were drawn was extremely limited, being embraced in eighteen counties in the north-eastern part of Ohio. A few towns in Southern Michigan and North-western Pennsylvania were, during the first years, tributary to the Cleveland Society, but later these were naturally withdrawn and associated with the agencies established at Detroit and Pittsburg. Meadville, Pennsylvania, was the only considerable town outside of the State of Ohio that remained to the end a branch of the Cleveland Commission. The north-western part of Ohio having more direct railroad communication with Cincinnati, sent its gifts generally to that supply center. Columbus had its own agency.* The geographical position of Cleveland limited the territory influenced by its society, since it could not be expected that towns in the central part of the State would send their stores northward, knowing they would be at once reshipped south toward the army. The small field was carefully and thoroughly cultivated, and from it a constituency was built up of branch societies numbering, at the close of the war, five hundred and twenty-five.

* The officers of this Columbus society were: "Dr. W. M. Awl, President; Dr. J. B. Thompson, Vice-President; John W. Andrews, Secretary; Prof. T. G. Wormly, Treasurer; Dr. J. B. Thompson, Peter Ambos, and F. C. Sessions, Executive Committee. Mr. Andrews, though continuing a zealous worker when in the city, was compelled to resign the secretaryship, when F. C. Sessions took his place. The society was organized in the summer of 1861. A brief outline of its workings is furnished in the following extract from a letter from one of its members:

"The Soldier's Home was started at the depot, April 22, 1862, under the charge of Isaac Dalton. A two-story building, twenty-four by sixty, near the depot, was commenced in the spring of 1863, and occupied in October following, erected by Columbus Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, at a cost of about two thousand three hundred dollars. It was finished so as to appear as home-like, comfortable, and attractive as possible to the soldiers. It was plastered and painted, and we were often told by the soldiers that it was the most attractive Home that they had ever visited in any place. Soon after we erected an addition, twenty-six by eighty feet, at a cost of about two thousand dollars, making the whole building twenty-four by one hundred and forty. Afterward another small building was erected, eleven by twenty-five. The whole cost about five thousand dollars. It was furnished mostly by the citizens of Columbus. T. E. Botsford and Isaac Dalton were superintendents. Mr. Dalton was superintendent from the first, and proved a faithful and self-sacrificing officer. The same could be said of Mr. Botsford. It was their duty to care for the sick and wounded, to furnish soldiers with meals and lodging, to assist them to and from the depot, one or both to be present at the arrival and departure of every train, procuring transportation, and in every way assisting the soldiers who came to the city on business, or were on their way to and from the front. One hundred and thirty-six thousand meals were furnished, and about fifty thousand with beds. Several of the members of our Commission visited the battle-fields to take supplies to our sick and wounded, and assist in various ways, as their services were needed. Dr. S. M. Smith, Dr. Loving, and F. C. Sessions at different times, the latter spending most of his time without pay for nearly two years, visiting Kentucky, Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing, Murfreesboro', Nashville, Antietam, Fremont's and Grant's armies on the Potomac several times.

"The Ladies' Aid Society was indefatigable and self-sacrificing in their labors in providing clothing and delicacies for the sick and wounded, and sending them to the hospitals by some member of the Commission, or as they might learn where they were most needed, without reference to what State the soldiers were from. The amount sent is valued by those most familiar with its work at about seventy-five thousand dollars. It is difficult to single out any to name as most active in the work during the war, when so many were so faithful, but I will venture to name Mrs. Governor Dennison, who was the first President, and Mrs. W. E. Ide, who succeeded Mrs. Dennison, and acted until nearly the close of the war, and by whose sympathy and enthusiasm others were aroused to duty. Also Mrs. S. J. Haver, Mrs. George Heyl, Mrs. Lewis Heyl, Miss M. L. Swayne, Mrs. S. M. Smith, Miss Pamelia Sullivant, Mrs. H. C. Noble, Mrs. Harvey Coit, Mrs. Alex. Housten, Mrs. Joseph Geiger, Mrs. Isaac Castor, Mrs. James Beebe, Mrs. John S. Hall, Mrs. Wm. G. Deshler, Mrs. Walter Brown, Mrs. E. T. Morgan, Mrs. Sessions, and Mrs. John W. Andrews were among its officers and active members.

"Our Sanitary Commission visited the camps and hospitals in the city and vicinity, and suggested such changes in sewerage, food, and location as they deemed best. We employed a police force at the depot, to see that the soldiers were not swindled."

"It is believed that no other arm of the Sanitary Commission had so intimate communication with its tributary societies, or drew from so small a district such large results. The stores contributed run very close to the receipts of Cincinnati and Chicago, and in some leading articles outrun their tables. No attempt was ever made to divert contributions out of the direct channel toward the army. Towns were always advised to send to the sanitary agency nearest the point of demand.

State lines were ever scrupulously ignored; the only passport to aid was the suffering need of a Union soldier, without a question whether his enlistment roll was signed in Maine or Minnesota.

"It is believed that the Aid Societies of Northern Ohio were a power for loyalty. The work at first undertaken for sweet charity only, soon became an exponent of political sentiment. The 'Peace' or 'Union' proclivities of a man was surely indicated by his generosity and good will toward 'the Sanitary,' or his open or covert attacks upon it. The Union sentiment of a town was sure to crystallize around its Aid Society. The hands of Union men at home were as certainly held up by this little band of workers in every town and village, as were the hearts of the soldiers in the field cheered and strengthened by knowledge of the agencies employed at home for their comfort. This was sharply brought out in the Brough-Vallandigham campaign. Thousands of loyal documents were scattered both at home and in the army by the Aid Societies; mass conventions and Union leagues recognized the power and value of these organizations, and showed their appreciation by liberal contributions to them.

"For the first six or eight months the Cleveland society had a hard struggle for life. So much desultory work was done by the people directly to their friends in the army that it was only by much persistence that sanitary labors were centralized. The society does not claim to have engrossed all the relief work of its territory, but to have gathered it into form, and have given it wise direction and made it more effective.

"The supply work was strictly confined to issues of hospital stores, except during the summers of 1863 and 1864, when the campaign against scurvy began, and the Sanitary Commission called upon its branches to furnish the regiments in the field the vegetables that became the ounce of prevention which proverbially outweighs even the pound of cure. Through these seasons four and five car-loads of vegetables per week, on an average, were sent down to the army from the Cleveland rooms, exclusive of the usual shipments of hospital stores in the same direction.

"The stores disbursed were the clothing, bedding, surgeons' supplies, light groceries, stimulants, dairy stores, fruits, vegetables, and articles of hospital furniture, common to all sanitary supply stations. The estimated value of stores disbursed is over one million of dollars.

"A great deal was done in Northern Ohio in sending boxes to individuals in the army; provisions, Christmas and thanksgiving boxes to camps, presentations of socks and mittens to regiments marching away; sending messengers loaded with good things down to the front. (See I Samuel, xviii: 17, 18.) This outside work enters into no records of sanitary effort, but it is certain that the Aid Societies were the 'head centers' of all communication between the home and the army, and that their being kept in so healthy and vigorous condition gave an impetus to all such work, whether done strictly within their limits or not.

"The agencies used for stimulating supplies were the frequent issues of circulars, containing appeals and instructions; publications in newspapers; the circulation of sanitary documents from the General Commission (about seventy thousand copies); the employment of canvassers among farmers in the home-field; and constant personal correspondence with the officers of branch societies. As a ready means of communicating with branches, a small printing office was added to the rooms, and its frequent bulletins sensibly increased the receipts by giving prompt information of the ever varying demand; while the cheering letters that we received from the army were thus made to stimulate and strengthen the hands of many who waited only to be directed and encouraged. For more than two years the ladies of the Cleveland Society were allowed a space in the Cleveland Leader of two columns weekly. This was devoted to the interests of sanitary work, and was edited at the aid rooms.

"After the establishment of head-quarters of Sanitary Commission at Louisville, most of the shipments went down from Cleveland by car-load, in locked cars, to the Ohio River; thence transferred to steamers and shipped to Louisville, there to be forwarded to the army at the discretion of Dr. S. S. Newberry, General Secretary for the West. The books of the society, how-

ever, show that so early as the close of the year 1862 its stores had reached fifty-seven camps, regimental hospitals, and recruiting stations; forty general and post hospitals; eighteen established or temporary depots of the Sanitary Commission, besides supplies to floating hospitals and storeboats. These issues had been made to points in Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas, besides small supplies to the army of the Potomac.

"The money shown in the summary of operations was obtained by contributions and by entertainments given under management of the society. It also includes ten thousand dollars given by California, a part of the one hundred thousand dollars divided among the Western branches of the Sanitary Commission in the winter of 1862–3, and money received at various times from the General Commission for purchase of vegetables, krout, etc., in the war against scurvy. Personal solicitation of money by the officers of the Cleveland Society was scrupulously avoided, and never resorted to save in raising means for building a Soldiers' Home, in August and September, 1863, when one thousand seven hundred dollars were obtained from citizens of Cleveland for that specific object.

"The Cleveland Soldiers' Home was built upon land adjoining the Union Depot. It was sustained and conducted by the Aid Society, and large additions were subsequently made for the entertainment of returning regiments. The records of this Home show:

"Number registered	56,645
Number of lodgings given	30,000
Number of meals given	112,000

"No Government support was received, and no rations drawn from the commissary stores, as was usual in institutions of this kind. Below is a short report which illustrates the character of the Home:

"It is scarcely a year since the building now used as our Soldiers' Home was opened, and as its walls rose many had been the doubts expressed of its usefulness. Time has proved us not unwise in thus extending our means for entertaining the sick and friendless soldier while passing through our city. The number of men admitted into the Home in the last six months is greater than the whole number previously receiving our care since the opening of the war. The Home was soon found too small, and in August last repairs and additions were made. The house, now two hundred feet long, with sixty beds, two small wards for the very sick, reading room, bathing room, and good dining and kitchen arrangements, is but barely sufficient to receive those who have a right to claim its shelter.

"The Home stands near the Union Depot, and each railroad train that enters our city, day or night, brings its freight of worn and weary travelers to its door. The sick, wounded, or destitute discharged man, who can no longer draw help from the Government—the soldier on his sick furlough, or painfully bearing homeward his honorable wounds—the released prisoner or the homeless refugee, all have in their need of kindness and aid, a passport to this way-side inn, where a hospitable welcome, good cheer, and a comfortable bed are freely given in the name of the Sanitary Commission.

"A few hours generally finds the soldier on his way again, rested and refreshed; but there are often cases of severe and lingering illness to watch and tend, and seven times within the period embraced in this report has the angel of death thrown the shadow of his sable wing across the threshold of our Home.

"We have often begged for the Home the notice and the charities of our friends, and no one enters its doors without acknowledging its claims upon the benevolent; yet its good Samaritan work can never be fully known to any but a constant visitor. Though conducted on an average of only twelve cents to each meal and lodging, the expenses of so large a household are a serious draft upon our treasury, and we gratefully acknowledge all gifts of money, provisions, and coal; also the gratuitous medical and surgical attendance, and medicines and dressings furnished. Several of our Branch Societies have sent bread, cake, apple-butter, poultry, apples, and spring vegetables to the Home, and one small township has lately given one hundred pounds of butter. The amount due for milk left daily during the month of December was given as a 'Christmas present,' and many similar tokens have come from those who sympathize with its charitable mission.

"We again beg from the abundance of our citizens and friends in the country anything that will furnish the tables and make the soldier feel that the 'Home' to which he is directed is not unworthy of its name. All who are interested in learning more of its objects and management are cordially invited to visit it when in the city, and we hope that in the coming year our Home may find many new friends."

"In the autumn of 1863 the Cleveland Society, catching the enthusiasm and the spirit of sanitary fairs, from a visit to the fair of Chicago, resolved to launch its own little boat upon the the wave of prosperity, and projected a fair, which opened February 22, 1864, running sixteen days, with net results of seventy-eight thousand dollars; a brilliant success for Cleveland. The fair, though not as large as many others, was considered extremely attractive. It was held in a building erected for the purpose on the public square, and on an area of sixty-four thousand square feet. The structure was in form of a Greek cross, the four arms being respectively, a bazaar, bright and bewildering in its gay ornamentation and profusion of costly, ingenious, fanciful, and useful wares; a mechanics' or power hall, filled with inventions of machinery or fabrics of their manufacture; a vast dining-hall, where scores of pretty girls, in bewitching

cap and coquettish apron, served the visitors to a 'feast of fat things;' a grand audience room, with seats for three thousand persons, where evening entertainments of varied character were given. The central building—forming a junction of all these halls—was an octagon, seventy-six feet in diameter, rising in a dome, and inclosing the Perry Statue. This building was decorated as a Flora Hall, and was the crowning beauty and attraction of the fair—a marvel of taste and skill, where 'well-skilled art, taking its text from nature, formed grottoes that might have been fairy homes—bowers fit for the garden of a king—cascades, rocky hillsides, and tangled copses that vie with nature itself.' In connection with the fair there was also a museum of heaped-up wonders, and a picture gallery, where the art treasures loaned by citizens, or given by artists, were exhibited.

"The unexpectedly successful results of the Sanitary Fair placed the Cleveland Society in a state of financial security to the end of its existence. Its plans were enlarged, and were thoroughly carried out. Until the close of the war money was freely used in purchasing vegetables and material for hospital clothing, and in sustaining the branch societies, by furnishing to them material to make up for the hospitals. When the close of hostilities diminished the work of the supply department, and regiments began to return, the Soldiers' Home was much enlarged, and a cordial welcome was extended to every returning regiment or squad. Day after day, and night after night, the long dining tables were spread with an abundance of home dainties, such as the soldier had long been a stranger to. The ladies of the Society were always at the Home to welcome the regiments, and to serve at the tables.

"After the troops were disbanded, an employment agency was opened, and continued for eight months.

"Out of four hundred and eleven applicants two hundred and six were supplied with situations. A considerable number failed to report a second time, and were discharged from the books, so that only ninety-seven remained unsupplied with business. Most of these were disabled men, unfit for any duty, and these were admitted into the Home, or became regular pensioners of the Society in their own homes.

"The Society could not consider its duties over till the last soldier had been supplied. The following bulletin shows how the supply department was kept up for months after the war closed:

"'SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETY OF NORTHERN OHIO,
"'CENTRAL OFFICE, No. 89 BANK STREET, Cleveland, July 10, 1865.

"'DEAR MADAM: We are convinced that the closing of your Society is premature, and it is certain that for THREE MONTHS longer your work should continue. Will you not AT ONCE call together your faithful members and reorganize?

"'Until you can raise means to purchase material we will continue to furnish cut garments as heretofore, and would beg you to have these made and returned as soon as possible.

"'Our returned soldiers, without money, and with clothing worn and travel-stained, are daily besieging our doors for articles of comfort, which we, FOR LACK OF YOUR HELP, have not to give them! These men, now disowned by Government, are properly our care until they assume their citizen's duties, and can provide themselves with citizen's dress.

"'We are daily purchasing and giving out cotton socks, suspenders, combs, soap, writing material, etc. We ask your help in supplying shirts, drawers, towels, and handkerchiefs. You have nobly followed our soldiers into camp and field with your gifts—do not let them ask in vain when they return to this land of plenty.

"'It is no time to stop now, and it will bring discredit upon all that has been done should we close our doors in the face of any demand. One day in our rooms would satisfy any one that Sanitary work is by no means over. Let us go on until we can all close, knowing that our work has been well and thoroughly done.

"'Send for a package of garments to make up. MARY C. BRAYTON, Secretary.'

"In October, 1865, when the Ohio State Soldiers' Home was opened, the Cleveland society appropriated from the treasury five thousand dollars to support that institution until the State appropriation should be received.

"On January 1, 1865, a free claim agency was established under the auspices of the Cleveland society. This agency has received about nineteen hundred claims, and in November, 1867, was still open for prosecution of the unsettled claims. It ceased to take new claims January 1, 1867. The claim agency was under the immediate supervision of the Secretary and Treasurer of the society, who employed clerical assistance in the business."

To these outline sketches of the work accomplished, at the two great distributing centers of the relief associations of the State, may here be fitly added a synopsis, prepared by a member, of the facts in the history of the Ohio Relief Association at Washington, of some of the operations of which we have, in preceding chapters, had occasion to make mention:

"Early in June, 1862, it was found necessary to establish a large number of hospitals in and near Washington, D. C., for the care and shelter of the numerous sick and wounded soldiers who required attention. The Government at this time was, in a great measure, without suitable buildings and necessary supplies for them. In the emergency, churches were seized by military authority and occupied, and medical officers placed in charge of them. Some of these latter took delight in showing their 'little brief authority,' by snubbing individual visitors who called to see that our suffering soldiers were made as comfortable as possible. On the 12th of June a number of ladies and gentlemen from Ohio, temporarily residing in Washington, met at the residence of A. M. Gangewer, No. 537 H street, and organized the 'Ohio Relief Association,' by electing Hon. S. T. Worcester President, Major G. P. Williamson Vice-President, David Rees Treasurer, and A. M. Gangewer Secretary. Committees were appointed to visit the various hospitals and report the names and condition of Ohio soldiers in them, with the companies and regiments to which they belonged, in order that a record might be made of them, their friends advised of their condition, and their wants supplied, so far as the means of the society would enable them to supply them. As there were nearly fifty hospitals established in and near the city, it will be readily seen that the work to be done was one of some magnitude. Weekly meetings were held at No. 537 H street, 'Ohio Head-quarters,' to hear reports of committees and devise means to relieve the wants of the suffering soldiers. A committee of three (Messrs. U. H. Hutchins, John R. French, and D. Rees) was appointed to solicit funds and procure delicacies for the soldiers. Governors Dennison and Tod, and the Senators and members of Congress from Ohio gave the society their confidence and favor. From this time until near the close of the war these weekly meetings were kept up, and much good was done in an unobtrusive way to our disabled soldiers.

"In April, 1863, Mrs. S. T. Worcester wrote as follows to the Norwalk Reflector respecting the operations of the association:

"'The operations of this association are well known to me, having been an attendant upon their weekly meetings during the past winter; and I take this opportunity to ask the friends of the sick soldier, especially those who have sons, brothers, cousins, or acquaintances in Eastern Virginia, to send money or hospital stores to it. Its committees go to the bedside of every sick Ohio soldier within their reach, converse freely with them, ascertain in what manner they can assist them, and then do the best possible thing for them. Government allows the association the use of an ambulance, two mules, and a driver, so that they are able to reach the hospitals within seven miles of the city. In many cases these sick men need something that can be better purchased in Washington than sent from here. Such, for instance, as apples, oranges, lemons, wine, a baker's biscuit, a custard (for which eggs, milk, and sugar must be bought), newspapers, both English and German, a Testament, a hymn-book, a towel *of their own*, a piece of soap, strawberries in their season, etc. The visits of these ladies and gentlemen, from their own State, with their little comforts, the men tell me, *do them more good than medicine*. Let me mention a single case from fifty which I could enumerate. Last week I received a letter from a young German, to whose wants I attended while in Washington. In it he says: 'I suppose my poor heart would have bursted if it had not been for the German hymn-book you gave me. There I found my hopes when near dying. I shall take good care of it in remembrance of you, and try to keep its words holy. It used to be hard for me to shed tears, but since I have been sick it has often been the case.' For this young man I provided while I staid in Washington, and Mrs. Gangewer attended to him afterward. He is now fast recovering. He had lost all his clothing, had not a cent of money, and had a 'cry' every day because 'no one from Ohio came to see him.' The German hymn-book (Lutheran) alluded to came from the Belgian legation, and was sent, with many other publications in the same language, to us for distribution.

"'I can testify to the excellent character of the ladies and gentlemen of the Ohio Relief Association. I know what *they* receive goes *directly* to the sick soldier, and is the answer to his own requests. All the other loyal States, except the border States, have similar organizations. Each looks after its own men tenderly.'

"The names of those who were most active in the association were Messrs. J. C. Wetmore, D. Rees, Rev. B. F. Morris, G. P. Williamson, J. Van Offenbacher, W. G. Finney, J. R. French, J. W. Dwyer, Henry Beard, L. H. Ranney, C. S. Mattoon, L. A. Lyons, J. C. Winn, U. H. Hutchins, J. C. Brand, J. W. Schuckers, J. D. Patton, J. R. Dodge, J. H. Wilkinson, D. Chambers, L. D. Reynolds, J. R. Fitch, O. B. Olmstead, and a few ladies—Mrs. D. Rees, Mrs. A. M. Gangewer, Mrs. Gunckel, Mrs. Staats, Miss Maggie Rees, Miss Sue Helmick, Miss J. H. Gangewer, Miss Julia Baldwin, and others. Quite a number of ladies in Ohio co-operated with the society in furthering its objects, among the more prominent of whom were Mrs. T. L. Jewett, of Steubenville; Mrs. Annie P. Trimble, of Chillicothe; Mrs. J. R. Osborn, of Toledo; Mrs. S. T. Worcester, of Norwalk, and various ladies connected with local ladies' soldiers' aid societies in Ohio, all of whom contributed generously to sustain its operations.

"In December, 1862, the Secretary of the association, A. M. Gangewer, published the following statement of the articles distributed by the society to that date, viz.:

"'CLOTHING, ETC.—195 wool shirts, 131 wool drawers, 405 prs wool socks, 1,654 prs cotton socks, 700 prs cotton drawers,

1,147 cotton shirts, 45 coats, 65 prs pants, 117 prs slippers, 47 prs shoes, 16 vests, 43 hats, 36 caps, 31 dressing-gounds, 1,257 handkerchiefs, 1,401 towels, 36 prs suspenders, hair-brushes, looking-glasses, combs, fans, pins, needles, thread, pin-cushions, tobacco, letter-paper, envelopes, books, magazines, newspapers, etc.

"'BEDDING, ETC.—116 sheets, 185 pillows, 253 pillow-cases, 59 bedticks, 155 blankets, 37 quilts and comforts.

"'SANITARY STORES, ETC.—397 cans fruit, 997 bottles wines and cordials, 14 bottles shrub, 64 bottles brandy, 2 jars beef essence, 5 jars pickles, 15 jars apple-butter, 1 keg do., 1 tub kale slaw, 2 boxes onions, 209 cans jellies, 2 brls toast bread, 4 brls green apples, 53 sacks, 7 bushels, and 5 boxes dried fruit, corn starch, grapes, lemons, dried beef, honey, tea, sago, dried corn, cornmeal, crackers, cheese, peppers, 4 tubs butter, farina, sugar, hams, tomatoes, peach-butter, oysters, chickens, lint, bandages, pads, soap, crutches, 18 rocking-chairs, etc.

"'COOKING UTENSILS, ETC.—2 coffee boilers, 3 tin pans, 30 knives and forks, 24 table-spoons, 50 tin cups, 24 plates, cooking lamps, cups and saucers, etc.

"'The number of names of Ohio soldiers entered on the register as visited by their committees, is 3,766, but the wants of a much larger number have been supplied whose names have not been reported, and the urgent needs of many soldiers from other States have been met, when made known to their visiting committees.

"'The amount of money collected, principally from Ohio residents in this city, was $1,296 67; amount expended $1,210 92, leaving in the hands of the treasurer $55 75.'

"About this time a committee was appointed to represent to the State authorities the necessity of having an agent in Washington, to especially look after sick soldiers who are unable to reach home without assistance, and to see that they obtain their pay promptly. The Association recommended the appointment of Mr. J. C. Wetmore, who had been active and untiring in his efforts to aid our weak and suffering soldiers. Newspaper representations having inforced the same policy, he was accordingly appointed.

"The Association did not confine its operations to Washington, but sent visitors to hospitals at Fredericksburg, Alexandria, and camps in Virginia; to Baltimore, Annapolis, and Frederick, Maryland, and to Gettysburg.

"On the 24th of February, 1863, a special meeting was held to present a service of silver to Mrs. A. M. Gangewer, for her exertions in behalf of the soldiers. The meeting was attended by Hon. S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Judge Johnson of Cincinnati, and a crowd of Ohio people then in Washington.

"On the 5th of August, 1863, the Association rented a room near the City Hall for a store-room. By this time the Government was enabled to supply the wants of the inmates of the hospitals, which were generally efficiently managed; but still there were occasional isolated cases of suffering which needed attention, and relief was freely bestowed. Those who are acquainted with the operations of the society know well that it has done a work of which none who participated in it need be ashamed. Governor Brough made appeals to the people of Ohio to support it, and its work was constantly performed in harmony with the State Agency system."

The general work in the more active of the home organizations through the State may be best illustrated, on a large scale, by this graphic picture of the Cleveland Aid Rooms, from the forthcoming history of that association, by Miss Mary Clark Brayton:

"At eight o'clock, or even earlier, the rooms are open for the business of the day. The boxes unloaded from the dray upon the sidewalk are trundled through the wide doors, and the lids skillfully removed by the porter, or energetically pried off by some impatient member of the unpacking committee, whose duties now begin.

"Cautiously she peeps under the layers, not without fear that some mischievous cork, false to its trust, may have spread liquid ruin among the soft folds. Shirts, drawers, and gowns, as they are drawn forth, are duly counted, examined, and noted. If zealous haste has dispatched them minus a button or a string, the deficiency is supplied by some careful matron who sits near. The garment is then thrown with the others upon a high counter, behind which is enthroned a third committee woman with stencil-plate and brush. The labels and mottoes that she may find nestling in the pocket of a dressing-gown, or hidden in the soldier's thread-case are not removed, but steadily she works there, affixing the indelible stamp, 'Soldiers' Aid Society of Northern Ohio,' and each article passes from her hand into its appointed place in one or another of the great hinged receiving cases that form a row down the long wall.

"Books and pamphlets, too, are stamped and piled upon their allotted shelf, where some soldier from the city camps may often be seen turning over their leaves, with free permission to choose.

"Bags of dried fruit are tumbled in a heap upon the scales Bottles and jars, as they appear,

are closely inspected; the sound to be carefully repacked in saw-dust, and the defective cemented anew, or, if too far gone for that, they are set aside for the 'Home,' the city hospital, or the sick soldier not many squares off.

"At a table in the center of the room a bandage machine is whirling under a hand grown dexterous by much practice in these sad days; and at the old-linen box stands an embodiment of patience, vainly toiling to bring order out of the ever-uprising mass.

"Just behind is the busy packing committee, upon whose skillfulness rests the good name of the society with the army. Bending over their work, they fold and smooth and crowd down each article with its kind, until there is space only for the invoice sheet at top, and the box awaits the porter's hammer and its tally number before being consigned to the store-house.

"The long table at the end of the room is occupied by the work committee. Here bed-sacks and sheets are torn off with an electrifying report, and two pairs of savage shears are cutting their vigorous way through a bolt of army-blue flannel. The cut garments, rolled and ticketed, are stowed away in the great work-box till given out to ladies of the city, or sent in packages to bridge over a financial gap in some country Aid Society.

"Two or three ladies, delegates from neighboring branches, are narrowly watching this busy scene, while receiving from highest official sources suggestions and sympathy, if need be, and under the same hospitable guidance are making a tour of inspection through the room and into the little office in the rear, which is separated from the main apartment only by a glazed partition. Here some tokens of femininity have crept in, despite the evident determination to give it a severe business air. A modest carpet covers the floor; the big box of documents in the corner, cunningly cushioned, takes ambitious rank as a sofa; some kind body has sent in a rocking-chair; occasionally a bouquet graces the table; two or three pictures have found their way upon the walls, among railroad time-tables and shipping guides. But the latest war bulletin hangs with them there, and all these amenities fail to disguise the character of the room, or to draw attention from the duties of the hour.

"Here at her desk sits one whom fate and the responsibilities of office have called to 'carry the bag,' and to make the neatest of figures in the largest of ledgers. There stands another, knitting her brows over the complications of a country invoice or a 'short shipping bill.' A third is perpetually flitting between the entry desk in the main room and the bright-eyed girls who are folding circulars at the office table; and a fourth drops her plethoric file of 'letters unanswered' to read proof for the printer's boy waiting at her elbow, or to note down for future use the sanitary news as it falls fresh from the lips of an agent who has called in *en route* from the 'front,' to give a cordial hand to the ladies."

In October, 1863, the patriotic citizens of Chicago held a great fair, an expansion of the common church festivals given by ladies in the interest of the Sanitary Commission. As the reports of its success came to attract attention, the gentlemen of the Sanitary Commission and the National Union Association in Cincinnati began to discuss the policy of undertaking a similar enterprise on a larger scale. For some days the matter was confined to private discussions. Meantime, as happened so often through the war, a woman stepped forward to lead in the movement for good works for the soldiers. On the afternoon of the 31st of October this communication, the first public appeal for a Sanitary Fair in Cincinnati, appeared in the Evening Times:

"EDITOR TIMES: I wish to call the attention of the patriotic ladies of Cincinnati to the fair that is now progressing in Chicago for the benefit of the soldiers, and which is realizing a handsome sum of money. Taking into consideration the fact that the winter is fast approaching, and that the soldiers will stand in need of much assistance, would it not be well for our Cincinnati ladies to get aroused up in the same cause, and in the same way? We should not let Chicago, or any other place, be in advance of us in our efforts. I know we have ladies here who are devoted friends of the soldiers, and now is the time for them to be up and doing. Please call public attention to this subject, and oblige. A LADY."

This appeal* was copied in the morning papers, but no public action was taken till, on November 7th, in response to an article on the subject in the Gazette, "Who speaks for Cincinnati?" Mr. Jno. D. Caldwell inserted in the papers a call for a meeting of the executive and finance committees of the National Union Association, "to initiate movements toward a grand fair in Cincinnati, in aid of the cause of families of Union soldiers." At this meeting a committee of public-spirited citizens was appointed to hold a conference with committees of existing organizations on the 11th of November. Circulars and public notices followed; the attention of the entire community was arrested; the enterprise rapidly took shape; Mr. Edgar Conkling reported a plan of operations involving an undertaking incomparably more extensive than any previous one in the same direction; and presently the whole city was alive with the enthusiasm of a common generous effort. Those who best know the usually staid and undemonstrative Queen City unite in the testimony that she was never before so stirred through all the strata of her society, never before so warm and glowing for any cause or on any occasion. Churches, citizens' associations, business men, mechanics took hold of the work. Committees were appointed, embracing the leading men and the best workers in every walk of life throughout the city; meetings of ladies were held; circulars were distributed; public appeals filled the newspapers. General Rosecrans, then fresh from the Tullahoma and Chickamauga campaigns, and the more popular in the city of his residence in proportion to his loss of favor with the War Department, was made President of the fair, and his name evoked fresh enthusiasm for the effort.

On the 25th of November the organization had been completed, and the following general address to the public was issued:

"This fair, in aid of the Cincinnati Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, will be opened, with appropriate ceremonies, on Monday, the 21st day of December next, and continue through the holidays. Arrangements have been made on an extensive scale for collecting and disposing of every article of a salable nature that may be contributed. Nothing will be amiss that can aid the Sanitary Commission, either in funds or in any of the stores so well known to be wanted in the camp and hospital.

"This branch of the Sanitary Commission extends relief throughout the armies of the Union operating in the West and South-west. It supplies, without distinction, all who are in those armies, no matter whence they come. Therefore, the far East and the Central States will see and feel, as well as the West, the grand object to be accomplished by this fair, and may well join and share with us in this grateful effort, before the rigors of winter beset them, to provide for the wants and cheer the hearts of their sons who are with ours in these fields. Each congregation or society, of whatever name, in all the loyal States, is invited to elect a lady delegate or corresponding member, who will be registered as such, and, if an active contributor, will be entitled to a handsomely-engraved certificate, commemorative of the occasion, bearing her name and residence.

"Contributions from far and wide will be thankfully received; contributions in money; contributions of every production of the farmers, manufacturers, machinists, mechanics, merchants, clothiers, jewelers, milliners, gardeners; contributions of music, decorations, fruits, flowers, and refreshments; contributions or loans for exhibition in the fine arts and sciences; relics, memo-

* Written by Mrs. Dr. Mendenhall, who afterward became the ladies' Vice-President of the fair.

rials, and curiosities of every sort; contributions of lectures, concerts, and dramatic or other benefits; and, to give efficiency to all, a general contribution of the influence of the press in furthering our efforts. Every offering, in short, which can add beauty, interest, or profit, to any department of the fair, or be used as material in the work of the Sanitary Commission will be acceptable. In order, moreover, that nothing, however small, which even our youth can contribute, may be lost to the general offering, it is requested that directors and teachers of schools, public and private, everywhere, invite their pupils to prepare articles of their own handiwork, which will form a special department of the fair. And, above all, we invoke the aid and influence of the women of the land, as individuals, in their home and social circles, and as classes, in their churches, aid societies, and other organizations.

"The whole arrangements of the fair have been assigned to committees on finance, buildings, machinery and mechanical exhibitions, public conveyances and transportation, merchandise and donations, refreshments, art hall, gallery of paintings, music and decorations, floricultural exhibitions, relics, curiosities and war memorials, lectures, concerts, and benefits, each having duties corresponding to their titles. The character of the parties comprising these committees is sufficient evidence of their ability to provide extraordinary attractions and accommodations for our visitors and patrons, no matter how large their number.

"One of the chief attractions of the fair will consist of an immense bazaar, four hundred feet long by sixty feet wide, under charge of the ladies, and devoted to the sale of fancy and useful merchandise. Similar buildings, for use as refreshment hall and exhibition and saleroom of heavier articles of merchandise, machinery, etc.

"Mozart Hall and its anterooms have been secured for the purposes of lectures, concerts, exhibitions, etc.

"The most liberal terms that could be desired are proffered to our transportation committee by all the express, railroad, and steamboat lines centering at this city.

"The dining hall will be in charge of a committee of ladies, and will be able to accommodate, in space and variety, all who may come.

"A plan is under consideration for the publication of a complete history of the fair, from its inception to its close. This is intended to embrace a list of the officers, committees, managers, and corresponding members, the name of every contributor, a list of the articles donated, and such other matters of interest as may occur, and will serve to give permanency in history to this evidence that the people of the Union never forget their brave defenders.

"All contributions of money should be remitted to Robert W. Burnet, Esq., Treasurer. All the express, railroad, and steamboat lines centering in this city have offered to carry freight for the fair FREE OF CHARGE. Heavy goods should be sent by railroad; light and valuable packages by express. All articles should be carefully packed, and marked 'Sanitary Fair, Cincinnati, Ohio.'

"When articles are donated a list of the articles, their estimated value, and the donor's name and residence, should be sent by mail to John D. Caldwell, Corresponding Secretary, to whom all correspondence may be addressed. Articles for exhibition should be accompanied by directions for their return, similarly addressed.

"Special information as to any department may be obtained by addressing the chairman of the proper committee, whose name appears in the annexed list.

"No further appeal is needed; all hearts will feel and respond to this call. Let no one suppose that enough is or ever will be done in this direction. The Cincinnati Branch of the Sanitary Commission has distributed to the army nearly nine hundred thousand dollars' worth of supplies generously furnished; but it has never yet reached the maximum of demands upon it.

"Present movements indicate a winter campaign of unusual activity and hardship. Let every one do his part, that there may be no want or suffering among our brave soldiers.

"Major-General W S. ROSECRANS, President.*

"JOHN D. CALDWELL, Corresponding Secretary."

*The organization of the working force of the fair was large and complicated. We append the names of the leading officers, and of the chairmen of committees:

OFFICERS.

Major-General ROSECRANS, President; Mayor L. A. HARRIS, First Vice-President; Mrs. Dr. G. MENDENHALL, Second Vice-President; R. W. BURNET, Treasurer; JOSEPH C. BUTLER, Assistant Treasurer; JOHN D. CALDWELL, Corresponding Secretary.

The committees and the whole community now pressed forward their labors, and for the time the "cause of sweet charity" for the soldiers was the engrossing subject of all thought.

On the morning of the 21st of December the fair was opened with an address from General Rosecrans at Mozart Hall. That evening the various halls were crowded with a curious and liberal throng; and for weeks thereafter there followed such a lavish expenditure of money as the city had never before dreamed of.

The great salesroom of the ladies—the "Bazaar"—was in a building specially erected for the purpose on the Fifth Street Market-Space, four hundred feet long and sixty feet broad. On the Sixth Street Market-Space was another building of the same dimensions—"Produce Hall"—used for the display of agricultural productions. In Mozart Hall were the relics, war memorials, art gallery, etc. Greenwood Hall was devoted to the horticultural department; and the Palace Garden was made a refreshment hall.

To describe the display in these various departments were an endless task. The bewildering exhibition in the Ladies' Bazaar was, of course, the center of attraction, and its appearance was the result of a degree of faithful and varied labor on the part of thousands of ladies not easily expressed. From every quarter came the gifts that filled the attractive tables—from aged fingers which could scarcely direct the needle, but must needs make something for the fair that was to help the grandson soldier—from children eager to do something for the cause to which their fathers were offering their lives—from the wealthiest and most fashionable—from the humblest poverty-stricken homes that were still not too poor to help the soldiers—from even the Lunatic Asylums and the Home of the Friendless. Ladies presided behind the counters, fair prices were charged, and the sales were enormous.*

In the other halls were collected such displays as the city had never before

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HONORARY OFFICERS.

His Excellency ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States; Hon. HANNIBAL HAMLIN, Vice-President; the Honorable the GOVERNORS OF THE LOYAL STATES.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Gentlemen.—Edgar Conklin, Chairman; David T. Woodrow, Charles Reakirt, Benjamin Bruce, Charles F. Wilstach, L. C. Hopkins, James Dalton, Charles E. Cist.

Ladies.—Mrs. S. B. Williams, Mrs. W. F. Nelson, Mrs. R. M. W. Taylor, Mrs. Robert Hosea, Mrs. Joseph Tilney, Mrs. Joseph Guild, Mrs. C. W. Starbuck, Mrs. John Kebler, Mrs. Dr. C. A. Schneider.

COMMITTEES.

Circulars and Printing.—John D. Caldwell, Chairman. *Finance.*—S. S. Davis, Chairman. *Buildings.*—Philip Hinkle, Chairman. *Merchandise and Donations.*—W T. Perkins, Chairman. *Country Produce.*—Adolph Wood, Chairman. *Machinery and Mechanical Exhibitions.*—E. M. Shield, Chairman. *On Agricultural Machinery.*—J. M. McCullough, Chairman. *Refreshments.*—J. W. Garrison, Chairman. *Art Hall, Gallery of Paintings, Music, and Decorations.*—Wm. Wiswell, Chairman. *War Memorials, Relics, and Curiosities.*—George Graham, Chairman. *Circulars and Correspondence.*—Rev. E. T. Collins, Chairman. *War Memorials.*—Colonel A. W. Gilbert, Chairman. *Coins and Autographs.*—T. C. Day, Chairman. *Horticultural and Pomological Department.*—Gentlemen: D. B. Pierson, Chairman; Ladies: Mrs. W. S. Groesbeck, Chairman. *Fruits and Flowers.*—Mrs. D. T. Woodrow, Chairman. *Christmas Trees.*—Miss Rebecca Groesbeck, Chairman. *Refreshments.*—Mrs. W. H. Dominick, Chairman. *Evergreen Decorations.*—Mrs. Wm. Proctor, Chairman. *Telegraph and Post-Office.*—Miss. E. C. Smith, Chairman. *Lectures, Concerts, Dramatic, and other Entertainments.*—W. C. Peters, Chairman. *Lectures.*—S. S. Smith, Chairman. *Concerts.*—S. Davis, jr., Chairman. *Dramatic and Operatic Entertainments.*—W. Clough, Chairman. *School Exhibitions.*—M. Glenn, Chairman. *On Tableaux.*—J. B. Enneking, Chairman. *Halls and Theaters.*—L. C. Hopkins, Chairman. *Military Organizations.*—J. J. Dobmeyer, Chairman. *Orchestral Music.*—Carl Barus, Chairman. *Vocal Music.*—V. Williams, Chairman. *Public Conveyance and Transportation.*—Hugh McBirney, Chairman. *Employees.*—James H. Walker, Chairman. *Children's Department.*—Lyman Harding, Chairman.

* L. C. Hopkins, the well-known dry goods merchant, was the Superintendent of the Bazaar.

gathered—an accumulation of autographs immense and unique; a vast number of relics and mementos of the war; cabinets of shells and scientific specimens; a gallery of paintings that included some works of European masters, and a fine representation of American, and particularly of Western artists; "a glimpse of Fairy Land" in the luxuriant profusion of the Horticultural Department; machinery, agricultural implements—something to interest and attract from every walk of life. The great Mozart Hall was night after night filled with audiences that congregated to hear readings from Jas. E. Murdoch or Buchanan Read, or lectures from others who patriotically gave their services to the cause; and the refreshment saloon was filled with the first ladies of the city, who served like waiters in some mammoth restaurant.

The net result of all this labor and display was the payment of $235,406 to the Cincinnati Branch of the Sanitary Commission.* The indirect result was the quickening of the sympathies of a vast community for the soldiers, a warmer flame of loyalty throughout the State, invigoration in the purpose that upheld the war, and an example that was to stir up Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburg, and St. Louis, to yet more splendid exhibitions of the munificent generosity of the people.

The suggestion of these fairs came from Chicago. Cincinnati showed the Nation what a large plan and liberal purpose could make out of them,† and may well cherish her record in this particular as one of the brightest pages in her history through the war.

In the story of noble deeds at home, which we must now end, we have reserved the noblest feature for the last. From the outbreak of the war till the hour of its close, the hands of the Government and of the army were held up by the warm hearty zeal of the churches and the clergy. They led in the demand for the maintenance of the National supremacy. They inspired the moral purpose of the war and made it a thing of more than territorial significance. They furnished the nucleus for home organizations for the relief of the soldiers. They followed with their ministrations to the camps and the battle-fields. They pierced the disguises of the false pretense of Humanity and Christianity that clamored for peace without Liberty and Union. The sun did stand on the mountains of Gilboa at their prayer—the most excitable and unstable people of the Anglo-Saxon race were held true to a fixed purpose, through rivers of blood, and mourning by every hearth-stone, and the countless cost of a four years' fearful struggle, till the battle between Freedom and Slavery should be manfully fought out.

Among the earliest volunteers were clergymen. The pulpits of the various

*The outlay for expenses amounted to eight and one-fifth per cent. on this amount, which added thereto gives the gross receipts.

†The receipts of the Cincinnati Fair were larger in proportion to population than those held in any other cities, excepting Pittsburg and St. Louis, which, coming later, had the advantage and stimulus of the experience and success elsewhere. The net result of the series of Sanitary Fairs which this in Cincinnati fairly opened, was over four million dollars, given in aid of soldiers and their families.

churches became the foremost stimulants to recruiting. As early as the 3d of June, 1861, the association of Evangelical ministers of Cincinnati adopted a deliverance,* whereof these sentences should not pass out of men's memories in the State they inspired:

"Deeply grateful to Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, for his past mercies to this Nation, and particularly noting at this time His gracious goodness in leading our fathers to establish and preserve for us a Constitutional Government unequalled among the governments of the earth in guarding the rights and promoting the entire welfare of a great people—we, the Evangelical ministry of Cincinnati, have been lead by a constrained sense of accountability to Him, the author of all our good, and by unfeigned love for our country, to adopt the following statement:

"We are compelled to regard the rebellion which now afflicts our land and jeopardizes some of the most precious hopes of mankind, as to the result of a long-contemplated and wide-spread conspiracy against the principles of liberty, justice, mercy, and righteousness proclaimed in the Word of God, sustained by our Constitutional Government, and lying at the foundation of all public and private welfare. In the present conflict, therefore, our Government stands before us as representing the cause of God and man against a rebellion threatening the Nation with ruin, in order to perpetuate and spread a system of unrighteous oppression. In this emergency, as ministers of God, we can not hesitate to support, by every legitimate method, the Government in maintaining its authority unimpaired throughout the whole country, and over this whole people."

The sentiments thus expressed were echoed by almost every religious body throughout the State. Among others, was this declaration from the venerable Bishop McIlvaine, in the Protestant Episcopal Convention at Cleveland, in June, 1861: "Our duty in this emergency is bravely, earnestly, to sustain our Government in its administration in the use of all lawful means to preserve the integrity of the Union." Not less emphatic and early were the expressions of Archbishop Purcell, who caused the American flag to be raised over the Cathedral at Cincinnati, and the churches in every part of his diocese, and whose great influence in the Roman Catholic Church was thrown throughout in favor of the Government in this holy war.

As the struggle progressed, the efforts for the relief of soldiers clustered around the prayer-meetings, Sunday-school associations, and ladies' mite societies of the church congregations throughout the State. To trace the history of these societies here would be impossible—they were in every village and hamlet—but the good works they wrought are faithfully set down in the record of Him who rewardeth openly

As the Sanitary Commission grew up, the stream of church contributions was turned into this channel. After a time the good men who had followed the army with the Bible and the sermon felt the need of an organization for specific religious effort for the soldiers, combined with relief labor, and the Christian Commission began its noble work.†

* Reported by a committee consisting of Granville Moody, H. M. Storrs, C. B. Boynton, E. T. Robinson, and Joseph White.

† In the last annual report of this Commission the following list of the Ohio membership is given:

CINCINNATI BRANCH UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

A. E. CHAMBERLAIN, President; H. THANE MILLER, Vice-President; Rev. J. F. MARLAY, Secretary; Rev. B. W. CHIDLAW, General Agent.

COMMITTEE—William T. Perkins, Thomas F. Shaw, George H. Warner, E. Sargent, W W. Scarborough, Hon.

The reports give the cash receipts of the branches in Ohio as:

Cincinnati Branch up to 1864	$70,493
Cincinnati Branch up to 1865	38,396
Cleveland Branch—total	8,144
Total	$117,033

Besides, stores were received in Cincinnati amounting in value to the splendid sum of two hundred and eighty-nine thousand six hundred and two dollars, and publications for distribution among the soldiers, valued at three thousand and twenty-four dollars. In Cleveland the gifts of stores amounted to five thousand five hundred dollars, and of publications to twelve hundred dollars.*

Some further facts as to the operations of this unobtrusive but most efficient organization may be presented in the condensed closing report of the Cincinnati Branch:

"From the 1st of January, 1865, the date of the last annual report, until the office was closed, about the middle of August, the work of the Cincinnati Branch continued to prosper. It was understood, soon after the fall of Richmond, that the business of the Commission would be closed up as speedily as possible. Notwithstanding a public statement to this effect, the people of Ohio continued to furnish the means necessary to carry on our operations creditably and successfully, until supplies were no longer needed. Some of the most prominent items of receipts and distributions are given in the following table:

Number of boxes, etc., of stores sent to the field, or distributed at Home, exclusive of those sent to, or received from the Central or Branch offices	3,446
Number of boxes, etc., of publications sent to the field, or distributed at Home, exclusive of those sent to, or received from Central or Branch offices	161
Number of boxes of stores donated directly to this Branch	3,114
Number of boxes of publications donated directly to this Branch	27
Estimated value of these donated stores	$289,602 74
Estimated value of these donated publications	$3,024 00
Number of copies of Scriptures, or portions of them distributed	9,940
Number of hymn and psalm-books	55,091
Number of soldiers' and sailors' knapsack books, in paper or flexible covers	458,083
Number of bound volumes of library and other books	8,678
Number of magazines and pamphlets	18,117
Aggregate number of weekly and monthly religious newspapers	803,236
Number of pages of tracts	101,658

"In making up this final statement of our Branch of the United States Christian Commission, it is due the generous people who have so freely contributed to sustain it, to make a grateful acknowledgment of their untiring liberality. From the opening of the office, at No. 51 Vine Street, until it was closed, an uninterrupted stream of money and stores poured in upon us from the patriotic men and women of the West, and especially of the State of Ohio. Soldiers' Aid

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Bellamy Storer, Phillip Phillips, T. G. Odiorne, B. Homans, jr., George F. Davis, Wm. J. Breed, Eli Johnson, Benjamin Frankland, H. Wilson Brown, Thomas Frankland, J. M. Johnston, Hugh Stewart, M. B. Hagans, Matthew Addy, R. A. Holden. GAMBIER—Rev. Archibald M. Morrison.

CLEVELAND COMMITTEE UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Hon. STILLMAN WITT, President; JOSEPH PERKINS, Vice-President; L. F. MELLEN, Secretary; S. H. MATHER, Treasurer; GEORGE MYGATT, Receiver of Supplies; Hon. William Castle, Rev. T. H. Hawks, D. D.; T. P. Handy, Dr. H. K. Cushing, Rev. J. M. Hoyt, Daniel P. Eels, Horace Benton.

COMMITTEE—Hon. William A. Otis, Rev. Samuel Wolcott, D. D.; Rev. Dr. W. H. Goodrich, Ansel Roberts, J. E. Ingersoll, Rev. J. Montieth, jr.; Rev. S. B. Page, George W. Whitney, Hon. John A. Foote, Rev. Charles Hammer, Dr. Alleyne Maynard, Jay Odell, Hon. J. P. Bishop, Rev. William A. Hoge, Dr. Edward Taylor, Rev. C. Rutenick, E. R. Perkins, J. H. Dewitt, Rev. J. A. Thome, Rev. Moses Hill, Rev. Bishop C. Kingsley.

NORTH-WESTERN BRANCH UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION, TOLEDO.

W. BAKER, President; Rev. C. T. WALES, Recording Secretary; Rev. H. W. PIERSON, D. D., Corresponding Secretary; D. B. SMITH, Treasurer.

*The Toledo collections seem, in the reports of the Christian Commission, to have gone to swell the sums credited to Chicago.

Societies and Ladies' Christian Commissions, by scores and hundreds, kept us supplied with the means to minister largely to the comfort and temporal wants of our noble boys in blue! We held no large sum of money in our treasury, believing that Providence would furnish us the means to do our work. God honored the faith of his servants—since, although our funds were often low, we never were without the means to meet our obligations.

"The removal of Rev. E. P. Smith, the efficient and successful Field Agent of our department, to the Eastern work, was felt to be a severe loss. From the beginning he had superintended the work in the West with a sagacity, discrimination and zeal worthy of the highest praise. His self-denying labors, amid suffering and personal dangers, in behalf of his country, in all the dark days and months of the great rebellion, should endear him to the hearts of his countrymen.

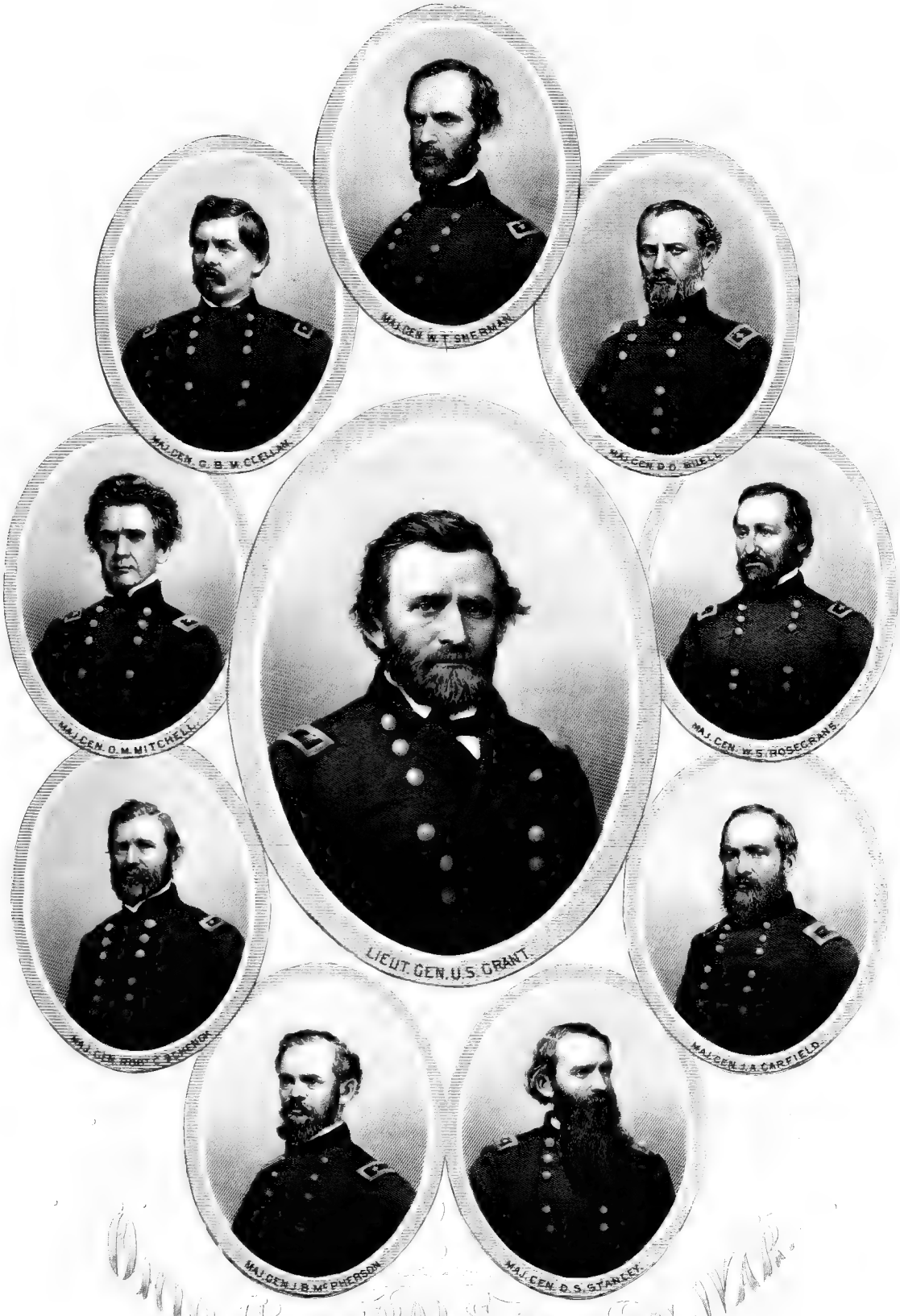
"His place at Nashville was well filled by Mr. T. R. Ewing, an earnest Christian gentleman, and a most genial, kind-hearted man and efficient administrator. Mrs. E. P. Smith remained in charge of the 'home' at Nashville, performing a service for which few women could have been found equally qualified, with a cheerfulness and hearty enthusiasm worthy of all honor. Hundreds and thousands of soldiers, who have been in the hospitals of Nashville, will remember Mrs. Smith to their dying day. Not a few will join in gratitude with an Illinois soldier, who said to the friend at his cot, taking his dying message, 'Tell Mrs. Smith I shall thank her in heaven for the ice.'

"The transfer of Rev. J. F. Loyd to the Louisville agency was an important and satisfactory change. Under his wise and faithful administration, and by the transfer of General Sherman to Louisville, this became one of our most interesting fields. We believe that the Christian Commission has had few workers more reliable, faithful, and competent than Mr. Loyd. The statistical tables published in this report will exhibit the receipts and expenditures of the year. During the last year of our work our financial records were kept by Mr. W. J. Breed, of the Commission, who rendered thus, gratuitously, a service of great magnitude and importance, in addition to his very liberal cash contributions.

"A. E. Chamberlain & Co., have given us office and store-room without charge.

"Our President, Mr. Chamberlain, continued to serve the cause with unabated zeal and success until the last. For more than two years all his time was consecrated to his suffering country. By public addresses, all over Ohio, he aroused the zeal of others, and contributed more largely than any other person to make the Christian Commission the people's favorite channel of communication with the army. In this work of appeal to the people at home, we have, also, been very largely aided by services most cheerfully and efficiently rendered by Hon. Bellamy Storer and Rev. B. W. Chidlaw. The volume which records the closing labors of so beneficent an institution would be incomplete and unsatisfactory if it did not make special mention of these noble men, who rendered such unselfish and signal service to the best Government God ever gave to man, in the darkest hour of its whole history. JOHN F. MARLAY, Secretary."

With this we close. No effort has been made to present in detail this great Relief Work, in which, through various organizations and in many ways for all the weary years of the war, those at home strove in labors, privations, and prayers, to emulate the sacrifices and the achievements of the men in the field. To do that were impossible. But we hope to have left some traces, however imperfect, which may show to those who come after us that the people of Ohio were worthy of their Soldiers. And so we turn from the work at home to the front.



Our Generals in the War.

PART II.

THE LIVES OF OHIO GENERALS,

WITH SKETCHES OF THE

WAR GOVERNORS AND OTHER PUBLIC MEN,

INCIDENTS, ETC.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

"The uncertain future, O king, has yet to come, with every possible variety of fortune; and him only to whom the gods have continued happiness unto the end, we call happy. To salute as happy, one still in the midst of life and hazard, we think as little safe and conclusive as to crown and proclaim victorious the wrestler that is yet in the ring."*

IT was the peculiar misfortune of the first General whom Ohio gave to the War for the Union, that his friends, not even satisfied with proclaiming victorious the wrestler yet in the ring, insisted upon crowning him at the very moment of his entrance. Christened "Young Napoleon" before he had ever commanded a regiment under fire,† and accepted by the Nation, in its piteous want of a Leader, at his ostensible valuation, it was not wonderful that when summer had ripened into fall around his motionless battalions, and winter had snowed them in, and spring had found them motionless still, he discovered the patient people begin to demand some sign of Napoleonic deeds. Thenceforward he was forever judged by the false standard which his own friends had set up.

And when he failed to reach this standard, whether through lack of support or in spite of it, in the eyes of the Government that had accepted him in implicit faith, and in the eyes of the People that had crowned him Leader in advance and on trust, his failure was absolute. No excuses were heard; no just and proper pleas of youth and inexperience were admitted in abatement. He had not been taken from the obscurity of his Cincinnati home, and his resigned Captaincy to a Major-Generalship above Harney and Wool, and the whole hierarchy of our body of regulars; from the theater of insignificant mountain skirmishes to the command of the grandest army ever assembled on the continent, and thence to the still giddier height of the command of all our armies, because he had been an industrious military student, and had written pains-taking accounts of the various organizations of European troops. So much was true of him, and with this basis for his starting-point, he might have run a creditable career. But this would not satisfy the vaulting ambition of his quick-witted and influential friends. The Country must take him—the Country did take him through their solicitation, and, (alas that it must be written!) through his own connivance—as a very god of War, leaping in full panoply, as from the brain of Jove himself, out of the smoke and coal-dust of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Office. Fifteen months of trial brought forth, perhaps respectable, but certainly neither god-like nor Napoleonic achievements; and so it came to pass, through an inevitable law of the human mind, that when,

*Plutarch, Life of Crœsus.

†For his achievements in West Virginia rose to no such dignity.

after this time, men spoke of him they gave no credit for what he really did, but recited what he had promised to do; treated him as men treat those who have obtained valuables of them under false pretenses; stigmatized the friends who had borne him forward as the utterers of false coin.

But these friends were blinder than the Bourbons. On the platform of military failure they conceived the project of erecting a fabric of political success. An elegant writer has very justly said, that "the outposts of an army mark the line where the sphere of party politics ends."* But in this case the very head-quarters of the army marked the spot where the sphere of party politics began. For more than a year the utterances of those head-quarters were addressed scarcely more to soldiers than to voters—were meant to inspire ballots quite as much as bayonets. From such command of the army, the General passed into the heat of a fervid Presidential campaign; and from that time whatever ill he had done was magnified and distorted by his opponents, whatever good he had done was magnified and distorted by his partisans, till the atmosphere about the man being thus perpetually disturbed, a clear, honest view of him was impossible.

If now, the war being over, and the political campaign which he led being no less definitely closed, we find, in reviewing his character and career, somewhat to praise, for which due praise has not been given, some blame to lift to other shoulders which his have thus far borne, it will be none the less satisfactory that at last an impartial judgment of the man and his doings seems possible.

George Brinton McClellan, the first General appointed in Ohio after the outbreak of the War for the Union, was born in Philadelphia, December 3d, 1826. His father, who was of Scottish descent, was a physician of high repute, and had been graduated from Yale College. Young McClellan spent his schoolboy days, under careful training, in Philadelphia; first in Mr. Walker's select school, then in Mr. Schipper's, then in the University of Pennsylvania. He came to be known as a solid, pains-taking scholar, not at all precocious, rather slow than otherwise in mastering his tasks, but likely to be thorough in anything which he professed to know.

When not quite sixteen years of age an appointment was procured for him at West Point, whither some hints of a military taste seemed to indicate that he should be sent. In the military academy he was guilty of no escapades, was involved in no combinations against the discipline of the institution. Youth and elasticity of spirits were happily bent to the duties of his class, and at the end of his four years he came out just what might have been expected from the promise of the preparatory schools, a good, plodding, industrious, well-read military scholar. One of his classmates has since made immortal the name of Stonewall Jackson. Among others were such names as John G. Foster, Jesse L. Reno, Darius N. Couch, George Stoneman, Dabney H. Maury, George H. Gordon, and George E. Pickett. Among these men Stonewall Jackson ranked

* Life of McClellan, by George S. Hillard, page 139.

seventeenth, George B. McClellan second, and Charles G. Stewart (now a Major of Engineers), the first. So worthless are academy standards as an indication of standing in life and in history!

Young McClellan, a well-educated, well-featured, well-mannered, strong-limbed boy of twenty, came out from the academy with the golden opinions of his professors, just as the outbreak of the Mexican War gave special meaning to the uniform he wore. He was at once assigned to the duty of organizing a company of sappers and miners, and, in September, he sailed with his command for the seat of war. Presently we find him a brevet Second Lieutenant, tracing lines of investment before Vera Cruz, under such immediate superiors as Captain R. E. Lee, First Lieutenant P. G. T. Beauregard, and Second Lieutenant G. W. Smith. Good old Colonel Totten thanked them all in a lot for their work, and reported them to Winfield Scott as having rendered engineering services whose value could not be overestimated.

Thenceforward we catch occasional glimpses of Lieutenant McClellan, in lists of official reports, in notes of recommendation to superior officers, in orders of thanks. At Cerro Gordo his command cleared away the obstacles in front of Pillow's assaulting columns; at Puebla, while reconnoitering, he captured a Mexican cavalryman; at Mexicalcingo he made another reconnoissance, and Lieutenant Beauregard saved him from capture; at Contreras, while posting batteries, he had two horses killed under him, and finally was himself knocked down by a spent grape shot, which struck the hilt of his sword. At last the City of Mexico was assaulted, and we get a fresh glimpse of Lieutenant McClellan at the San Cosme gate, burrowing with his miners through the walls of a block of adobe houses, to emerge in the street at the rear of a Mexican battery which held the gate, and, in his eagerness, falling full length into a ditch of dirty water that had nearly been the death of him. And so his services in Mexico ended.

Our boy of twenty was now a little more than a year older. He had seen some active campaigning; had behaved as any lad of spirit would; and had come out with praise and brevets, some of which he deserved, and some of which, to his credit, he refused.*

He returned with his company to West Point; and, for a time, was engaged in drilling them, (does it not sound characteristic that, writing to his sister-in-law of this formidable work, he should say, "I've enough to do to occupy half a dozen persons; but I rather think I can get through with it?") in writing military papers to be read before his club, and, finally, in translating from the French a manual of bayonet exercise for the use of our little army. Then followed a short service under Captain Marcy, in explorations on the Indian frontier; and a longer task of coast-soundings and harbor-surveys along the coast of Texas. A brief, business-like report to Colonel Totten, suggesting

* It is curiously illustrative of the value of these Mexican honors, and of the miscellaneous manner in which they were dealt out, that Lieutenant McClellan was brevetted Captain for "gallant conduct in the battle of Molino del Rey." He declined the honor, for the very satisfactory reason that he had not been present at the battle.

improvements in the harbors and giving estimates, closed this labor, in April, 1853.

Captain McClellan* was now given charge of an exploring expedition of his own among the Cascade Mountains of Oregon and Washington—being one of the general series of Pacific Railroad Explorations about this time ordered. The summer and fall were spent in the duties of this exploration—the result being, in brief, the report to the Secretary of War, that through the region explored he had found but two practicable passes for a railroad, the best of which, that of the Columbia River, was quite easy

On his return to Washington Captain McClellan was given the duty of visiting the West Indies secretly, and selecting a desirable coaling-station for the United States navy. He chose the harbor and peninsula of Samana, in Hayti, a point which the United States has thus far failed to secure.

In these various services Captain McClellan had shown industry and commendable skill. The Secretary of War, Mr. Jefferson Davis, now selected him as the third of a commission charged with the duty of visiting Europe, during the progress of the Crimean War, to take note of the military organizations and improvements there displayed. A year thus spent, with only average facilities for observation, resulted in an elaborate report to Secretary Davis on the organization of European armies—a work well but not brilliantly written, furnishing much that had been dug out of books and reports, and a little that was derived from personal observation, the whole giving a disproportionate prominence to the cavalry arm, to which the author had been recently transferred.

Shortly after his return, in January, 1857, Captain McClellan tendered his resignation as an officer of the army. He had been in it from boyhood; he was now thirty years of age and still a Captain. Other pursuits, for which his military education fitted him, offered pleasanter life and far more lucrative returns. He was soon selected as Engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad, and, shortly afterward, as its Vice-President. Here he continued for three years, winning little outside fame, but making such an impression upon railroad men, that in 1860 he was elected as the President of the Ohio and Mississippi. He accepted the situation, and removed to Cincinnati, where he continued to reside till the outbreak of the war.

In May, 1860, in his thirty-third year, he married Miss Ellen Marcy, the daughter of Captain R. B. Marcy, of the army, under whom he had served in his first frontier exploration.

Such was the entire public career of the man whom the Government was about to advance to its highest trusts. He had behaved well as a Second Lieutenant through the Mexican War; had, as an Engineer, made some good coast-soundings and a couple of minor frontier explorations, and had written a highly respectable work about European armies. But, beyond this, he had made such an impression upon the small body of men giving attention to the affairs of our

* For the Department had followed up its brevet for Molino del Rey by the better-deserved one of "Captain for meritorious services in the assault on the City of Mexico."

army, that they thought of him as among the most promising of its younger officers. His experience in civil life was practically nothing, save as connected with railroading. Of politics he knew nothing, and was careless. He had voted but once in his life; then it was in Illinois, against Mr. Lincoln and in favor of Mr. Douglas.

When the whirlwind of military enthusiasm, that followed the assault on Fort Sumter, swept over Ohio, Governor Dennison, overrun with military questions of which he felt himself ignorant, and with military applicants for offices the very duties of which he did not understand, felt at once the necessity of advice from experts, and cast about him for West Point officers. He had been largely in the railroad business himself, and thus happened to know that the Ohio and Mississippi road was managed by a Captain McClellan, of whom army men had spoken highly. He telegraphed for the Captain at once, asked his aid in the organization of the Ohio volunteers, and, at the request of the Captain himself, sent to Washington, asking his re-instatement in the regular army, in some position commensurate with the wants of the service. No immediate reply was received. Meantime, Captain McClellan two or three times visited the Governor's office, and spent an hour or two answering questions and making suggestions. Presently, under authority of a law hurried through the Legislature, Captain McClellan was appointed Major-General, and Messrs. Schleich, Cox, and Bates, Brigadier-Generals of Ohio Militia Volunteers. Three weeks later, on the 14th of May, 1861, the War Department, on the suggestion of General Scott, commissioned Captain McClellan a Major-General of the regular army; John C. Fremont being, on the same day, re-appointed to the army and promoted to the same rank. At the same time the new Major-General was assigned to the command of a department, embracing the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—so that Governor Dennison lost almost at the moment of receiving the aid he had sought in the organization of Ohio troops.

But he was soon to experience an unexpected result of the promotion he had suggested. A camp of instruction was formed near Cincinnati, known as Camp Dennison, where, as fast as they were raised, troops were rendezvoused and turned over to General McClellan and the other United States authorities. For months the people of the State were besieged with complaints as to the mismanagement of this camp, to the great injury of the recruiting service, not less than to the demoralization of the troops already raised. The whole burden of the complaint—for lack of proper food, insufficient arms, tents, clothing, everything—was laid upon Governor Dennison. General McClellan never uttered a word to relieve him of this obloquy, though the entire matter was all the time entirely in his own hands! Much of the complaint was unjust and unreasonable; but it would at least have been considerate, as well as a delicate courtesy to the man who had first appointed him, to have simply borne his own burdens.

One of General McClellan's earliest actions as department commander was to enter into negotiation with General Buckner, then Inspector-General of Ken-

tucky, on the subject of the "neutrality" of that State. He went so far as to agree that "the territory of Kentucky should be respected on the part of the United States, even though the Southern States should occupy it," only exacting a promise that, in this last case, Kentucky should try to drive them out, and, in event of her failure, McClellan should then have permission to do it, on condition of straightway retiring again to the north side of the Ohio River.*

* General McClellan having subsequently disputed General Buckner's statements concerning this agreement, and the matter having formed the subject of some acrimonious political discussion, I subjoin the correspondence of different parties concerned, throwing light upon it. General McClellan's denial is first given:

"GRAFTON, VIRGINIA, June 26, 1861.

"*Captain W Wilson, United States Navy:*

"My interview with General Buckner was personal, not official. It was solicited by him more than once. I made no stipulation on the part of the General Government, and regarded his voluntary promise to drive out the Confederate troops as the only result of the interview. His letter gives his own views, not mine. G. B. McCLELLAN."

"HEAD-QUARTERS KENTUCKY STATE GUARD,
LOUISVILLE, June 10, 1861.

"SIR: On the 8th instant, at Cincinnati, Ohio, I entered into an arrangement with Major-General George B. McClellan, commander of the United States troops in the States north of the Ohio River, to the following effect:

"The authorities of the State of Kentucky are to protect the United States property within the limits of the State, to enforce the laws of the United States in accordance with the interpretations of the United States Courts, as far as those laws may be applicable to Kentucky, and to enforce, with all the power of the State, our obligations of neutrality as against the Southern States, as long as the position we have assumed shall be respected by the United States.

"General McClellan stipulates that the territory of Kentucky shall be respected on the part of the United States, even though the Southern States should occupy it; but in the latter case he will call upon the authorities of Kentucky to remove the Southern forces from our territory. Should Kentucky fail to accomplish this object in a reasonable time, General McClellan claims the right of occupancy given the Southern forces. I have stipulated, in that case, to advise him of the inability of Kentucky to comply with her obligations, and to invite him to dislodge the Southern forces. He stipulates that, if successful in so doing, he will withdraw his forces from the territory of the State as soon as the Southern forces shall be removed.

"This, he assures me, is the policy he will adopt toward Kentucky.

"Should the Administration hereafter adopt a different policy, he is to give me timely notice of the fact.

"The well-known character of General McClellan is a sufficient guarantee for the fulfillment of every stipulation on his part.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"S. B. BUCKNER, Inspector-General."

"CINCINNATI, June 7, 1861.

"*To Hon. J. J. Crittenden, Frankfort, Kentucky:*

"The papers of this morning state that General Prentiss, commander United States forces at Cairo, has sent troops across the Ohio River into Kentucky. I have no official notice of such a movement; but I at once telegraphed General Prentiss for the facts, and stated to him that if the report were true, I disapproved his course, and ordered him to make no more such movements without my sanction previously obtained. GEO. B. McCLELLAN, Major-General."

"CINCINNATI, June 11, 1861.

"*Governor B. Magoffin:*

"I have received information that Tennessee troops are under orders to occupy Island No. 1, six miles below Cairo. In accordance with my understanding with General Buckner I call upon

And General Buckner was good enough to assure Governor Magoffin that "the well-known character of General McClellan is a sufficient guarantee for the fulfillment of every stipulation on his part." It is not known that there was any Government sanction for this extraordinary action; but, so anomalous and unsettled were the times, it was never noticed, and soon, of course, became a dead letter.

Meanwhile a few regiments of Ohio State troops had been hurried across the West Virginia border; they had been followed by Indiana re-enforcements, under General Thomas A. Morris, to whom General McClellan addressed a sagacious and comprehensive letter of instructions; and proclamations had been issued to the soldiers on taking the field, and to the West Virginians on entering their territory This last assured the people that there would be no interference with their slaves; that, on the contrary, "we will, with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part." The equipment of troops was hastened; most of all, efforts were made to secure adequate transportation, by which, at that early period, was meant not less than fifteen to eighteen wagons for a regiment.* At last, on the 20th of June, 1861, General McClellan himself started for the field.

The army now under the command of General McClellan at Grafton and Clarksburg, West Virginia, was about eighteen thousand strong. The Rebel force, under General Garnett, probably reached six thousand—fifteen hundred, under Colonel Pegram, in fortifications at Rich Mountain, the remaining forty-five hundred, under Garnett himself, in a fortified camp on Laurel Hill. The troops were equally raw on either side, and whatever advantage there was from the sympathy of the inhabitants inured to the benefit of the National forces.

The plan for the campaign, as elaborated during the few days spent by General McClellan at Grafton, was simple. Colonel Pegram's force at Rich Mountain was a mere outpost, protecting Garnett's flank and rear. If that could be suddenly overpowered, the victors would be planted upon Pegram's line of retreat. He was, therefore, to be amused by the demonstrations of a considerable force in his front while the outpost was being carried. Then, from front and rear, a simultaneous advance upon him was to end in his surrender of his whole command. To General Morris, with a force little if any superior to Garnett's, was assigned the task of moving upon his front and keeping him occupied on Laurel Hill, while General McClellan himself, at the head of the bulk of the army, was to move hastily from Clarksburg across the country

you to prevent this step. Do you regard the islands in the Mississippi River above the Tennessee line as within your jurisdiction? and if so, what ones?

"Respectfully, GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
"Major-General United States Army."

"FRANKFORT, June 11, 1861.

"*General Geo. B. McClellan, Cincinnati, Ohio:*

"General Buckner has gone to Paducah and Columbus; has orders to carry out his understanding with you; am investigating the questions of jurisdiction over the islands to which you allude; will answer further probably to-morrow. B. MAGOFFIN."

*Some of the troops moving on Philippi complained bitterly of having only twelve!

to Rich Mountain, capture Pegram, and reach Garnett's rear. McClellan's march was about four times as long as that of Morris. The latter officer made his movement on the night the order was received, reaching Laurel Hill a little after daybreak on the morning of the 7th of July.

General McClellan, however, found difficulties in getting up supplies—so early did this chronic complaint make its appearance—and was not ready for decisive movements at Rich Mountain until the 10th. General Rosecrans, commanding one of his brigades, then asked permission to make a detour and attack Pegram in the rear, to which General McClellan assented. Rosecrans fought and drove the enemy, bitterly complaining that McClellan utterly failed to second him by an attack in front. McClellan explains that he meant to do this—next morning! and that he was prevented from doing it then, up to the time when the news of Rosecrans's success arrived, by accidents to the artillery.* Pegram, however, beaten by Rosecrans, and with McClellan in his front, was compelled to take to the mountains, where, in a day or two, he surrendered the shattered remnants of his command. Garnett, hearing of this disaster, retreated, and McClellan having failed to move promptly forward in his rear,† the bulk of the Rebel army escaped in a demoralized condition, and with the loss of baggage and artillery—the latter secured by Morris's pursuit and engagement with the rear-guard.

Of this brief little campaign, afterward so loudly lauded and so little understood, it may be said that the conception was excellent and the execution indifferent. It was undertaken without orders from Washington and carried forward solely on the General's own responsibility. Up to the time when, having ordered Morris to Garnett's front at Laurel Hill, General McClellan put himself at the head of the main column, moving against Pegram, and so to Garnett's rear, he had controlled the various movements with good judgment. Once, however, in the field in person, he delayed needlessly, lost the advantage of a surprise, handled his force irresolutely and without nerve. In the excitement over Rosecrans's victory he seems to have forgotten that, in his original plan, this had been but a preliminary movement, and failed to move rapidly forward upon Garnett's rear. He thus lost the ultimate object of the whole campaign, in failing to secure the surrender of the main Rebel force. He had still seen no actual fighting, having at no time during the movement been so near troops in action as when, from his head-quarters tent, he listened to the sound of Rosecrans's guns, three miles away.

* Rep. Com. Con. War, series of 1865, Vol. I. Rosecrans's Campaigns, p. 6. McClellan's Report, preliminary chapter.—It is even true that McClellan, instead of attacking when he heard the sound of Rosecrans's guns, fearing, on account of the Rebel cheers, for the safety of his own camp, sent back orders to arm the teamsters, so as to be prepared for any emergency! Yet the force then about him (aside from Rosecrans's brigade) was more than double Pegram's entire command.

† It was not till the second day after Rich Mountain that McClellan reached Beverly. Garnett indeed supposed him to be there, and did not retreat that way; but had McClellan moved only a few miles toward him, he would have shut up the St. George Road, and prevented the possibility of retreat in *any* direction.

But Fortune, whom most soldiers at first find very like a step-mother in her regards, seemed determined to exhaust all means of forcing greatness upon this favorite young son. Four months ago a retired Captain, three months ago an officer of Ohio militia, he was already commander of a great department and the popular hero of a successful campaign. The Country, recovering from the stupefaction of Bull Run, read with delight the story of the marches and skirmishes that had liberated West Virginia. The newspapers, quick to furnish what was pleasing, dilated on the glories of the achievement, and compared it to Napoleon s liberation of Italy. General Scott, broken down under the failure before Washington, telegraphed General McClellan to come on and take command of the Potomac army, and the people hailed him as a victor, come from the mountains, to secure, by another campaign not less brief, results as much more brilliant as the field was more extensive.

Never was a General more completely master of the situation. The Government received him with unlimited confidence, and practically gave him unlimited power. The people, humiliated and chastened by Bull Run, hastened to support and re-enforce the new General. The soldiers, led to look upon him as a veritable "organizer of victory," became his enthusiastic champions. Arms, artillery, ammunition, horses, supplies were demanded for the reorganizing army on a scale rarely witnessed in the history of modern war, but there was no question of anything—it was McClellan who asked it. From every State the stream of new regiments set steadily to Washington, for McClellan had said that his army must be quadrupled.

When he took the command, he found the remnants of McDowell's Bull Run army, fifty thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry, and less than a thousand artillery with thirty guns. These men were dispirited by defeat and bad management. Their commissariat and quartermasters' arrangements were defective, and the vicious system of electing their own officers had effectually prevented any respectable discipline. McClellan at once addressed himself to the work of reorganization with a skill to be expected from one who had, under Government support, made the organization of armies a special study, and with a vigor which deserves the highest praise. A Provost-Marshal speedily thinned the streets of the stragglers and deserters, who were still retailing their stories of how they had performed prodigies of valor till the "Black Horse Cavalry" swept down at the very moment a "masked battery" had opened and was cutting them to pieces. A Board weeded out the incompetent officers. Thorough inspections, drill, and reviews reduced the regiments to discipline.

An accomplished tactician (General Casey) was assigned to the task of brigading the new troops as they came in. As they began to acquire some skill in the evolutions, and the qualifications of their commanders began to be ascertained, the brigades were formed into divisions.

A skillful artillerist (General Barry) was instructed to form an artillery establishment for the army, and a body of trained officers of the regular service were assigned to duty under him. Field batteries, composed of guns of uniform caliber, were assigned to divisions, in the proportion of at least five pieces to

each two thousand men; an artillery reserve of a hundred guns and a siege-train of nearly a hundred more were equipped, and careful instruction in their duties, both by text-books and practice, was given the artillerists of each division.*

Into the hands of a no less skillful "specialist," Major (subsequently Major-General) Barnard, of the Engineers, was given the task of placing Washington in a condition of defense. The works on the Virginia side were strengthened and connected, and fortifications soon began to crown the heights to the northward, till a chain of earthworks, professedly modeled on the lines of Torres Vedras,† encircled the Capital with a sweep of forts on every eminence, and infantry parapets spanning every valley for a circumference of thirty-three miles.

In like manner the Quartermaster's and Commissariat Departments were reorganized, competent Ordnance officers were appointed; the whole business of the army was systematized.

In all this it is true that the plans were not of General McClellan's origination. General Barry submitted a memorandum of the principles on which the artillery should be organized; General Barnard traced the fortifications; General McDowell had left a nucleus of fifty thousand men, properly brigaded and divisioned; General Casey took charge of the new levies of infantry, and General Stoneman of those of cavalry. Nor were the plans new plans; the work was but to follow the beaten path which the best armies of Europe had trodden for a hundred years. But it was McClellan who enforced the necessity for this work, and selected these men for their respective duties; who procured for them the materials they demanded; who supervised their operations, and after due investigation, gave to all the sanction of his authority.

Of high credit for all this, no fair criticism can deprive General McClellan. It was not great work, stamping its author as a man of the highest genius, but it was congenial work, exactly in the line of his studies, leading him over precisely the ground, in the whole scope of the Art of War, with which he was most familiar, and he did it faithfully, wisely, and well. "If other Generals, the successors of McClellan, were able to achieve more decisive results than he, it was in no small degree because they had the perfect instrument he had fashioned to work withal."‡

But now the army had grown to triple its original size. Three months had been consumed in giving it form and consistency; while, meantime, a foe every way its inferior held it close under the fortifications of the besieged Capital. The people had by no sign or word diminished the fullness of the trust in which, with touching patience, they awaited their General's own time for using this trenchant blade. The very *abandon* of their confidence increased the weight under which it placed the trusted General.

But already had begun the development of that strange perversity of vision

* Report Engineer and Artillery Operations Army Potomac, p. 106.

† Barnard's Report, p. 12. ‡ Swinton's History Army of Potomac, p. 61.

which was to prove among the foremost causes for the downfall of the popular idol; that worse than near-sightedness which not only diminished tenfold whatever obstacles were at a distance or in other departments, but no less exaggerated such as were near at hand. As early as the 4th of August General McClellan had, in an elaborate memorandum, assured the President that no large additions to the troops in Missouri were needed, that twenty thousand would form an amply strong column for Kentucky and Tennessee, and that for his own army he would need two hundred and seventy-three thousand men! Toward the close of October, having then an army of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand, he informed the Secretary of War that he considered at least two hundred and eight thousand requisite to enable him to advance! And his reason for demanding this colossal army was, that "the enemy have a force on the Potomac not less than one hundred and fifty thousand strong, well-drilled and equipped, ably commanded, and strongly intrenched!" Outside the head-quarters few then believed the enemy's force to be more than half this number; we now know from General Jos. E. Johnston's official report, and from the actual consolidated morning returns of his army, that the entire Rebel strength in Northern Virginia on 31st of October, 1861, was sixty-six thousand two hundred and forty-three, of which only forty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-one were present for duty. General McClellan, while ciphering his own army down to its lowest point, depreciating its arms, and complaining of its rawness, had magnified the raw levies of the enemy nearly fourfold, and had ascribed to them an equipment and discipline which, according to the confessions of their own commanders, they neither had then, nor ever subsequently acquired! But he still thought he might move by the 25th of November.

Meantime, as vague hints of these strange conceptions of the enemy's force, and these enormous demands percolated official circles, a feeling of uneasiness began to appear. The Rebel columns, in a spirit of taunting braggadocio, had been advanced till their flags could be seen from the President's windows. Rebel batteries lined the Potomac till, with an enormous army lying idly about it, and a sufficient navy within call, the Capital of the Nation was actually blockaded. Foreign nations construed the endurance of these things as signs of conscious weakness; and statesmen regarded the danger of European intervention, or at least of European recognition of the Southern Confederacy, as imminent. A strange affair happened at Ball's Bluff, on the Upper Potomac, not indeed by General McClellan's direct orders, but certainly with his implied sanction, in which there was a sad waste of life, without appreciable object, and under the grossest mismanagement; and the fall in it of a highly-esteemed Senator of the United States intensified the public horror at the details. But when men asked why our immense force did not remedy some of these things, they were pointed, for answer, to the glittering staff surrounding the handsome young Napoleon, as he swept down the Avenue and across the Long Bridge to some new review, to the sight of which, as to a holiday parade, the wives and daughters of Congressmen had been invited.

Still, though the whispers swelled to muttering, there was little open dis-

content, and when, at the close of October, the President was called to appoint a successor to General Scott, he was subsequently able to say, "neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected."* It was indeed known, even then, to a few, that the retiring chieftain had bitterly complained of lack of respect and even of actual insubordination on the part of General McClellan; but Scott was old and testy, and little importance was attached to these complaints.†

By the middle of November, however, the patience of the public became pretty thoroughly wearied, and frequent demands were made as to why nothing could be done with the grand Army of the Potomac. But there had now sprung up about the General commanding a knot of parasites and flatterers, who deemed such inquiries from those whose sons and brothers constituted this army a great impertinence. The General was maturing his plans; they would in due time be found to cover every point and satisfy every expectation; and till he chose, in his own good time, to develop them in action, it only became the public to be thankful for his genius and to admire such fruits of it as were already apparent. Talk like this from the head-quarters was taken up and amplified by the newspapers, and for months the public heard little but eulogies upon the matchless General and his mysterious plans; glowing descriptions of his martial appearance on a review; and sanguine accounts of the havoc he would work upon the Rebel hordes, when once his strategy dictated the time for placing himself at the head of his heroic battalions and leading them to glory. Meanwhile, sword presentations, addresses of admiring delegations, and the like filled up the time, and still the Army of the Potomac lay motionless before Washington, while Rebel guns by river and by land still besieged it.

It would seem—so absolute was the deference with our young favorite of Fortune yet commanded—that even now the President failed to require of him his reasons for continued inaction. He himself informs us‡ that, "had the discipline, organization, and equipment of the army been as complete, at the close of the fall as was necessary, the unprecedented condition of the roads and Virginia soil would have delayed an advance till February." Here, again, we have the strange visual defect. The unprecedented condition of the roads consisted in this, as described by a Southern annalist: "A long, lingering Indian summer, with roads more hard and skies more beautiful than Virginia had seen for many a year, invited the enemy (*i. e.*, the United States forces), to advance. He steadily refused the invitation to a general action; the advance of our lines to Munson's Hill was tolerated, and opportunities were sought in vain by the Confederates, in heavy skirmishing, to engage the lines of the two armies. The young Napoleon was twitted as a dastard in the Southern newspapers." ‖

With an army nearly four times the size of that which confronted it, the

* President's Annual Message, December, 1861.

† The letter on which these statements are based was written by General Scott before his resignation, and was read by Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in the course of debate in the House of Representatives, nearly two years later.

‡ McClellan's Report, Government edition, p. 35. ‖ Pollard's History, Vol. I, p. 184.

daily increasing demand of the public, who, after all, controlled the war, for a movement that should at least clear away the Rebels from the front of the Capital, was reasonable. As General-in-Chief, McClellan naturally desired that the movements of the Potomac army should be simultaneous with those of the Western armies, whose "total unpreparedness" he makes a plea for still further delay. But a special movement upon Manassas would not have interfered with such subsequent co-operation, while its moral effect would have been invaluable. Here was the grave error General McClellan now committed. Accepting the confidence with which he had been received as an unreserved tribute to his merits, he forgot that the stress under which he was placing popular expectation must within a reasonable time be relieved; that he could not be forever taken upon trust, while, in the absence of actual performance, he called for such supplies as were unheard of in this country, and almost unparalleled among the most warlike nations of Europe. But to the complaints which indignant Congressmen soon began to make, the only reply from head-quarters came from the glittering young staff-officers, who roundly denounced the interference of civilians, and especially of politicians, in military affairs, which they could not be expected to understand.

The winter passed in profound inactivity. General letters of instruction were addressed to the commanders of the various departments, all good, and in one case (that of the letter to General Butler, giving directions for the movement against New Orleans), exceptionally clear-sighted and explicit. No new operations, however, were planned; the General-in-Chief seemed satisfied either with countermanding or permitting the completion of the operations already in progress.

The stress of the public demand, that something should be shown in return for the vast resources bestowed upon the commander of the Army of the Potomac, became greater; the danger of foreign recognition was now known to be imminent; and Mr. Lincoln grew very uneasy. "If General McClellan does not want to use the Army of the Potomac," he said, quaintly and almost pathetically, to some officers with whom he was consulting, "I should like very much to borrow it of him;" and, "if something is not done soon, the bottom will be out of the whole affair."* Just at this time McClellan became ill; and, in his distress, the President, failing several times to secure interviews with his General-in-Chief, sent for other officers, and sought, by their aid, to find out how "something could be done." Before the last of these consultations, General McClellan recovered. He scarcely concealed his chagrin at what had been going on, and with great reluctance imparted even to the President, the purposes he had been nourishing so long. These, it proved, were to transfer the army by water to the Lower Chesapeake, and move thence from some such base as Urbana on the Rappahannock, against Richmond, leaving at Washington only a sufficient body of the newest troops to garrison the forts.

But, on the 13th of January, before the President, members of the Cabinet,

* McDowell's Memorandum of Interviews with President Lincoln. Swinton's History Army Potomac, p. 80.

and army officers, whom the President had called in consultation, General McClellan, after evading a direct answer to the question what he intended to do with the army, had finally protested against developing his plans, unless under peremptory orders, but had given assurance that he had a time fixed for beginning operations. Two weeks later, the President having received no further information, had lost all patience and issued a peremptory order, fixing a date, about a month in advance, for the movement of all the armies of the United States. After this, McClellan came forward with his plan for taking sail to Fortress Monroe. There was manifestly not time to accomplish this and be ready for offensive operations within the time already fixed by the President. Partly for this reason, partly also, without doubt, because of a sincere conviction of the injudicious nature of the plan, Mr. Lincoln promptly disapproved it, and ordered instead a turning movement against Manassas.

McClellan, instead of obeying, inquired if this order was final, or if he might present his objections to it in writing. Leave was granted, his objections were set forth, and finally, less because the President was convinced than because he feared that he could look for no hearty execution of any other plan, he yielded to McClellan's urgency, and ordered the water transportation to be prepared for the execution of McClellan's plan, requiring, however, that it should be approved by his corps commanders, that the Rebel blockade of the Potomac should be broken, and that an ample force should be left for the security of Washington.

While these preparations were in progress, the enemy quietly evacuated Manassas, in pursuance of measures begun three weeks before, for moving nearer their base of supplies. The troops of the grand Army of the Potomac were now marched out, over the roads which up to this time had been gazetted as "impassable," and then, there being nothing for them to do, were marched back again. The movement intensified the popular discontent, and led to innumerable pasquinades.

At last the preparations for the long-expected movement were complete. Eighteen thousand men only were left in garrison at Washington, but General McClellan reckoned, as also available for its defense, the thirty-five thousand in the Shenandoah Valley, and those at Warrenton and Manassas. One hundred and twenty-one thousand (besides Blenker's division, withdrawn at the start, and McDowell's corps, subsequently withheld), were left for the movement from Fortress Monroe.

The temper of the Administration, by this time, may be inferred from the closing sentence of an order from the Secretary of War: "Move the remainder of the force down the Potomac, choosing a new base at Fortress Monroe, or anywhere between here and there, or at all events, move such remainder of the army at once in pursuit of the enemy by some route!"* Under such pressure, the movement finally began. By the 2d of April — eight months after receiving the command — General McClellan was at Fortress Monroe, ready to begin his campaign. He had, in the meantime, possessed the unlimited confidence of the

* McClellan's Report, Government edition, p. 60.

Government and the country, and had measurably lost that of both; he had received the baton of General-in-Chief, and had lost it again; had at first been so absolute that not even the President thought of inquiring as to his plans; and had at last been fairly ordered out of Washington in words that, scarcely veiled in polite phraseology, meant "go anywhere, move anywhere you please, only let us have an end of excuses—do *something*." He still possessed, however, in a remarkable degree, the admiration of his untried soldiers.

General McClellan's original plan had been to land at Urbana on the Rappahannock, and move thence on Richmond. The retreat of Johnston from Manassas, placing the Rebel army behind the line of the Rappahannock, had prevented this. He had then proposed to move up the James. The presence of the dreaded Rebel iron-clad Merrimac prevented this. And so it was now determined to move up the York River.

The second day's march brought the army to a halt. It was discovered that the Rebels had earthworks at Yorktown as well as at Manassas. These works were manned by General Magruder, (an officer who in the old army had ranked chiefly as a coxcomb), with a force, in all, of not quite eleven thousand men.* Here, at the very outset of his campaign, where if ever vigor and dash were required, that the objective might be reached before the enemy had time to concentrate his troops on the new line of operations, General McClellan's evil genius overcame him. All his troops not yet having arrived, he only had about five times as large an army as that which confronted him, and so he deliberately sat down to besiege them! His information, he said, "placed General Magruder's command at from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand men, independently of General Huger's force at Norfolk, estimated at about fifteen thousand men!† Huger's real force at Norfolk is now known to have been eight thousand, so that the whole force possible to be combined against General McClellan at Yorktown was nineteen thousand, instead of the thirty-five thousand which he thus estimates. It was the painful story of "one hundred and fifty thousand behind the intrenchments of Manassas" over again.

Then General Johnston had arrived with part of the Manassas army, and he felt sure that he "should have the whole force of the enemy, not less than one hundred thousand," on his hands! "In consequence of the loss of Blenker's division and McDowell's corps," his force was already "possibly less than that of the enemy."‡ And one of his corps Generals confidentially wrote, with his approval, that "the line in front of us is one of the strongest ever opposed to an invading force in any country."‖ In point of fact, General Johnston had then brought down no re-enforcements at all, had only come to inspect the defenses,

* This seems to be the largest number that any of the authorities will allow. It is proper, however, to say that Pollard (Southern History of the War, p. 293) says that Magruder had only seven thousand five hundred. Magruder himself reports his strength, exclusive of the garrisons at Gloucester Point and elsewhere, at five thousand.

† McClellan's Report, Government edition, p. 74.

‡ McClellan's Report, Government edition, p. 79. ‖ Ibid, p. 81.

had pronounced them faulty in construction, and untenable, (in which opinion he was fully sustained by General Robert E. Lee, then chief-of-staff to Mr Davis), and had therefore strongly recommended the entire evacuation of the Peninsula.*

That the Rebel works at Yorktown could and should have been taken by assault, without one day's delay, is therefore a verdict which no informed military critic, in the light of facts now known, will presume to question. But while nothing can excuse the General, who, at the outset of a great campaign planned by himself, suffers a force only one-tenth as great as his own to paralyze his army and destroy his plans, there are still some circumstances which tend to place General McClellan's conduct in a more favorable light. He had desired to turn Yorktown by a movement on Gloucester, but the navy was unwilling to undertake its share of such an enterprise, and McDowell's corps, to which he had assigned the task, failed to reach him. His mind, always morbid on the subject of the numbers of his army, was thus greatly depressed; he never formed new plans with rapidity, and his old ones for the disposition of his troops were thus shattered. And to this it should be added, that the opinion of his engineer was decidedly against assault.†

It may further be remarked, that while nothing can excuse General McClellan's failure to use the abundant forces he had, in sweeping over Yorktown and on up the peninsula, there is likewise no sufficient excuse for the vexations to which the Administration now subjected him. He had been given the command of Fortress Monroe and the forces there, that he might thus control his own base of operations. Alarmed at finding how nearly he had stripped Washington of effective troops, and fearing a similar performance at Fortress Monroe, this command was taken from him, almost before he had begun to exercise it—a humiliation, under all the circumstances, which it was unwise to inflict upon a General left at the head of an army If he could not be trusted with the troops at his own base, he could not be trusted with troops anywhere, and the Administration should have promptly superseded him. Equally unwise was the withdrawal

* The above facts have been repeatedly stated by both the Confederate Generals named. They may be found as given by General Johnston to the author, in Swinton's History Army Potomac, pp. 102, 103.

† I make no account whatever of the two excuses urged by General McClellan himself in his report, and continued, in the form of charges, against the Administration, with such pertinacity by his friends; viz., that there had been just ground to expect the co-operation of the navy, and that there was just cause of complaint for the withholding of McDowell's corps.

It was General McClellan's business, before he set out on a campaign to which the Government had been steadily opposed from the beginning, and which was only tolerated in deference to his persistent advocacy of it, and virtual unwillingness to undertake any other, to *know* whether or not he could count on the support of the navy. His Council of Corps Commanders had made this a peremptory *sine qua non*, (McClellan's Report, p. 60), and he had given the President assurance that the conditions imposed by that Council had been complied with.

The disposition made of McDowell's corps by Mr. Lincoln was, of course, unmilitary, and the consequent disappointment great, but the force left General McClellan was still overwhelmingly superior to that of the enemy, or to any force which, for the next three weeks, the enemy could, by any possibility, have concentrated against him. And, furthermore, eleven thousand of McDowell's corps *did* reach him before he left Yorktown.

of McDowell's corps. It was not needed for the defense of Washington; and although it was true that McClellan still had an ample force for his work, yet he had been fairly led to rely upon more, and should not have been disappointed.

The siege went on—to the infinite mortification of the President, who wrote, "the country will not fail to note, is noting now, that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated."* But the General's requisitions were all promptly filled; an enormous siege-train, comprising one and two hundred-pounder rifled guns, was gathered about the handful of Rebels under Magruder; rope mantlets were constructed in New York for the batteries; shells were forwarded, charged with Greek fire; the whole army was delayed from the 4th of April to the 4th of May; and then—let poor General Barry, of the artillery, finish the story: "It will always be a source of great professional disappointment to me, that the enemy, by his premature abandonment of his defensive line, deprived the artillery of the Army of the Potomac of the opportunity of exhibiting the superior power and efficiency of the unusually heavy metal used in this siege!"† That was all! The enemy had waited till the siege-train was ready to open, and then had quietly retreated, leaving their empty works and the heavy guns (taken from the Norfolk Navy-yard) which they had been unable to carry with them.

Sumner's corps was at once pushed forward in pursuit. Resistance might well be expected, for the existence of considerable defensive works at Williamsburg, twelve miles up the peninsula from Yorktown, was well known at headquarters.‡ If the pursuit was of any use at all, it was likely to reach the trains near this point; and, with fortifications ready to his hand, the Rebel commander would be sure to make a stand till his trains were saved. But, either these considerations did not occur to General McClellan, or the disappointment of the unexpected retreat had so destroyed his poise of mind that he was incapable of perceiving the import of such facts, or he did not consider that, a battle being imminent, his presence was necessary

In any event this was what he did: Remaining at Yorktown to superintend the starting of Franklin's division, which he had decided to send up the York River on transports, he permitted the eager troops to push forward, without reconnoissance, upon the batteries of Williamsburg. What followed may be easily inferred. The cavalry advance had warned General Johnston of the pursuit, and he had hastily sent back Longstreet to man the deserted works. Before our infantry arrived, night had fallen, a heavy rain came on, the troops bivouacked in confusion in the woods. Next morning Hooker found himself, with his division, confronting the Rebel intrenchments. He immediately cleared his front and opened fire with a couple of batteries. Longstreet responded by a series of efforts to turn his flank. Hooker was left completely

* McClellan's Report, Government edition, p. 84.

† Engineer and Artillery Operations Army Potomac: Barry's Report, p. 134.

‡ Ibid, Barnard's Report, p. 63.

unsupported, suffered heavily, and about four o'clock was running out of ammu nition, when the opportune arrival of Kearney enabled him to re-form his line and maintain his position. Meantime, about noon, Hancock's brigade, almost by accident, as it would seem, stumbled into the extreme flank of the enemy' works (which had been neglected in the heat of the contest with Hooker), and thus held a position commanding his flank and rear. But, instead of being re enforced, he was now ordered to fall back. Night came on again, the wet and hungry troops threw themselves on the ground, and the battle was over. Nex morning it was found that Longstreet, having secured the desired delay, had continued the retreat. Hooker had lost two thousand men in a needless conflict which he was left to bear alone, while thirty thousand soldiers were within sound of his firing and almost within sight of his colors; and the General of the army was twelve miles in the rear, supervising the departure of transports.

There was now open to General McClellan the route which he had previously characterized as "promising the most brilliant results." The enemy had destroyed the Merrimac, on the evacuation of Yorktown, and there was no longer anything to prevent a combined land and naval advance up the James River, which, in ten days, as it would now seem, might have planted the National flag on the Confederate capitol at Richmond. But, whether through the same disturbance of mind that led to loading transports instead of supervising the advance of the army upon fortified positions, or whether the General's attention had become so morbidly fixed upon the possibility of still having McDowell's corps march overland to re-enforce him, that he could see nothing else, it is certain that no further thought was given to the James, and the movement of troops up the York River went deliberately on. By the 16th of May, twelve days after the evacuation of Yorktown, the head of navigation on the Pamunkey River (a continuation of the York) had been reached; and in two weeks more the troops had crossed the intervening twenty or thirty miles, and reached the Chickahominy. These movements were greatly hindered by the difficult nature of the roads. But while admitting this as sufficient explanation of much of the delay, we can not omit to add that General McClellan had himself foreclosed the admission of such excuses in his behalf at as early a day as the 3d of February, when, in the course of a communication protesting against having to execute Mr. Lincoln's order to move against Manassas, and setting forth the superior advantages of his own plan, he had particularly urged that, on the Peninsula, "the roads are passable at all seasons of the year."*

By this time, however, owing to the delays which had filled up the season from the 17th of March to the 30th of May in moving the army from Washington to the Chickahominy, the enemy had been given ample time to concentrate his forces. So consummate a strategist as General Jos. E. Johnston was not likely to leave unimproved so signal an advantage. The interval was employed in gathering the whole army of Northern Virginia, as well as that of the Peninsula, into the defenses of Richmond, with the passage and enforcement of

* McClellan's Report, Government edition, p. 47.

the conscription bill, and with the most vigorous and successful efforts to put the army in thorough fighting trim. So now, when at last the army of the Potomac began really to confront the enemy it was to encounter, the mind of its commander was already weighed down again by the chronic fear of numerical inferiority. Even from Williamsburg, whence he had exultantly telegraphed that he "was pursuing hard, and should push the enemy to the wall," he had, within a day or two, written that, if not re-enforced, he would be "obliged to fight nearly double his numbers, strongly intrenched." Four days later he assured the President that he would have to attack an intrenched foe, "much larger, perhaps double his numbers." He did not think "it would be at all possible" for him "to bring more than seventy thousand men upon the field of battle." Yet at this time his own reports show his strength to have been one hundred and twenty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-seven, of whom he had given eleven thousand leave of absence; but, deducting all absentees, sick, deserters, and men under arrest, he had actually present for duty, one hundred and four thousand six hundred and ten.

But so strenuous were his representations, and so continuous his calls for re-enforcements, that, on the afternoon of the 18th of May, twenty-four hours before the army reached the Chickahominy, the President ordered the portion of McDowell's corps, which had still been withheld, to march overland to join him. Six days later—that is to say, four days after McClellan's arrival at the Chickahominy—he was notified that McDowell must be again withheld, Stonewall Jackson having broken loose in the Valley. Thenceforward General McClellan understood that whatever he did at Richmond he must do with the forces he had; and he was further notified by the weary and alarmed President that "the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defense of Washington."

There is no need here to add anything to the disputes of which this disposition of McDowell's corps has been the prolific theme. Two points, however, are worthy of notice. There was no wisdom in the President's use of McDowell; in so far McClellan was right. The corps was sent on a fool's errand (a "stern-chase" after Stonewall Jackson), at a time and by a route that rendered success physically impossible. But McClellan was *not* forced (as he claims in his report), by the promise of this corps, and by the subsequent uncertainty concerning it, to attack Richmond from the north, instead of seeking the line of the James. Eight days before he learned that McDowell was ordered to him, at Roper's Church, on the 11th of May, the decision was made *not* to move to the James, but to continue on the Williamsburg Road to Richmond.*

* Furthermore, in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he subsequently stated that "the navy was not at that time in a condition to make the James River perfectly sure for our supplies. I remember that the idea of moving on the James River was seriously discussed at that time. But the conclusion was arrived at that, under the circumstances then existing, the route actually followed was the best." So that General McClellan became entangled in the swamps of the Chickahominy, not because he expected re-enforcements to reach him there from Fredericksburg, but because he had previously decided that, under the circumstances, that was the best route.

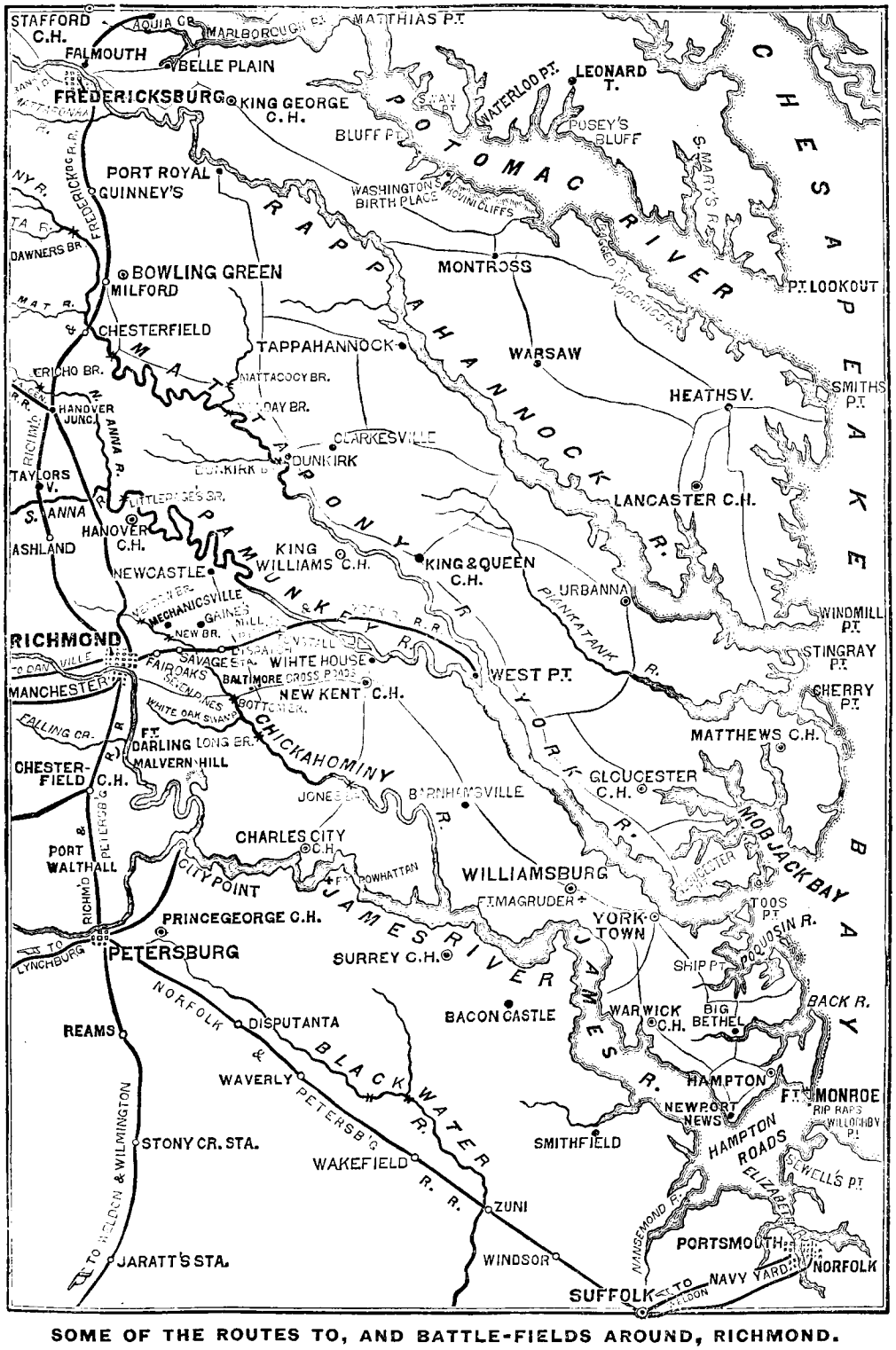
Replying to the President's remark that he must soon attack Richmond o come to the defense of Washington, General McClellan telegraphed (25t May) that "the time is very near when I shall attack Richmond." The nex day he "hoped soon to be within shelling distance." And later in the day "We are quietly closing in upon the enemy, preparatory to the last struggle.

Yet all this time, and for five days longer, he allowed his army to lie alon the Chickahominy, one-third on the Richmond side, the remainder on th northern side, with bridges only for the one wing, and with a march of nea twenty miles to be made by the remainder of the army before, in case of attack the bridges could be reached over which to re-enforce it. The position wa most unfortunate—necessary, possibly, for a day or two; but all the mor potent, therefore, as a reason for hastening such operations as should reunite th army, now perilously divided in the face of the "enemy of double its numbers.'

General Johnston perceived the exposure, and instantly gave orders t profit by it. A heavy storm the same night swelled the Chickahominy, flood ing the lowlands; and, while it rendered the attack more difficult, it likewis increased the danger of the isolated wing and the difficulties in the way of re enforcing it. By ten o'clock Johnston struck the front of Casey's division, and speedily crumbled it up. The troops were rallied at General Couch's position at Seven Pines. Presently this division was likewise repulsed and broken in two; and Kearney, advancing on the left, was hurled back into the swamp. The whole corps seemed about to be annihilated, when the fortune of the day was changed by the entrance of a column from the north side of the Chickahominy. Sumner, with the soldierly instinct that led him toward the sound of a battle, had called out his troops as soon as the firing began; and when he learned that re-enforcements were needed, not daring to delay by marching to the bridges in rear of the imperiled corps, adventured across the swollen stream on an imperfect bridge, which he had himself been building, that was all afloat, and swung taut against the ropes which tied it to stumps on the bank, and alone prevented it from floating off. By great good fortune it bore the corps across; a few hours later it was impassable.

This, then, was the column that saved the day. General Johnston was wounded; his forces retreated before Sumner's splendid charge; and, in the opinion of many of the best officers of the army, this defeat of Fair Oaks, thus suddenly converted into a victory, might have been followed by a successful advance of the army of the Potomac into Richmond.* But, only too well con-

*William Henry Hurlbert, a partisan of McClellan's, then in Richmond, says of the effect of this defeat in the Rebel capital: "The roads into Richmond were literally crowded with stragglers, some throwing away their guns, some breaking them on the trees—all with the same story, that their regiments had been cut to pieces, that the Yankees were swarming on the Chickahominy like bees, and fighting like devils. In two days of the succeeding week the Provost-marshal's guard collected between four thousand and five thousand stragglers, and sent them into camp. What had become of the command no one knew." If to these five thousand stragglers be added the seven thousand Rebel loss in the battle, we have an aggregate of twelve thousand taken out of a force which at best did not yet exceed sixty-five thousand around Richmond. Under the circumstances would not McClellan's one hundred thousand have had a fair chance for vanquishing the remainder?



SOME OF THE ROUTES TO, AND BATTLE-FIELDS AROUND, RICHMOND.

tent at having so narrowly escaped the destruction of one-third of his army, General McClellan recalled Sumner from the pursuit, when within four miles of Richmond, and sent his troops to resume their old positions. He was not on the field during the fighting, and his only share in bringing about the barren victory consisted in directing Sumner to cross, after that old hero had for hours been awaiting such orders.

And now began a change, of ill-omen to the procrastinating General on the Chickahominy, and to the brave army he was keeping out of action. General Johnston, who had hitherto controlled the Rebel movements around Richmond, had never been a favorite with their Government, and his representations of the necessity of concentration to oppose McClellan's advance had fallen upon unwilling ears. At the very time when this latter officer was telegraphing, from day to day, that the enemy was double his numbers, that enemy was vainly striving to secure re-enforcements from the Valley of Virginia and from the sea-coast, that should bring his numbers up to even two-thirds of those of his assailant. But it was now seen that General Johnston's wound was likely to keep him long out of the field, and Mr. Davis was nowise loth to improve the opportunity by filling his place with his own Chief-of-Staff and particular favorite, General Robert E. Lee. The change was fatal to McClellan. For, such was General Lee's influence with his Government, that the troops for which his predecessor had vainly applied, were freely given him, and the long-talked-of Rebel concentration about Richmond really began. The army of Beauregard was broken up and transferred to Lee; troops were brought in from other points on the sea-coast; the conscription, now beginning to work effectively, was made to yield its best fruits to the Richmond army Worst of all, General Lee took measures for the secret and speedy return of Stonewall Jackson's tried troops from the Valley.

Thus the danger which McClellan had discounted, to borrow a figure from the stock-brokers, so long in advance, was now actually upon him. There was yet time to escape it; but the crisis, which from the moment of his landing on the Peninsula, had demanded speedy and vigorous movements, now more than ever, and more imperatively, demanded them. But a strange stupor seemed to settle down upon his army. Its perilous position, astride the Chickahominy, with the boggy lowlands intervening to retard the movements of either wing to the support of the other, was continued, and the line was even extended; while no effort was made to secure the base of supplies, which lay almost as accessible to Lee's army as to his own. And here, in this anomalous position, he continued building bridges and constructing great lines of fortifications, as if, with the Rebel army daily swelling before him, he meant to enter upon another siege.

And yet it would seem that he was fully sensible of the dangers of his position and the necessity of assuming the offensive. On the 2d of June, two days after the battle of Fair Oaks, he telegraphed that he hoped almost immediately "to cross the right," which still lay north of the Chickahominy, and thus reunite his army. On the 4th, as if expecting an immediate battle, he

begged to know what re-enforcements he could receive "within the next three days." On the 7th: "I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward and take Richmond the moment McCall reaches here, and the ground will admit the passage of artillery." On the 10th: "I shall attack as soon as the weather and ground will permit. * * I wish to be distinctly understood, that whenever the weather permits I shall attack with whatever force I may have." On the 12th General McCall arrived, and on the 14th McClellan telegraphed, "weather now very favorable." These were the conditions that were to place him in "perfect readiness to move forward and take Richmond," but now "the indications are, from our balloon reconnoissances and from all other sources, that the enemy are intrenching, daily increasing in numbers, and determined to fight desperately." That was all! No word of moving forward and taking Richmond, (although on the 18th he did say "a general engagement may take place any hour"); but, six days later, on the 20th, this: "I would be glad to have permission to lay before your Excellency, by letter or telegraph, my views as to the present state of military affairs throughout the whole country. In the meantime I would be pleased to learn the disposition, as to numbers and position, of the troops not under my command, in Virginia and elsewhere." This remarkable proposition, that the General of an invading army, in a perilous position, with one wing isolated from the rest of the army, with a daily increasing enemy, and the necessity of doing something hourly more and more urgent, should stop to furnish his government a volunteer essay on the general aspects of a war that covered half a continent; meantime requesting, as preparatory thereto, a detailed statement of the positions and numbers of all the troops in the country, seemed, for a time, to exhaust his energies. It was not till five days later—eleven days after he was "in perfect readiness to take Richmond"—that, on the 25th, "an advance of our picket-line of the left was ordered, preparatory to a general forward movement." Precisely three hours later, "several contrabands came in," giving such information that the General abandoning, it would seem, all thought of his "forward movement," telegraphed, "I shall have to contend against vastly superior odds; but this army will do all in the power of men to—hold their position and repulse any attack!"*

It is the strangest, and, were it not so tragic, it would be the most ludicrous chapter of the whole sad story. One day just about to advance and take Richmond; the next just ready to move; the next likely to have a battle any hour; the next desirous of furnishing the Government his views on the war at large; the next heroically resolved to—hold his position and repulse any attack. The perpetually recurring mystery is how the Government persuaded itself to leave such Unreadiness and Uncertainty incarnate in command of its finest army

Even at this late day it was still possible to move successfully against Richmond, or at least to deliver general battle in front of Richmond, with fair prospects of success, and with elaborate fortifications for refuge in case of defeat. Forty-eight hours afterward it was too late.

*McClellan's Report, Government edition, pages 113 to 121.

For now General Lee had gathered his forces, had recalled Jackson, was ready for the onset. A preliminary cavalry raid had circled the Army of the Potomac, shown him how exposed was McClellan's base, and laid bare the danger of the isolated right wing, which still held the north bank of the Chickahominy. Leaving, therefore, Magruder with twenty-five thousand men to occupy the bulk of McClellan's army on the south side of the Chickahominy, facing Richmond, Lee massed the remainder of his forces,* and, moving away to the north-westward from Richmond, crossed the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge with his advance, then, turning down the north side of the stream, confronted Fitz John Porter's isolated corps. A sharp fight ensued, in which Porter held his ground and inflicted severe punishment upon the enemy Jackson had not yet arrived, but it was known that another day must bring him within co-operating distance of the rest of Lee's army.

General McClellan was promptly advised of the appearance of the Rebel column that afternoon on his isolated right. Now, therefore, having, by a month's delay astride the Chickahominy, lost the initiative, it behooved him forthwith to decide where and how he would meet the attack which the enemy was about to deliver. He had on that day present for duty one hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and two men.† His antagonist had an aggregate of about ninety-five thousand; but General McClellan believed him to have one hundred and eighty thousand. Acting under this belief, it would seem that the moment he found himself about to be attacked he resolved to retreat. He had definitely rejected the idea of adopting the James River route two months before, at Roper's Church, and, indeed, even before that, at Williamsburg. Knowing for weeks that he had no longer a hope of being joined by McDowell's corps, marching overland, he was free, if he had now seen occasion to revise that previous judgment, to transfer his base to the James River. But, having adhered to his position on the Chickahominy, and continued his promises to take Richmond from that point, up to the hour of Lee's appearance on his right, he now, within a few hours, decided to abandon his base and accumulation of supplies and retreat to the James River. For, Porter's affair with the advancing Rebels having first developed Lee's design on the afternoon of the 26th, before the morning of the 27th Porter's baggage and the great siege-train had been moved to the south side of the Chickahominy, orders had been sent to the White House to move off what supplies could be saved and to burn the rest, and the water transportation had been ordered around to the James.

It can not be disguised that, under the circumstances, this decision was as unwise as it was hasty. If General McClellan had determined at last to adopt the James River route, he should have done so before the attack of the enemy converted his movement into a retreat. That attack, rightly considered, might

* About seventy thousand men, including Jackson's corps, which joined him the next day, as appears from their official reports.

† The official records of the Adjutant-General's office in the War Department show the following figures for the Army of the Potomac on June 26, 1862: Present for duty, 115,102; on special duty, sick, etc., 12,225; absent, 29,511. Total aggregate McClellan's army, 156,838.

have proved the very opportunity for decisive battle under favorable circumstances, for which he had been seeking. Hastily withdrawing Porter on the night of the 26th, it was possible for him to have hurled his united army upon the fragment of the enemy's force that now alone intervened between him and the Rebel capital.* This would have conformed to one of the elementary principles of war; it would have been—the enemy having divided his force—to beat him in detail. Or, if he had believed that the main army still lay between him and Richmond, he could have manned the defensive works—the very emergency for which, as he often said, he had constructed them—and could then have massed the bulk of his army on the north side of the Chickahominy, at Porter's position, and there delivered decisive battle. Or, finally, if either of these operations seemed to him too daring, he might still have withdrawn Porter's corps, and at once started for the James River with his entire force, thus avoiding that evil fate by which, on the next day, he left this devoted body of twenty seven thousand men to bear up against the attack of Lee's massed army

But General McClellan either really believed himself confronted by an army of one hundred and eighty thousand men, notwithstanding his certainty of "taking Richmond" a week ago; or, under the alarm created by suddenly finding himself attacked instead of the attacker, he lost that well-poised balance of mind essential to the decision of purely military questions. One way or the other it came about that, after all his intrenching, he now left a single corps without intrenchments to fight the bulk of the Rebel army on the north side of the Chickahominy before he began his retreat. He did, indeed, ask the Generals on the south side if they could spare any troops for Porter's relief; but, as is usual, (and following the example which McClellan himself, on a larger scale, had set them), each General magnified his own dangers and held on to his troops. For there was opposed to these Generals, on the south side of the Chickahominy, the same skillful braggart, who had succeeded with eleven thousand men in stopping the whole National army before his lines at Yorktown. Adopting the same tactics, marching his few regiments to and fro, keeping up a tremendous cannonade and dreadful pother, he convinced not only the Corps Generals but even McClellan himself, that a mighty force was about to be hurled against their intrenched lines. With twenty-five thousand men he thus actually held seventy-five thousand National soldiers inside their works; while across the river their brethren, only twenty-seven thousand strong, were fighting the decisive battle that had been so long expected, without intrenchments,

*The Rebel commander subsequently said: "I considered the situation of our army as extremely critical and perilous. The larger part of it was on the opposite side of the Chickahominy, the bridges had been all destroyed, but one was rebuilt, and there were but twenty-five thousand men between McClellan's army of one hundred thousand and Richmond. Had McClellan massed his whole force in column, and advanced it against any point of our line of battle, as was done at Austerlitz, under similar circumstances, though the head of his column would have suffered greatly, its momentum would have insured him success and the occupation of our works about Richmond. His failure to do so is the best evidence that our wise commander fully understood the character of his opponent."—Magruder. Official Reports Army Northern Virginia. Rebel Government edition, vol. I, pp. 191, 192.

and against nearly treble their numbers. It is difficult to conceive of any theory of military science on which such generalship could be justified.

The battle of Gaines's Mill, thus fought, was necessarily a defeat. Porter did his best, and sacrificed near ten thousand men; but when night fell, his routed columns, having left their dead and wounded with much of their artillery on the field, were huddling about the bridge that led to the main army on the south side, and were only saved from total destruction by the arrival of a couple of brigades from Sumner's corps, and by the friendly darkness, under whose cover they crossed the bridge and destroyed it behind them.

It remained to seek the James River. General Lee was still uncertain what course McClellan would pursue, and lost the next day moving on the late base of supplies. While he looked upon the smouldering piles of flour and meat, that told him of the abandonment, the trains and material of the army were already swiftly moving among the silent woods, far on their way to the James.

At this moment, with Porter's loss of ten thousand men, by a needless battle still staring him in the face, General McClellan brought himself to say to the Secretary of War: "I have lost this battle because my force was too small. Had I ten thousand fresh troops to use to-morrow, I could take Richmond. I know that a few thousand more men would have changed this battle from a defeat to a victory. If, at this instant, I could dispose of ten thousand fresh men, I could gain the victory to-morrow If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any other persons in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army."*

Of the tone of such language to his superior we say nothing. But what could present a stranger picture of a mind chaotic, revengeful, and without distinct ideas? He believes the enemy to be one hundred and eighty thousand strong; yet, with ten thousand fresh men (*i. e.*, if he stood now precisely where he stood twenty-four hours ago), he could take Richmond! With ten thousand fresh troops he could to-morrow win the victory—speaking as if fresh battles were still in his mind, when, in fact, his retreat was in progress!

Beginning his movement in such temper, it is not strange that we find him still, with persistent ill-luck, contriving, through the rest of the movement, to be in the last places a Commanding General would be expected to occupy; until one of his corps commanders was warranted in testifying before the Committee on the Conduct of the War: "We fought the troops according to our own ideas. We helped each other. If anybody asked for re-enforcements, I sent them. If I wanted re-enforcements I sent to others. * * * * * He (McClellan) was the most extraordinary man I ever saw. I do not see how any man could leave so much to others, and be so confident that everything would go just right."†

* McClellan's Report, Government edition, p. 132.

† General Heintzleman's Testimony, Rep. Com. Con. War, series of 1863, vol. I, pp. 358, 359. It should be added, in justice to General McClellan, that he had found grave fault with one portion of General Heintzleman's conduct during the retreat—a fact which may unconsciously have given a tinge to the above evidence.

Yet things did, after a fashion, "go right." The vast baggage-train coiled its way through the woods till it emerged upon the James in safety Lee was delayed a day by his doubt as to where McClellan had gone, and by the skillful manner in which the old front on the south of the Chickahominy was kept up till the last moment. On the 29th he fell, with Magruder's corps, on Sumner, who guarded the rear at Savage's Station, but was held at bay till dark. By daylight the advance of the army with the artillery was emerging upon the James, and Sumner was safe through the White Oak Swamp. Of McClellan himself we catch but a passing glimpse. He gave careful and well-considered orders to Sumner, Heintzleman, and Franklin, for guarding the passage through the White Oak Swamp, and the road leading down from the Richmond side upon the route of the army beyond the swamp, and then rode off to the front of the column to see to the trains and select other positions for defense.

The intersection of these roads was the key to the whole retreat. If the enemy secured it, he had planted himself upon the rear of one-half the retreating army and isolated it from the rest. If he failed to secure it, the change of base was accomplished. McClellan's fortunate dispositions, and the splendid tenacity of the troops held the ground, and made the battle of New Market Cross Roads a success. Stonewall Jackson, pursuing through the swamp, was stopped at the bridge by General Franklin and held powerless. Longstreet swept down from the open country toward Richmond, but, within a mile of the point where his junction with Jackson was to be effected, Sumner and Heintzleman held *him.* The attack was furiously delivered, but every assault was repulsed till night again closed the scene. There were no orders to retreat; the rest of Lee's army was rapidly advancing; by morning the whole of it would be upon them. McClellan was off at James River; before there could be time to communicate with him the opportunity would be lost. Thus reasoning, General Franklin abandoned his hold on the swamp bridge, on Stonewall Jackson's front, and, under cover of the darkness, rapidly retreated without orders. Discovering this, Sumner and Heintzleman hastily abandoned their positions and likewise retreated.

They thus saved the army At daybreak Lee's whole army stood on the battle-field of the previous evening, but its opportunity of dividing or attacking in flank the retreating column was gone. Continuing the pursuit, however, General Lee, in a few hours, overtook his antagonist, only to find him securely posted on Malvern Hill. This point General McClellan had selected during the progress of the fight of the day before at New Market Cross Roads; it commanded the entire region along the James, and was admirably adapted to the most liberal use of artillery. Under any circumstances the National army must have received attack here with advantage, but the superiority of the position was greatly enhanced by the confused, blundering, and isolated assaults made by Lee's successive corps as they arrived. The repulse was finally complete, and the pursuer recoiled with heavy loss from the last stand of the retreating army. The retreat was ended, and "this army saved."

If, by an infirmity of purpose and a timidity of execution amounting to

crimes, General McClellan had frittered away his opportunities, from the time he had landed his invading army on the Peninsula up to the time when he was thus driven from his fortifications on the Chickahominy, it was now equally true that he had skillfully extricated this army from the thick-gathering dangers that did so beset it, and had foiled a victorious enemy, who already regarded his destruction as assured. He owed much of this to the nature of the country, which protected his flanks, concealed his movements, and delayed the pursuit; much he owed to the splendid tenacity with which his corps commanders guarded his rear; and for the actual control of the fighting he can claim less credit than ever attached before to General commanding such an army in such a plight. But, if his absence in the rear, selecting lines of retreat and points for defense, was without precedent, it may be said that the work which he thus chose to do was admirably well-done; and if his Generals were forced to fight through the day on the orders of the morning alone, and thenceforward by hap-hazard and without unity of action, it so fell out that this plan of conducting battles under such circumstances proved successful; and in War, Success is the absolute test.

The movement by the Peninsula against Richmond was palpably ended. General McClellan indeed clung to the idea that he might still be re-enforced and permitted to renew his attempt; and he had conceived the bold and sagacious plan of crossing to the south side of the James and moving against Richmond by the way of Petersburg.* But there were no re-enforcements for him; his campaign was regarded as an utter failure; he had lost the confidence of the Government† and measurably of the country; there was a general shock at the sight of an invading army, of which such hopes had been entertained, fleeing for seven days before an enemy not even then believed to be his equal in numbers. Furthermore, General Lee, having as it seemed, effectually disposed of the immediate danger to Richmond, had already detached Jackson, with large re-enforcements, to renew his operations in the Valley; and the alarm which that brilliant officer speedily succeeded in renewing, added to the previous considerations, decided the Government to recall McClellan's army in all haste to be united with the forces in front of Washington. There was something piteous in the tone of McClellan's remonstrances and petitions to remain; but, in the existing temper of the Government, they only served to confirm the impression that he would be insubordinate, if he dared.

Then followed a painful delay. The first order for the withdrawal was sent on 30th July. It was not till 15th August that General McClellan was able to telegraph that his advance was started; and not until 24th August that, preceding the bulk of his command, he was able personally to report

* Precisely the plan to which General Grant found himself ultimately forced.

† There is sufficient evidence for the assertion that, at this time, the Government suffered under the greatest apprehensions that McClellan might yet surrender his entire army! This may also help to explain the subsequent reluctance to explain plans to him, or even, when he was ordered to send back his sick, to disclose to him the real intention of withdrawing the army, which prompted that order.

for orders at Aquia Creek. The interval had been occupied with blunders and delays about transportation, and with a telegraphic correspondence with General Halleck (now made General-in-Chief) which, on the part of the latter, grew daily more and more curt and peremptory as the delays continued. It is doubtless true that the Quartermasters insisted upon their inability to move the army back faster than they did; but it is equally true that, if McClellan's heart had been in the matter, he could have controlled Quartermasters and their transportation, and if he did not fully satisfy the unreasonable expectations that were entertained, could at least have lessened the delay

As it was, so thoroughly was the patience of the Government exhausted that, on his arrival at Alexandria his troops were taken from him, and his own petitions for active service, or at least for permission to be present with his men, could gain no audience.

But affairs now reached a very critical posture. Lee had thrown his whole force to the support of Jackson; Pope's army, confronting it, had come back in a jumble; the divisions of the Army of the Potomac began to re-enforce him only as he neared the fatal ground of Manassas. McClellan was accused—with questionable cause—of delaying these re-enforcements, through a malicious desire to "leave Pope to get out of his scrape," as he was unfortunate enough to express himself in a dispatch to the President; and this only tended to increase the acerbity of his relations to the War Department and the General-in-Chief.

Presently, however, Pope's army came streaming back, broken up and demoralized by much fighting and some bad handling. The enemy was at the gates. In this crisis, whatever it thought of him as a General, the Administration was glad to use McClellan as an organizer. Furthermore, it was believed that there was no other name that still had such magic for the rank and file of the Army of the Potomac. And so it proved. Taking up the demoralized fragments of two armies, as they poured back from the second Bull Run, General McClellan moved them across the Potomac and out on the Seventh Street and Tenallytown Roads, a compact, orderly organization, ready for fresh conflicts, and actually in better fighting trim than they had been for months.

Still he moved slowly, less than six miles a day; primarily, doubtless, because of his inherently cautious and circumspect nature, but likewise, it must be remembered, under perpetual injunctions to caution from the General-in-Chief. Lee had crossed the Upper Potomac into Maryland. Covering Washington and Baltimore, McClellan felt his way forward to meet him; till on the 13th of September, at Frederick City, by great good fortune, there fell into his hands an order issued by Lee on the 9th, fully detailing the movements then in execution. Thus informed of his adversary's designs, McClellan threw forward his army toward the passes of the South Mountain, threatening the isolated corps with which Lee was trying to reduce Harper's Ferry A brilliant action here, handsomely managed by McClellan, carried the pass, but too late to succor the small force at the Ferry. Lee, with a master-hand, now began to gather together his scattered forces, and, flushed with the victory at Harper's Ferry, they opposed their front to the pursuing army along the bank of Antietam Creek.

McClellan came in sight of their ostentatiously displayed lines on the afternoon of the day following the action at South Mountain, and spent the remaining hours of daylight in reconnoissances. The next day was similarly occupied; a delay precious to Lee, for before its close his scattered divisions all arrived, (save the two at Harper's Ferry), and stood compact again to face their old antagonist. Late in the afternoon Hooker was thrown across the creek to turn Lee's left, but no decisive result followed, save the consequent premature revelation of McClellan's plan, for which Lee through the night quietly prepared.

Next morning Hooker opened the battle, advancing against Lee's left. At first successful, he was subsequently repulsed, as the inaction along the rest of the line showed Lee that he could transfer fresh troops to the left with impunity. Hooker was wounded and carried off the field; and as brave old Sumner came up with his corps he "found that Hooker's corps had been dispersed and routed, and saw nothing of the corps at all."* Pushing forward he too became hotly engaged and soon had occasion to regret that "General McClellan should send these troops into action in driblets," and to find that "at the points of attack the enemy was superior."† With varying fortunes, however, he at last succeeded, with heavy losses, in pushing back the Rebel left till he had almost reached their center. Re-enforcing again from the rest of the idle line, Lee was about to throw fresh battalions upon Sumner's exhausted front when another "driblet" arrived, in the form of Franklin's corps. Sumner might then have advanced again, but four out of the six corps of the army "were now drawn into this seething vortex of the fight" on the enemy's left; and he, not unwisely, judged it inexpedient, three of them being already much shattered, to expose the whole right of the army to destruction, by crippling the fourth, while still uncertain as to the plans or possibilities on other parts of the field. He accordingly contented himself with holding his ground.

It was now one o'clock, and as yet nothing had been done elsewhere. McClellan indeed was not ignorant that, through this inaction, Lee was being enabled to mass his forces to resist the attack on his left; and as early as eight o'clock in the morning he had ordered Burnside to take the bridge over the Antietam Creek, on the enemy's extreme right, and advance against him. But Burnside, though directly under McClellan's eye, was permitted to consume the time in frivolous skirmishing, till it was now one o'clock, and the whole action on the enemy's left was over, before he carried the bridge. Two hours more delay here ensued, when, advancing up the hill, he swept the enemy's right from its crest. At nine o'clock in the morning, when Sumner was charging the enemy's left, this success would have gained the day, but now at three, Sumner, with four corps under him, lay exhausted, and the two Rebel divisions from Harper's Ferry were just arriving upon the field. This last re-enforcement settled the question. Burnside was driven back to the bridge by night-fall, and the action was over. McClellan had lost twelve thousand five hundred men. Lee's loss reached eight thousand.

*General Sumner's evidence, Rep. Com. Con. War, series of 1863, Vol. I, p. 368.

†Ibid.

The next day General McClellan did not feel able to renew the attack, but he proposed to do so, if his re-enforcements (to the number of fourteen thousand, then marching from Washington), should arrive on the day following. But by that time Lee, having kept up a bold front during the day on Antietam Creek, was safely across the Potomac and back into Virginia again, with all his trains and material.

This was the first and only battle of importance in which, during his whole career, General McClellan commanded in person. Viewing it in the light of facts now known it is easy to see its mistakes. It was on the 13th that, by the singular good fortune of capturing Lee's field order to his Corps Generals, General McClellan was put in possession of all his adversary's positions and plans. It was quite possible for him, acting with the dash which such knowledge warranted, and which Stonewall Jackson again and again exhibited, to have carried the South Mountain pass that evening, when it could have been done almost without resistance, and to have thrown himself upon the rear of McLaws's Rebel division then beleaguering Harper's Ferry. This would have enabled him to beat Lee's scattered troops in detail. But, passing this by, when the armies fairly met at Antietam he had double the numbers that his weakened antagonist was able to muster. We now know, from Rebel official reports, that Lee's whole force barely reached forty thousand; that of McClellan was over eighty thousand. Yet, holding his force feebly, he delivered isolated attacks, from hour to hour, on different parts of the field, enabling the wary enemy so to muster his thin battalions, as at each point of attack to oppose to the onset a stronger force. The tactical management of the battle thus admits of no defense.

Of the failure to renew the attack on the next day more may be said. General McClellan did not know how completely the enemy was exhausted by lack of supplies, straggling, and actual loss in battle. He only knew that in front of him still stood that indomitable line against which, the day before, he had vainly sacrificed twelve thousand men; that his Corps Generals felt their commands unfit for immediate renewal of the attack; that a few hours would bring him fourteen thousand fresh men; that he held in his hands the safety of the capital, and, under continual monitions of caution from the General-in-Chief, alone stood between the enemy and the defenseless North. He might indeed have reflected that this enemy *must* be exhausted; that he lay in a dangerous position, with his back to a large river, and at an immense distance from his base of supplies. But, remembering what he did, and the difficulties that beset him, we may well conclude that if his conduct was not that of a great General, it was still in that safe line by which a prudent General seeks to guard the interests committed to his keeping.

General McClellan, however, had largely contributed to such a state of feeling between himself and the Adminstration that he could expect no lenient judgment on mistakes or delays. He had claimed Antietam as a great victory. The Government, therefore, demanded that he should promptly follow it up.

Instead, it saw the beaten enemy quietly extricate himself from his perilous position, and, in the face of the victorious army, march unmolested away Then it demanded prompt pursuit. Instead, General McClellan telegraphed for shoes and blankets. The Government thought the crisis demanded some sacrifice, even to the extent of calling upon the troops for such hard service as the enemy was performing. If the shoeless Rebels could beat a great army and invade Maryland, it was even willing that our troops should, shoeless, drive them back. Not so General McClellan. His methodical genius would permit no such irregularities; and strong in the recollection that, after trying to displace him, the Government had been forced to recall him, and, doubtless, determined as well to teach the Government something of his importance and power, he suffered the splendid fall weather to go by, while, for over a whole month, he lay on the Potomac, reorganizing and reclothing his army.

At last he moved, but he had already presumed too far; and, on the 5th of November, 1862, when his advance-guard was about reaching the new positions which General Lee had assumed, the outraged Government relieved him of his command, and thus put an end to his military career in its service. He continued to hold his commission for two years longer, until after his defeat for the Presidency, but he was never put on duty, and, for the most part, he lived in retiracy with his family in New Jersey.

Thus passes from the field a General in whose favor Fortune seemed at first to have exhausted her resources. He was still popular with his army, for whose comfort he sedulously exerted himself, and for whose good-will he skillfully strove. That he had disappointed public expectation was not wonderful, for, greatly through the folly of his own friends, public expectation had been raised to dizzy heights, which genius of the first order could scarcely have reached. In that he had disappointed the Government he was more blameworthy. If he had been willing to place himself at the outset on the footing of a trained theorist, confessedly ignorant of the practice of war, many of his mistakes might have been forgiven. But it was precisely here that the complaint rested. Ignoring all the national considerations which constrained action; narrowing his vision till he saw for his whole duty the task of building up on the banks of the Potomac a colossal army, which should equal, in all the perfection of discipline and equipment, the finest of those he had seen in Europe, he then arrogated to himself the privileges of an acknowledged Expert in a recondite Science; claimed the exclusive power of planning and deciding, while the sorely-beset Government must, in blind faith, await his own good time for defeating the enemy; and encouraged the talk of the brainless upstarts around him, who declaimed against the impertinent interference of mere civilians—the Commander-in-Chief, to-wit, and his constitutional advisers. When, after all this, it was found that his Generalship exhausted itself in preparations, that in the field he handled his great forces irresolutely, and, perpetually debating between brilliant alternatives, perpetually suffered each to escape him, the disappointment was as great as the promises had been high. It was, perhaps, more his

misfortune than his fault that thenceforward (to repeat what we have already said at the outset of this sketch) he was forever judged, and severely judged, by the false standard which his friends had set up.

Worse than all, when it happened that his military career was about to become one of the vexed points in a Presidential canvass, he brought himself to disingenuous subterfuges and adroit after-thoughts, by which he sought to shift the blame of his errors upon other shoulders.*

Still these circumstances, which so powerfully affected the immediate judgment of his countrymen, will not entirely control the place in history to which a calm review of his career must assign him. He never made good his claim to the character of a great General. His conduct showed no flashes of genius, and never exhibited that inspiration of battle which, in the moment of action, lights up the minds of truly warlike men. He was singularly deficient in that species of executive capacity which controls the tactics of an army in the face of an enemy, and he never gave evidence of his ability to handle skillfully even fifty thousand men in battle. But he thoroughly understood the theory of war, and especially the organization of armies. "Too military to be warlike,' there was much in his conduct to suggest a comparison to that Grand Duke Constantine, of Russia, who had so perfected the drill and equipment of the army that, in his love for its splendid appearance, he protested against war, because it would ruin his soldiers. In the field his professional and technical knowledge overburdened him till he was incapable of skillfully using it; in the solitude of his head-quarters, and freed from his absorbing attention to personal considerations, it made him an excellent strategist. It was his misfortune that he overrated his own capacity, and set himself tasks to which he was unequal. But he was always able to oppose a front of opposition to the enemy, and to maintain the *morale* of his army. Twice he was fortunate enough to have a field for the display of his peculiar abilities; and on those occasions, once in the restoration of confidence after Bull Run and the organization of the army, and again in the reorganization of the demoralized fragments that drifted back in disorder from the second Bull Run, he so served the imperiled Country that his name must forever find a place in the list of those who have helped to save the Republic.

From the date of General McClellan's first taking the field in West Virginia, he had been accompanied by a staff officer from Cincinnati, who was a sagacious politician, and quick to perceive those currents of popular favor along which politicians may guide their barks to official harbors. The whirlwind of popular applause had no sooner set in around the "Young Napoleon" from West Virginia than this astute officer† recognized his opportunity. Thenceforward it was sedulously cared for that in whatever McClellan said or did, his sayings and actions should be so shaped as not to unfit him for the candidacy of the

* Throughout the labored self-vindication, misnamed "Report."

† Who has the credit of the revision of the most and the authorship of the most important of McClellan's proclamations and other papers having political bearings.

party with which he affiliated—the party opposed to the Administration whose officer he was—in the next Presidential election. The policy was shrewdly planned and carried out. Had military success re-enforced it, its author might have seen it successful.

But when the Democratic party assembled in convention at Chicago, they were compelled by the pressure of their peace wing to resolve that the War for the Union was a failure. Upon this platform, and that of his own military failure, they placed General McClellan. The combination defeated him in advance. He still polled a respectable vote in each of the States, but he only carried three of them, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Delaware.

The heat of the canvass, and his anomalous position as a Soldier on a Peace Platform, opposing the cause which the Country regarded as peculiarly the cause of his fellow-soldiers, led to his being assailed with unusual and often with unjust bitterness. Now that political passions have cooled, there are few who will not regret that the loyalty, and even the personal courage of General McClellan were once slanderously called in question.

Resigning his commission as a Major-General in the regular army, after his popular defeat, General McClellan sailed for Europe, where he remained in retirement with his family till long after the close of the war.

In person General McClellan is below the middle height, compact and muscular, with unusually large chest, and well-shaped head. His features are regular, and, in conversation, light up with a pleasing smile. His manners are singularly charming and graceful; and the magnetism of his personal presence and his gracious ways is always sure to fill his private life with friends, as it bound to him the officers and soldiers of the army of the Potomac, with an affectionate regard which no subsequent commander was able to inspire.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS.

THE greatest of modern strategists never rose beyond the rank of a Brigadier-General. Napoleon was once on the point of making him a Marshal of France; he repeatedly rendered such services as, in the case of his compeers, were wont to command high praise and the largest promotion; but, do what he would, General Jomini could never "get on." His hot temper and his open contempt for the blunders, or the foibles of his superiors, for ever barred his promotion and embittered his daily life, till at last, insulted in General Orders, he revenged himself by going over to the enemy.

When Ohio was called on for her men best fitted for the instant emergencies of a sudden war, two were at once presented. At a stroke of the pen, one was made a Major-General, the other a Brigadier in the Regular Army; though the one, when he had retired to civil life, had been a simple Captain, and the other but a First Lieutenant. Yet the Army vindicated the wisdom of both promotions. Both came to fill large space in the attention of the Nation, and the records of the war; both wielded great armies and fought great battles; but both passed from a brief season of the highest favor with the Government, and with those who controlled the business of the war, by steady progression, from coolness to open hostility, and both were stranded long before the peaceful port was reached.

If we have found the one so far blinded by his resentments and his ambition as to suffer himself to be affiliated (at least) with friends of the enemy, it will now be our pleasanter task to trace the career of that other, hot-tempered and indiscreet as Jomini himself, who yet permitted no recollection of private wrongs to warp his discharge of public duty; who through many discouragements and buffets of fortune bore bravely up and made a good fight; who was, throughout the war, as unwise for himself as he was wise in controlling the interests of the Country, committed to his care; and of whom at last it must be said that for his Country's sake he made greater sacrifices than his haughty temper could brook to make for his own, and, faithful ever to his Comrades and the Cause, was ever his own worst enemy.

WILLIAM STARKE ROSECRANS* was born in Kingston Township, Delaware County, Ohio, 6th September, 1819. His parents were Crandall Rosecrans, whose ancestors came from Amsterdam, and Jemima Hopkins, of the family of

* The name is Dutch, and signifies "a wreath of roses."

that Timothy Hopkins, whose name has passed into history as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. His father was a native of Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, who had emigrated to Ohio in 1808. His mother was reared in the same beautiful valley, and was a daughter of a soldier of the Revolution.

Young Rosecrans was a close student, and at fifteen was master of all that the schools of his native place could teach. He already evinced the strong religious tendency which has continued to characterize him through life, and was noted, among all the boys of his neighborhood, for his disposition to study the Bible, and to engage preachers and others on religious topics. Not less characteristic is another glimpse that we get of his boy life. His proficiency in such mathematical and scientific studies as he had been able to pursue, led him to look longingly upon the treasures of a West Point education. Consulting no one, not even his father, he wrote directly to Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War under President Van Buren, asking for an appointment as Cadet. It was not strange that such an application failed to receive an instant response; but young Rosecrans thought it was, and presently applied to his father for some plan to re-enforce his request. A petition for the cadetship was prepared and largely signed, and, as he was depositing the bulky document in the post-office, he received the letter informing him of his appointment.

At West Point Cadet Rosecrans was known as a hard student, something of a recluse and a religious enthusiast. His class—that of 1842—numbered fifty-six, and among them the reader of the histories of those times will not fail to recognise such names as James Longstreet, Earl Van Dorn, John Pope, Abner Doubleday, Lafayette McLaws, R. H. Anderson, Mansfield Lovell, G. W. Smith, John Newton, and George Rains. Among these men Cadet Rosecrans stood third in mathematics and fifth in general merit, while Pope was seventeenth, Doubleday twenty-fourth, and Longstreet fifty-fourth.

Entering the *élite* of the Regular Army, the Engineer Corps, as a Brevet Second Lieutenant, young Rosecrans was now, at the age of twenty-two, ordered to duty at Fortress Monroe, under Colonel De Russey A year later he was returned to West Point as Assistant Professor of Engineering, and about this time was married to Miss Hegeman, only daughter of Adrian Hegeman, then a well-known lawyer of New York.

From 1843 to 1847 Lieutenant Rosecrans was kept at West Point; first, as we have seen, as Assistant Professor of Engineering, then as Assistant Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy; then, again, in charge of the department of Practical Engineering, and finally as Post Quartermaster. In 1847 he was ordered to Newport, Rhode Island, where he took charge of the fortifications, and the reconstruction at Fort Adams of a large permanent wharf. He was thus continued on engineering duty till, in 1852, we find him in charge of the survey of New Bedford and Providence harbors and Taunton river, under the Act of Congress requiring their improvement. In April, 1853, the Secretary of the Navy having asked for the services of a competent Engineer from the War Department, Lieutenant Rosecrans, now promoted to a First Lieutenancy, was ordered to report to him for duty, and was assigned to service, under the

Bureau of Docks and Yards, as Constructing Engineer at the Washington Navy Yard. He continued on service here until November, 1853, when his health broke down.

Lieutenant Rosecrans was now thirty-four years of age; he was an ackowledged master in the profession of Engineering, and had given, in its practice, eleven of the best years of his life to the Government without yet having reached the dignity of a Captain's commission, or the meager emoluments of a Captain's salary In the army, where, "few dying and none resigning," promotion in peaceful times seemed hopelessly remote, he could see nothing more brilliant in the future, and was already growing discouraged, when his illness now gave additional force to these considerations and determined him to tender his resignation. The Secretary of War, (Jefferson Davis), expressed his unwillingness to lose so valuable an officer from the service, and proposed, instead, to give him a year's leave of absence, with the understanding that if he should then insist upon it, he would be permitted to resign. In April, 1854, his resignation was accordingly accepted, General Totten, the Chief of Engineers, forwarding the acceptance accompanied with a complimentary letter, referring to the "services rendered the Government by Lieutenant Rosecrans," and his "regret that the country was about to lose so able and valuable an officer."

The next seven years were to Lieutenant Rosecrans years of more varied than profitable activity At first we find him in a modest office in Cincinnati, on the door of which appeared the inscription, "William S. Rosecrans, Consulting Engineer and Architect." Next, a little more than a year later, he figures as Superintendent, and then as President of the Cannel Coal Company, striving, by locks and dams, on the little Coal River in West Virginia, to secure slack-water navigation there, and thus make available the vast wealth that lay emboweled in the banks of that stream. From this position he passed to a somewhat similar one, that seemed to offer larger returns, in charge of the interests of the Cincinnati Coal Oil Company.

In all these positions he displayed such ability as to command the confidence of capitalists; yet, after all, his ventures ended in pecuniary failures. His restless mind was constantly bent on making improvements and substituting better methods; his ingenuity left everywhere its traces in new inventions, and others have since largely profited by his researches and experiments; but it is possible that the stockholders in his Companies might have received better dividends if he had been content to plod steadily in the old paths. It is only the usual fate of inventors to hew out the new roads by which others and not themselves may advance to fortune.

And so, in the Spring of 1861, we find the future General, now in his forty-second year, not very much better situated than when, seven years before, he had resigned his First Lieutenancy; but matured, broadened, in the prime of vigorous manhood, become a man of affairs, and possessing, both by virtue of his professional abilities and of his religious affiliations, marked influence in the great city which he had made his home. For it is now the time to observe

that Rosecrans was a devout Roman Catholic, implicitly believing in the infallibility of his Church, and reverently striving to conform his life to her precepts. His brother was Bishop of the Diocese, and his own relations to the Church were such that his example was likely to have large weight with the great mass of voters in the city of Cincinnati, whom that Church held within her folds, and who might be said, by virtue of the balance of power which they often possessed, to control the attitude of the city toward the Government and toward the war. In the first frenzy of the rush to arms after the attack on Fort Sumter, these considerations seem to have had no weight; but we shall have occasion to see how signally, in more than one critical period, they enabled the Roman Catholic General more effectively to serve the country to whose service he had again devoted himself.

From the moment that the war had declared itself, Rosecrans gave thought and time to no other subject. The city, it was supposed, might be in some danger from a sudden rush over the border, and citizens hastened to enroll themselves as Home Guards, Rosecrans's military education at once came into play, and he gave himself up to the task of organizing and drilling these Home Guards, till, on the 19th of April, General McClellan, just appointed Major-General of Ohio Militia, requested him to act as Engineer on his Staff, and to select a site for a camp of instruction for the volunteers now pouring in. He selected the little stretch of level land, walled in by surrounding hills, a few miles out of Cincinnati, which has since been known as Camp Dennison;* and, for the next three weeks, he was here occupied by General McClellan in encamping and caring for the inchoate regiments as they arrived.

Governor Dennison next claimed his services, sending him first to Philadelphia to look after arms, next to Washington to make such representations to the Government as would secure proper clothing and equipment for Ohio troops, and particularly for the extra regiments, mustered into the State service, but not coming into the quota of Ohio under the first call for troops. On these missions he was fully successful, and, by June 9th, he returned to Cincinnati to find himself commissioned Chief Engineer for the State, under a special law. A day or two later he was made Colonel of the Twenty-Third Ohio, and assigned to the command of Camp Chase, at Columbus. Four days afterward the commission as Brigadier-General in the United States army, which had been issued to him on 16th of May,† (on the recommendation of General Scott, backed by such names as those of Secretary Chase and his old chief, General Totten, of the Engineers), reached him, and, almost immediately afterward, General McClellan summoned him to active service in West Virginia.

Of the mode in which the General entered upon his new duties we catch

* This selection was made with reference to the fears, then prevalent, of a sudden descent upon Cincinnati. It was thought especially desirable, in view of the doubtful position of Kentucky, to keep whatever available troops the State might have within call. The name was chosen by General McClellan, in compliment to Governor Dennison, by whom he had just been appointed.

† McClellan's appointment to a Major-Generalship of Regulars.

many pleasant little pictures like this one, from the pen of an eye-witness at Parkersburg: "Our General is an incessant worker. He is in his saddle almost constantly He has not had a full night's sleep since he has been in Virginia, and he takes his meals as often on horseback as at his table. His geniality and affability endear him to all who come in contact with him; and his soldiers recognize in him a competent commander."

These soldiers were those of the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Ohio, and Eighth and Tenth Indiana—the first troops whom General Rosecrans ever commanded in the field. Within two weeks after he assumed command, they had fought a battle under him and won the victory that decided the first campaign of the war.

Moving as the advance of McClellan's column, Rosecrans's brigade had been brought to a halt before the intrenched position on the western slope of Rich Mountain, held by Colonel Pegram as defense for the flank and rear of the main Rebel force under General Garnett, then lying at Laurel Hill. Within an hour or two the restless General had gained an idea of the enemy's position—"his right covered by an almost impenetrable laurel thicket, his left resting high up on the spur of the mountain, and his front defended by a log breastwork and abatis"—and had heard of a loyal guide who could tell how to turn it. He reported the facts to an officer of McClellan's staff, but no notice was taken of the communication, and the next day an extended reconnoissance was ordered which only developed the strength of the position more fully. General McClellan, as it appears, had now decided upon an assault on the front of the enemy's works, and had, in fact, assigned to Rosecrans's brigade the advance in the movement, when that officer, having found his loyal guide, took him to McClellan. "Now, General," said he,* "if you will allow me to take my brigade, I will, by a night-march, surprise the enemy at the gap, gain possession of it, and thus hold his only line of retreat. You can then take him on the front. If he give way we shall have him; if he fight obstinately, I will leave a portion of my force at the gap, and, with the remainder, fall upon his rear." General McClellan, "after an hour's deliberation, assented;" it being finally agreed that Rosecrans should enter the forest at daylight, and report progress by couriers as he advanced, and that the sound of his firing should be the signal for McClellan's attack in front.

A drenching rain-storm poured down upon the raw troops as they entered the forest, and it was found necessary to deflect the line of march, far to the right, to avoid discovery by the enemy. Marching with the awkwardness of perfectly raw troops, and under peculiarly dispiriting circumstances, it was one o'clock before the column reached the crest; and, about half-past two, when, after another toilsome march through the woods and a hasty reconnoissance, the brigade came out upon the enemy's line. The last courier had been sent at eleven, with the message that the growing difficulty of communication would prevent another dispatch until something decisive had occurred.

* The details of this interview are given in Rosecrans's testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Report, series 1865, Vol. III, p. 2.

Forming his line as hastily as the rawness of the troops and the repeated misconceptions of orders by some of the equally raw Colonels would permit—the enemy meanwhile keeping up a sharp musketry fire and a fusilade from two pieces of artillery—General Rosecrans, comprehending that, with troops who had never before been under fire, instant action was the only safe course, ordered a charge, and, at the head of the Thirteenth Indiana, led it in person. The one or two volleys previously fired had shaken the Rebel line, and, as the attacking brigade now leaped the log breastworks with a ringing cheer, the enemy broke and fled, abandoning the two pieces of artillery The excited troops rushed pell-mell after them through the woods, and the next two hours were consumed in getting our men together again.

Meantime there had been no attack in the front. General McClellan had stated to General Rosecrans that the enemy was from five to six thousand strong.* The little brigade, thus left isolated and unsupported, lay between this force and one of unknown size at the town of Beverly, on the other slope of the mountain. The situation appeared critical, and the main column, still lying on the enemy's front, seemed to have abandoned them; but they bivouacked in good order, turned out half a dozen times through the night on false alarms caused by indiscriminate picket firing, and in the morning marched down on the camp to find that part of the enemy had escaped to the mountains and the rest had hoisted the white flag. Those who escaped, finding themselves hemmed in on the mountains, soon sent in their surrender. Garnett, at Laurel Hill, perceiving his line of retreat imperilled, hastily retreated, and the campaign was ended.

General Rosecrans's conduct in this affair merited the praise which it instantly and everywhere received. The plan, as has been seen, was entirely his own; and though it was his first action, as well as the first for the troops he commanded, his conduct showed a thorough comprehension of the true method of handling raw volunteers, not less than that disposition to "go wherever he asked his soldiers to go," which always made him a favorite with the men in the ranks. But he already exhibited symptoms of the personal imprudence which was to form so signal a feature in his character, by casual hints as to his dissatisfaction with the conduct of his superior officer—a dissatisfaction which he afterward expressed officially, by complaining that "General McClellan, contrary to agreement and military prudence, did not attack" the enemy in front.† We shall soon see how this began to affect his subsequent career.

The affair of Rich Mountain—it scarcely deserves the name of a battle, for our loss was but twelve killed and forty-nine wounded, and the enemy left but twenty wounded on the field—raised Rosecrans from the head of a brigade to the command of the department. The force at his disposal, with which to retain and secure the fruits of the Rich Mountain victory, was but eleven thousand

* Rosecrans's testimony Rep. Com. Con. War, series 1865, Vol. III, p. 5.

† MS. sketch of military career, furnished in obedience to War Department Circular, and on file in Adjutant-General's office.

men; for it was one of that peculiar combination of circumstances which tended to deepen the horror of the first Bull Run, that the disaster befell us just as the time of service of most of our troops was expiring. The very train which bore General McClellan out of the Department, on his way to Washington, took out of it also the first of a long succession of three-months' regiments, embracing almost the entire army that had won the campaign just ended. Thanks however, to the forecast of Governor Dennison, of Ohio, a few more regiments of raw troops were hastily forwarded to General Rosecrans.

They were not sent a day too soon, for now it became known that, lying on the defensive in front of Washington, the enemy had resolved to wrest the western portion of the State, that had become the battle-field of the war, from the hands of the invader; and that there had been delegated to this task the officer of largest reputation within the Confederate army. Presently General Robert E. Lee appeared in front of the works which Rosecrans had already erected at Cheat Mountain pass, and proposed an exchange of prisoners.

At the outset the "Dutch General," as the Rebel newspapers were contemptuously naming him, seized the advantage which he did not once fail to the end to retain. "I can not exchange prisoners as you propose. You ask me for the men captured here, hardy mountaineers, familiar with every pass and bridle-path, who would at once go to re-enforce your army operating against me. You propose to give me, in return, men captured at Bull Run, who know nothing of service here, and whom I should have, at any rate, to send East to their old commands. I can not consent. But if you can remedy this inequality, I shall be very glad to make an exchange."*

But the presence of the Virginia officer, who had stood so high in the estimation of General Scott, and had been popularly regarded as the ablest officer in the old army, created general alarm. The Unionists of West Virginia were profoundly disturbed; the Secessionists exulted in the thought that they should speedily gain the control; and friendly warnings from Washington began to admonish General Rosecrans of the widely-prevailing fear that he was about to be outgeneraled. "Don't you think Lee likely to prove a troublesome antagonist?" asked one about this time at the General's head-quarters. "Not at all," was Rosecrans's reply; "I know all about Lee. He will make a splendid plan of a campaign; but I'll fight the campaign before he gets through with planning it."†

The General's confidence was not unsustained by rapidly-following events. General Lee brought to bear upon his front at Cheat Mountain a force of sixteen thousand men, to meet which General Reynolds, the officer in immediate command, had less than half as large a number. Meantime General Cox, to

* Report Com. Con. War, series of 1865, Vol. III, Rosecrans's testimony, page 13.

† I was myself present at this conversation. It is a curious confirmation of this estimate to find the Rebel annalist Pollard (vol. I, p. 177) recording the failure of Lee's plan of campaign, and then adding: "General Lee's plan, finished drawings of which were sent to the War Department at Richmond, was said to have been one of the best laid plans that ever illustrated the consummation of the rules of strategy, or ever went awry on account of practical failures in its execution."

whom had been confided the task of holding the Kanawha Valley, found himself about to be overwhelmed by the co-operation of the columns of Wise and Floyd, the former holding his front, the latter advancing so as to menace his communications, and having already overwhelmed and scattered to the four winds a considerable outpost, under Colonel Tyler, at Cross Lanes.

General Rosecrans promptly met the emergency. Calling in outposts and detachments everywhere, he did what he could to strengthen General Reynolds; and then, trusting to that officer's sagacity not less than to his admirably fortified position, he left him to cope with Lee's threatened attack, collected such raw regiments as were within his reach, and, at the head of a column of seven and a half regiments, three of which had just received their arms, marched southward from the line of the North-Western Virginia road toward the Kanawha, to the relief of General Cox. By the 10th September he had reached Somerville, a few miles from the Gauley,* where he was duly informed by the frightened citizens and scouts that Floyd lay a few miles ahead of him, intrenched near Cross Lanes, with a force of from fifteen to twenty thousand men. "We can not stop to count numbers," was his remark to the staff; "we must fight and whip him, or pass him to join Cox." The column pressed onward. By two o'clock, after a march of sixteen miles that day, the advance brigade engaged the enemy's outposts. Now it so happened that, in the scarcity of experienced officers, this brigade had been intrusted to a newly-made Brigadier, recommended not only by the warm indorsement of General McClellan,† but by that lion's skin, so often used in the early days of the war to cover the ass's shoulders, "service in Mexico." The Brigadier had the misfortune of always seeing causes for staying out of reach of the enemy when he was sober, and of being too drunk to understand his surroundings whenever he was likely to have to fight. The Rebel outpost having retreated, this obfuscated officer conceived the idea that he had won a great victory, and plunged ahead pell-mell with his brigade through the woods, contrary to his explicit orders, and without even a line of skirmishers deployed to the front, till suddenly they found themselves before a formidable earth-work which barred further progress, and in a moment were exposed to a withering fire from seven or eight pieces of artillery and the musketry of Floyd's whole command, at a distance of scarcely more than fifty yards.

The General commanding had now either to order up re-enforcements for this attack upon a fortified position, concerning every detail of which he was in absolute ignorance, or withdraw the young troops, under the enemy's fire, at the imminent risk of creating a stampede. He ordered up the re-enforcements, hastened in person to form the line as well under cover of the woods as possible, and then sought, by various demonstrations, to discover a weak point in the enemy's position. The troops thus placed kept up a tremendous fusilade against the earth-works, which had no particular effect except to cause the enemy to lie close, although it did not prevent a tolerably rapid and skillful return-fire

* One of the streams which, by their junction, form the Kanawha.

† First official dispatch concerning affair at Carrick's Ford.

from musketry and artillery. It was soon found that the Rebel intrenchments stretched across a bend in the Gauley, with both flanks protected by the precipitous banks of that stream, here rising to a perpendicular height of from four to five hundred feet, while at his rear was Carnifex Ferry, the only point at which, for a distance of twenty-five miles, a passage could be effected. Arrangements were therefore begun for an assault, but night fell upon the combatants before they were completed. Anticipating a sortie during the night, General Rosecrans drew his command back through the woods, from the immediate front of the enemy's works, to some cleared fields, where they were bivouacked in line of battle, with skirmishers well to the front. In the confusion two of the raw regiments in the woods mistook each other for the enemy, and interchanged several volleys before the sad mistake was discovered. Through the night the rumbling of artillery was heard, and by daylight it was discovered that the enemy was gone. He had crossed the ferry, and destroyed the boat behind him.

This action, in which we lost about one hundred and twenty, killed and wounded, was neither so well judged nor so well delivered as the first in which General Rosécrans had commanded. The advance was intrusted to an incompetent, of whom some little previous knowledge might have taught him to beware.* The subsequent movements were too vigorous for a reconnoissance and too feeble for an attack; and at least one good opportunity for an assault, that on the enemy's right, was overcautiously delayed till darkness prevented its execution. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the movement had been seriously imperiled by the blunders of the Brigadier commanding the advance, and that the troops were thus thrown into a confusion which, under the circumstances, it took long to rectify But Floyd, who really had only seventeen hundred and forty men,† was frightened into retreating; the chance for cutting off Cox was prevented. Wise, thus left alone, speedily retreated from Cox's front; and so the substantial fruits of victory remained with General Rosecrans, although tactically the affair could not be called by so brilliant a name.

Meantime the sagacity of his judgment concerning affairs at Cheat Mountain had been vindicated. Lee had made a partial attack and had been repulsed; his able strategic plan for a combined movement that was to maneuver the National commander out of his intrenchments had failed through want of cohesion in the different parts; and, abandoning the effort, Lee had hastily marched southward, apparently with a view of concentrating Floyd's and Wise's commands with his own, and overwhelming Rosecrans. He soon had Floyd's army, and, at the head of twenty thousand men, awaited Rosecrans's advance at Mount Sewell.

Uniting with Cox, General Rosecrans was now able to muster only about

*And whom he still failed to expose, till further blunders had entailed greater losses. It is scarcely necessary to explain that the officer here referred to is Henry W. Benham, subsequently dismissed from the volunteer service.

†Pollard's Southern History of the War, Vol. I, p. 171.

ten thousand,* but he nevertheless pressed hard on the enemy's front, till a terrible storm intercepted his communications, and he judged it prudent to retire to the junction of the Gauley and New Rivers.†

One more act closes the West Virginia campaign. General Lee now proposed to cut off Rosecrans's communications by throwing a column to his rear on the Kanawha, and then to attack him with superior forces, simultaneously in front and rear. Knowing the country better than Lee, General Rosecrans argued that such a column could only come out over Cotton Mountain, striking the river opposite the mouth of the Gauley, where his rear-guard was placed; and he forthwith took measures to surround instead of being surrounded.

Stationing a small force, sufficient to delay the enemy at least twenty-four hours, at a gap through which Lee's main column must advance, he awaited the appearance of Floyd on Cotton Mountain with the column that was to cut his communications. He had so arranged it that General Benham, with one brigade, was to cross the Kanawha secretly, six miles below, and by a sudden march throw himself upon Floyd's rear; while General Schenck was to cross above, at a hastily improvised ferry, and General Cox, from the mouth of the Gauley, was to attack in front. A heavy rain destroyed the ferry above, but General Schenck crossed promptly at the mouth of the Gauley All worked well till it was discovered that General Benham, passing from the extreme of rashness to the extreme of either negligence or timidity, wasted his time and opportunity in needless halts, till the enemy was gone. The obedience of his instructions by this incompetent could scarcely have failed to result in the capture of Floyd's whole force.

General Lee was now recalled and sent to the coast; the Rebel forces were all retired, and General Rosecrans was enabled to put his troops in winter-quarters, with scarcely a Rebel bayonet to be found in the Department of West Virginia. No further comment on the campaign is needed than that which the enemy himself supplied. The Rebel annalist, Pollard, says:‡ "The campaign, * * * after its plain failure, * * * was virtually abandoned by the Government. Rosecrans was esteemed at the South one of the best Generals the North had in the field. He was declared by military critics, who could not be accused of partiality, to have clearly outgeneraled Lee, who made it the entire object of his campaign to 'surround the Dutch General;' and his popular manners and amiable deportment toward our prisoners, on more than one occasion, procured him the respect of his enemy"

The Ohio Legislature, by unanimous vote, thanked General Rosecrans and his army for their achievements; and, so satisfactory was the General's civil administration to the people of West Virginia, that the Legislature of that State, by

* He himself places his force at eight thousand five hundred "effectives." Rep. Com. Con. War, series of 1865, Vol. III, Rosecrans's testimony, p. 10.

† It subsequently appeared that he had not retired a day too soon. Lee had arranged for a combined movement on his front and rear, and it was actually to have been executed the night before Rosecrans fell back; but some delay in the starting of the flanking column led Lee to postpone the movement till the next night. The next night Rosecrans was gone.

‡ Vol. I, pp. 175, 179.

unanimous vote, passed a similar resolution of thanks for his conduct of civil as well as of military affairs. He sought, during a visit to Washington, to procure leave to mass his troops and throw them suddenly upon Winchester; but he already found that his free criticisms of the General-in-Chief had borne their natural fruits, and he was condemned to see the task which he sought committed to his own troops under other leadership. In April, 1862, under the pressure which demanded of Mr. Lincoln that John C. Fremont should not be banished the public service for declaring the principles of the Emancipation Proclamation earlier than himself, General Rosecrans was relieved to make room for Fremont, and ordered to Washington. Then followed some work in the immediate service of the Secretary of War—hunting up Blenker's division, which had incomprehensibly disappeared, consulting with General Banks as to the amazing blunders by which Stonewall Jackson was permitted to paralyze three armies in the Valley, and at the same time threaten Washington, laying plans before the War Department, and the like. By the middle of May he was ordered to General Halleck, before Corinth.

For a General who has commanded a department and planned his own campaigns, to be reduced not merely to the position of a subordinate, but to that of a subordinate s subordinate, as General Rosecrans now was by his assignment to the command of some divisions in General Pope's column, constituting the left wing of Halleck's army, is never a grateful change; but the General bore it handsomely; was alert enough to be among the very first in discovering the evacuation of Corinth and getting off troops in pursuit; kept his place in the advance till the enemy were found in new positions; held this front till ordered back to assume command of the Army of Mississippi on the departure of General Pope for the East.

The departure of General Halleck, a little earlier, to assume the position of General-in-Chief at Washington, left General Grant in chief command at the South-West, and thus, for the first time, brought General Rosecrans into relations with that officer, whose subsequent ill-will was to prove so baleful. Mr. Jefferson Davis, about the same time, in a fit of passion, displaced General Beauregard from the command of the opposing forces, to make room for his subordinate, General Braxton Bragg. The change was to prove an auspicious one.

Whether it was through his own engrossment with the civil cares of his great department, or through the chilling influence of General Halleck's excess of caution, General Grant suffered the Rebels quietly to recuperate from the demoralization into which they had been thrown by the retreat from Corinth, the fall of Memphis, New Orleans, and Natchez, and in their own good time to assume the offensive.

On the 10th of September General Sterling Price, with a force of about twelve thousand, marching northward, took Jacinto, and moved upon Iuka, a point on the railroad between Tuscumbia and Memphis. Rosecrans, sending out a reconnoissance, under Colonel (since General) Mower, determined that Iuka was

occupied in force, and so advised General Grant. Meantime it had been ascertained that Earl Van Dorn, with another Rebel column, was rapidly advancing in the direction of Corinth. By rapid movements there was time to concentrate and overwhelm Price before Van Dorn's arrival, and on this course Grant at once resolved. On the recommendation of Rosecrans, he determined to attack Price at Iuka, with General Ord's command, moving eastward upon him from the direction of Memphis, while Rosecrans, coming up from his camps below Corinth, should seize his lines of retreat. Ord was able to muster about six thousand five hundred, Rosecrans nearly nine thousand. Price, with his twelve thousand, might be expected to defeat either of these forces alone; the only salvation for either seemed to be in a nearly simultaneous attack.

On the evening of the 18th Rosecrans's column was concentrated at Jacinto, nearly south of Iuka. Ord lay on the railroad to Memphis, seven and a half miles west of Iuka, and Grant was with him. Rosecrans dispatched a courier, informing Grant of his position, saying that he should move in the morning at three, and hoped to reach Iuka not later than four in the afternoon, and adding that he should send couriers from points every two or three miles along the route. But General Grant, resting, as it would seem, on the single idea that Rosecrans's troops had not all reached Jacinto till nine o'clock at night, ordered Ord next morning to delay his attack. Again, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the very hour fixed by Rosecrans for his arrival, Grant again cautioned Ord against attack, but directed him to move forward to within four miles of Iuka, and there await the sound of Rosecrans's guns from the opposite side. Now it so happened that the wind was blowing fresh in the face of Rosecrans's column. It might have been remembered that this would prevent the guns from being heard, but it was not. Finally, at five, the advance of Ord's command reported a dense smoke seen rising from Iuka. Even this, coupled with Rosecrans's dispatch announcing that he should be on hand at four, was not enough to arouse either Grant or Ord himself, and the column lay idly watching the smoke, and listening for the sounds that the wind was blowing away from them.*

Meantime Rosecrans had kept his promise. Within ten minutes of the time he had fixed, his skirmishers were driving in the enemy's pickets; and a few moments later Price opened upon him with grape and canister. He listened in vain for the guns from the opposite side, and soon had the mortification to see Rebel troops marching from that direction to co-operate in a charge upon his weak and exposed lines. Till dark the battle raged. At sunset a heavy assault on Rosecrans's right was made. It was repulsed, and a heavier one came. Half an hour's conflict ensued; the Rebel line at last drifted back in disorder, and the soldiers discovered, in the moment of success, that they had fired their last cartridge.

Bivouacking his men in line of battle, Rosecrans now sent a last message to General Grant, reciting the events of the afternoon, saying he was fighting superior forces unsupported, and begging that Ord might be hurried up. Then, making his dispositions to seize some adjacent heights at daybreak for his artil-

* For all above statements concerning Grant's orders, see Ord's Official Report.

lery, and replenishing his ammunition, he had the men called at three o'clock, and at daylight was moving. But meantime Price had learned of the proximity of Ord's column, and had hastily evacuated. General Rosecrans pushed the pursuit as far as was prudent; then, under orders, hastened back to Corinth.

The enemy's loss in this engagement was one thousand and seventy-eight, prisoners, dead, and wounded, left on the field, with three hundred and fifty more wounded estimated to have been carried away. Our loss was seven hundred and eighty-two killed, wounded, and missing. General Rosecrans's conduct was energetic, courageous, and hopeful. General Grant said, in his official dispatch: "I can not speak too highly of the energy and skill displayed by General Rosecrans in the attack." General Grant's own course might be criticised as unduly cautious. Rosecrans's dispatch, naming his hour for attack, the smoke from his guns, and the adverse wind, plainly explaining the failure to hear the sound of firing, might have been sufficient warrant for moving Ord's column. But it is to be said that Ord's command was the weaker of the two, that it therefore behooved to take special care not to suffer it to be overwhelmed by engaging too soon, and that Rosecrans's distance, the night before, from the field of battle—nineteen miles—might well be held a sufficient cause for Grant's doubt about his getting up in time for action that day.

Of course, however, Rosecrans could not omit the opportunity to do himself an injury, and so, even in his official report to General Grant, he curtly expressed his disappointment at Ord's failure, and elsewhere was even more explicit.

But, at Washington, the McClellan opposition being neutralized by that officer's own failure, he was now rising rapidly in the favor of the War Department, and events in the near future were to give him still further advancement. The day after Iuka he received notice of his appointment as Major-General of Volunteers, and General Grant assigned him to the command of the District of Corinth.

Twelve days after the battle of Iuka* Rosecrans became convinced that Van Dorn's column, moving northward, had been re-enforced by Price's defeated army, and by the commands of Lovell and Villepigue, and was likely either to attack or pass him within a day or two. He had already been vigorously engaged in fortifying an inner line, which he claims to have urged upon General Grant all through the summer, and which he now pressed forward by organizing from the slaves of the neighborhood a strong force of negro engineers, the first used in the war.

Meantime his cavalry had been everywhere. His hope was that Van Dorn and Price, dreading the fortifications of Corinth, would pass him to attack Jackson or Bolivar, in which case he would have an opportunity to fall upon their rear. But on the 2d September his vigilance in reconnoitering was rewarded with the conviction that they were about to attempt the recapture of Corinth, and his dispositions were accordingly made, so as to be ready to repel

* That is, 2d September, 1862.

an attack from any direction. His force was fifteen thousand seven hundred infantry and artillery, and two thousand five hundred cavalry. His estimate of the combined strength of the enemy was thirty-five thousand, in which he subsequently felt himself fully warranted by the fact that he had taken prisoners from fifty-three regiments of Rebel infantry, eighteen of cavalry, and sixteen batteries.

By nine o'clock on the morning of 3d September the enemy began to press his advance. His orders were to "hold positions pretty firmly to develop the enemy's force." General Davies, under these orders, held a slight hill on which he was posted with such tenacity as to concentrate the Rebel attack, induce him to send for re-enforcements, and to cause the contest here to develop almost into the proportions of a battle. But by one o'clock he had fallen back. The enemy now renewed the vigor of their attack. Rosecrans gradually withdrew his line till it rested on the intrenchments, and meantime swung Hamilton's division in across the Columbus Railroad on the enemy's flank. This began sensibly to diminish the fierceness of the assault in front, and darkness now closed operations for the day.

Rosecrans spent the night re-forming the lines on his batteries, so as to bring the enemy's next attack within converging artillery fire, reassuring the men, and giving detailed instructions to his division commanders. It was three o'clock before his work was done. The feeling in Corinth, under the retreat of the army into the town, was a nervous one; but, as an eye-witness described it, "Rosecrans was in magnificent humor. He encouraged the lads by quoting Barkis, assuring them that 'things is workin'" Before daybreak the Ohio Brigade heard the enemy placing a battery in front, not over six hundred yards from Fort Robinett. "Let 'em plant it," said Rosecrans.* The officers, and through them the men, were inspired with his confidence. Not all could see how well the preparations for resisting the attack promised; but those who saw no meaning in the massing of artillery for raking fires from right and left into charging columns, could interpret more readily the meaning of the glad smile on their General's face, better than re-enforcements to the beleaguered and bleeding but courageous garrison.

Before daylight the Rebel battery planted so near Fort Robinett opened; but it was speedily silenced, and by seven o'clock all was quiet again. Rosecrans improved the lull to gallop along the lines, and encourage the men. But by nine the crackling of the skirmishers' fire gave warning of a hostile advance, and presently the Rebel columns, emerging from the woods, swept grandly up to the National lines. The batteries poured in their double charges; the crashing volleys of musketry told of sturdy resistance; but, "riddled and scattered,

* From the graphic account of the battle furnished the Cincinnati *Commercial* by W. D. Bickham, Esq., Rebellion Record, Vol. I, Doc., p. 501. The account adds: "Captain Williams opened at daylight his thirty-pounder Parrotts in Fort Williams, on the battery which the enemy had so slyly posted in darkness, and in about three minutes it was silenced. This was why General Rosecrans had said 'Let 'em plant it.' The enemy dragged off two pieces, but were unable to take the other. Part of the Sixty-Third Ohio and a squad of the First United States Artillery went out and brought the deserted gun within our lines."

the ragged head of Price's storming columns advanced"—breaking the thin National line, and pushing on to the center of the town.

Of what followed Rosecrans himself, in his report, modestly says only this: that he had the personal mortification of witnessing the untoward and untimely stampede. But it lives in the memory of every soldier who fought that day, how his General plunged into the thickest of the conflict, fought like a private soldier, dealt sturdy blows with the flat of his sabre on runaways, and fairly drove them to stand. Then came a quick rally which his magnificent bearing inspired, a storm of grape from the batteries tore its way through the Rebel ranks, re-enforcements which Rosecrans sent flying up, gave impetus to the National advance, and the charging column was speedily swept back outside the intrenchments. Let us hear again from the contemporaneous description of this battle, the splendid story of the charge and the repulse. "A prodigious mass, with gleaming bayonets, suddenly loomed out, dark and threatening, on the east of the railroad, moving sternly up the Bolivar road in column by divisions. Directly it opened out in the shape of a monstrous wedge, and drove forward impetuously toward the heart of Corinth. Hideous gaps were rent in it, but those massive lines were closed almost as soon as they were torn open. Our shells swept through the mass with awful effect, but the brave Rebels pressed onward inflexibly. Directly the wedge opened and spread out magnificently, right and left, like great wings, seeming to swoop over the whole field before them. But there was a fearful march in front. A broad, turfy glacis, sloping upward at an angle of thirty degrees, to a crest fringed with determined, disciplined soldiers, and clad with terrible batteries, frowned upon them. There were a few obstructions—fallen timber—which disordered their lines a little. But every break was instantly welded. Our whole line opened fire; but the enemy bent their necks downward and marched steadily to death, with their faces averted, like men striving to protect themselves against a driving storm of hail. At last they reached the crest of the hill, and General Davies's division began to fall back in disorder. General Rosecrans, who had been watching the conflict with eagle eye, and who is described as having expressed his delight at the trap into which Price was blindly plunging, discovered the break, and dashed to the front, inflamed with indignation. He rallied the men, by his splendid example, in the thickest of the fight. The men, brave when bravely led, fought again."* But before that wild charge was repelled, General Rosecrans's own head-quarters were captured! Seven corpses, wearing Rebel gray, were found lying in his door-yard when the line fell back.

Meanwhile, not less violent had been the charge led by Van Dorn. It swept up in four columns, under storms of grape and canister, to within fifty yards of Fort Robinett, when the Ohio Brigade† delivered a murderous volley, before which it reeled and retreated. Again they advanced, steadier, swifter than before, till they were pouring over the edge of the very ditch around the

*Rebellion Record, Vol. I, Doc., p. 501.

†Composed of the Twenty-Seventh, Thirty-Ninth, Forty-Third, and Sixty-Third Ohio, commanded by Colonel Fuller.

fort, when this deadly musketry fire of the Ohio Brigade broke their formation. A moment later, and, at the word, the Twenty-Seventh Ohio and Eleventh Missouri sprang over the intrenchments, charged the disordered foe, and drove them again to the woods. The battle was over.

Fourteen hundred and twenty-three Rebel dead were left upon the field. They lay at Rosecrans's head-quarters—within the forts—on the parapets—in the ditches, in short, everywhere over the field. With these Van Dorn and Price left twenty-two hundred and sixty-eight prisoners, fourteen stand of colors, two pieces of artillery, thirty-three hundred stand of small arms, forty-five thousand rounds of ammunition. On the National side three hundred and fifteen were killed, eighteen hundred and twelve wounded, and two hundred and thirty-two prisoners and missing. Yet the contest was eighteen thousand against thirty-five thousand. It has been well said that such fighting was Homeric. To the losing side the magnitude of the defeat may be estimated from the words of the Rebel annalist, who describes it as "the great disaster which was to react on other theaters of the war, and cast the long shadow of misfortune upon the country of the West."*

Knowing the exhausted condition of his troops and their inferior numbers, the General, as prudent amid the delirium of victory as he was heroic under the crush of disaster, cautiously felt the retiring foe with his skirmishers. Then, convinced that the defeat was assured, he ordered pursuit. Soldierly McPherson arrived, in the nick of time, with five fresh regiments, and was given the advance. The enemy tried to delay pursuit by a flag of truce with a burial party. It was ordered to stand aside. Van Dorn was informed that his old class-mate knew the rules of war well enough to bury the dead on the field he had won, and the column pressed onward in pursuit. Bridges were destroyed; the pursuers rebuilt them. The enemy had eighteen regiments of cavalry; the four National regiments everywhere drove them. Rations were hurried forward; for three days the troops that had fought through the preceding two pushed on, capturing deserters and stragglers, forcing the enemy's baggage-train to abandon half its loads, occasionally engaging the enemy's rear-guard, till, on midnight of 7th of October, Rosecrans proudly exclaimed that "Mississippi is in our hands."

At this inauspicious moment he was notified by General Grant that no aid could be sent; that he did not regard the column strong enough for pursuit. Rosecrans, of course, remonstrated. His long dispatch closed: "I beseech you to bend everything to push them while they are broken, weary, hungry, and ill-supplied. Draw everything from Memphis to help move on Holly Springs. Let us concentrate * * * and we can make a triumph of our start." In reply, Grant ordered him to stop the pursuit and return to Corinth. Rosecrans promptly obeyed, but, true to his argumentative and indiscreet nature, added that he most deeply dissented from the policy.

And now began to be seen the first developments of a feeling that, growing with age, was to draw after it an expanding train of evil. There is some rea-

* Pollard's Southern History, Vol. I, p. 516.

son to believe that Grant had been nettled at the complaints, partly official from Rosecrans himself, far more unofficial from thoughtless staff-officers who "knew all their General knew,"* about the failure to support him at Iuka. The order to stop the pursuit renewed this indiscreet chatter, and whispering tongues were soon poisoning truth, by the reports they made at Grant's head-quarters. Grant congratulated the army on its victory in General Orders, but, passing by the brilliant battle at Corinth with a single clause, devoted the most of the order to extravagant praise of Hurlbut, for the brief onslaught he had made upon the enemy during their retreat.† There was subsequently an effort at explaining away misunderstandings; both Grant and Rosecrans professed themselves satisfied, and they parted promising friendly intercourse in the future;‡ but it is doubtful if the scars were ever fully effaced from the memory of either, till later events came to brand them deeper and broader with both.

But in the War Department, where Grant's hostility, even if existing and exerted, could as yet avail little, the star of Rosecrans was now rapidly rising to its zenith. Nine days after his return to Corinth he was ordered to Cincinnati, where fresh orders instructed him to relieve General Buell and assume command of the great but demoralized army, which, retiring steadily through the early fall, to keep pace with Bragg's advance into Kentucky, had fallen from North Alabama to the Ohio River. The Country and the Army, remembering his heroism and his victories, gave implicit confidence to the new General commanding; and he entered upon the duty of pushing back the war from his native State, and holding the center of that great line which stretched from the Potomac to the Arkansas, under outward auspices the most cheering. But he found the troops dispirited, discipline lax, unsoldierly complaints general. Winter was approaching; the railroad lines were a wreck, and even if the army had been pushed forward through the country which Bragg had exhausted, it would have been impossible to supply it.

In the midst of the first comprehension of these unexpected difficulties came an order from the General-in-Chief at Washington, to undertake a march after Bragg, to East Tennessee, a distance of two hundred and forty miles, at a time when the army had transportation enough to supply it less than fifty miles from its depots, while the cavalry was utterly unable, over even so short a route, to protect the trains. Briefly replying that such a march was impossible, Rosecrans hastened the work of supply and reorganization, and at the earliest moment concentrated his troops at Nashville. Here speedily came Bragg with his army from the mountains, thus vindicating the judgment of Rosecrans in refusing to be drawn after him into an impracticable country.

Yet, already irritated at the ignoring of his first order, and the subsequent vindication of such policy, Halleck soon found fresh cause of complaint. Before the first train could get through from Louisville to Nashville, over the destroyed

* Bickham's Rosecrans's Campaign with the Army of the Cumberland, p. 145.

† Grant and his Campaigns, p. 131.

‡ Rep. Com. Con. War, series of 1865. Rosecrans's Testimony, p. 56.

railroad, and before it had been possible to accumulate five days' supplies for the army at Nashville, the General-in-Chief again urgently demanded a forward movement; and Rosecrans having again represented its impossibility, as well as the needlessness of marching into a rough country to meet Bragg, when Bragg was already coming far away from his base of supplies to meet him, General Halleck once more required the movement, "for urgent political reasons," and significantly added that "he had been requested by the President to designate a successor for General Rosecrans."* The reply to this was manly and testy, as might have been expected: "My appointment to the command having been made without any solicitation from me or my friends, if the President continues to have confidence in the propriety of the selection, he must permit me to use my judgment and be responsible for the results; but if he entertains doubts he ought at once to appoint a commander in whom he can confide, for the good of the service and of the country." †

This seemed to be sufficient, and Rosecrans was molested no further. He bent every energy toward hurrying forward supplies, kept his cavalry vigorously at work, handling them so skillfully that they were generally successful, and soon became animated with the *prestige* of victory; skirmished all along his line of outposts with the enemy Bragg having persisted in robbing prisoners of their overcoats and blankets, and having on one or two occasions taken unwarrantable advantage of flags of truce, Rosecrans, after energetic remonstrances, finally notified him that—"I shall not, therefore, be able to hold any further official intercourse with you. Indeed, you render it impracticable, because I can not trust your messengers, or the statements made by them of occurrences patent as the sun. No flag will, therefore, be received from you excepting one conveying reparation for your outrages." ‡

Within less than a month after the re-opening of the railroad between Louisville and Nashville, a sufficient store of supplies had been accumulated at the latter place to warrant the undertaking of an offensive campaign, with it as the immediate base. Meantime the enemy had been skillfully led to believe that the army would be able to accomplish nothing during the winter; and resting secure in this belief, he had sent away a large force to operate in Kentucky, and another of cavalry to harass Grant in West Tennessee. Now, therefore, had come the fitting moment for the attack. It was two months, lacking one day, since Rosecrans had assumed command of the army He had found it so weakened that, as shown by the rolls in the office of the Adjutant-General, there were absent thirty-two thousand nine hundred and sixty-six men, whom the Government and the country supposed to be in the ranks. || Even now he was only able to muster an effective offensive force of forty-six thousand nine hundred and ten men of all arms.

On the 26th December, 1862, the advance upon Murfreesboro', where Bragg

*Rep. Com. Con. War, series of 1865, Vol. III. Rosecrans's Testimony, p. 25. † Ibid.

‡ Rosecrans's Campaign with the Army of the Cumberland, by W. D. Bickham, p. 105.

|| Of whom six thousand four hundred and eighty-four were *deserters*, through the demoralization consequent upon Buell's retreat.

had thrown up slight intrenchments and gone into winter-quarters, began. Already men not unskilled in war, and not wishing defeat to the National army, were predicting it. For Rosecrans, with the lamentable ignorance of human nature which we have before had occasion to notice, had confided the command of the two wings of his army to two soldiers scarcely equal to the command of divisions.* Moving his troops in three columns, and handling them skillfully, the General was soon able to develop the Rebel positions. Hardee he found holding the enemy's left, in intrenchments west of Murfreesboro' and north of Stone River. Bragg himself was in the town with Polk, and the right was held by Breckinridge, who lay behind Stone River, and not far from the most available fords. Their outposts contested the advance stubbornly, and on the 29th there was sharp skirmishing all along the line, but particularly on Hardee's front. That evening, however, found the line well up, and its left in sight of Murfreesboro'

At nine o'clock the corps commanders assembled, and the General explained to them his plan for the ensuing day McCook, on his right, (opposite Hardee) was to hold the enemy; Thomas, in the center, was to push straight to the river; while Crittenden, on the left, crossing the river at the fords, was to take Breckinridge in flank and rear, when Thomas, now up to the river, was to assail him at the same time in front. With this preponderance of force there could be no doubt of Breckinridge's defeat. Then the left and center, (Crittenden and Thomas), sweeping through Murfreesboro', were to fall upon the rear of Hardee and whatever forces might be united with him against McCook. Manifestly this plan pivoted on one single point: Could McCook hold the right while center and left were thus hurled upon the enemy's rear? The General asked him: "You know the ground—you have fought over its difficulties. Can you hold your present position for three hours?" "Yes; I think I can." Thereupon he was admonished that his present formation of his line was faulty; that his extreme right was too much in the air, and therefore in imminent danger of being turned. Great fires were to be built along three or four times the extent of his line, to lead the enemy to the belief that he was massing troops there. And so the corps commanders rode back to their places.†

Early next morning Crittenden began his movement against the enemy's flank and rear. But, away off to the right, the enemy had been quicker, and before Crittenden's men had moved to the fords, already the mass of the Rebel army was advancing in columns of assault upon McCook. That officer had failed to correct the faulty formation of his line—indeed, considered that "a better disposition of his troops, under the circumstances, could not be made."‡ The result was inevitable.

* Excepting when under the eye of a superior officer, who could do their thinking for them.

† Rosecrans's Official Report Stone River, Gov't. Edition. In opposition to all this, however, Shank's "Personal Recollections of Distinguished Generals," (Harper & Bros., 1866, pp. 148, 149), says: "The official reports tell very elaborately of a grand plan, but that plan was arranged after the battle was finished. The soldiers fought the battle on our part, not the General commanding." No evidence, however, is given for so grave a statement.

‡ McCook's Official Report of action of right wing in battle of Stone River.

Presently a tide of fugitives began to sweep back out of the cedars on the right. "McCook's corps was beaten;" "Sill was killed;" "two batteries were captured;" "the Rebel cavalry was charging the rear." Close upon their track came a staff-officer from McCook, confirming the evil news, but giving no particulars. "Tell General McCook to contest every inch of the ground," exclaimed Rosecrans; "if he holds them it will all work right." But he did not hold them. The tide of disaster swept on; it was soon seen that McCook's corps was coming back bodily; that the battle was spreading to the center. And yet the attack had lasted less than an hour; it was scarcely half an hour since Crittenden's advance had begun to cross the river for the movement in flank and rear. McCook was not checking the enemy "three hours," nor one, nor a moment. The instant of attack had been the instant when his ill-formed line began to crumble.

It was now, therefore, fallen upon the General commanding to decide at once whether to abandon the attack on the left, and narrow his efforts to a struggle for the safety of his own army, or whether he could still trust this routed corps, of which parts might retain their solidity, till he could attack the enemy's rear, according to the original plan.

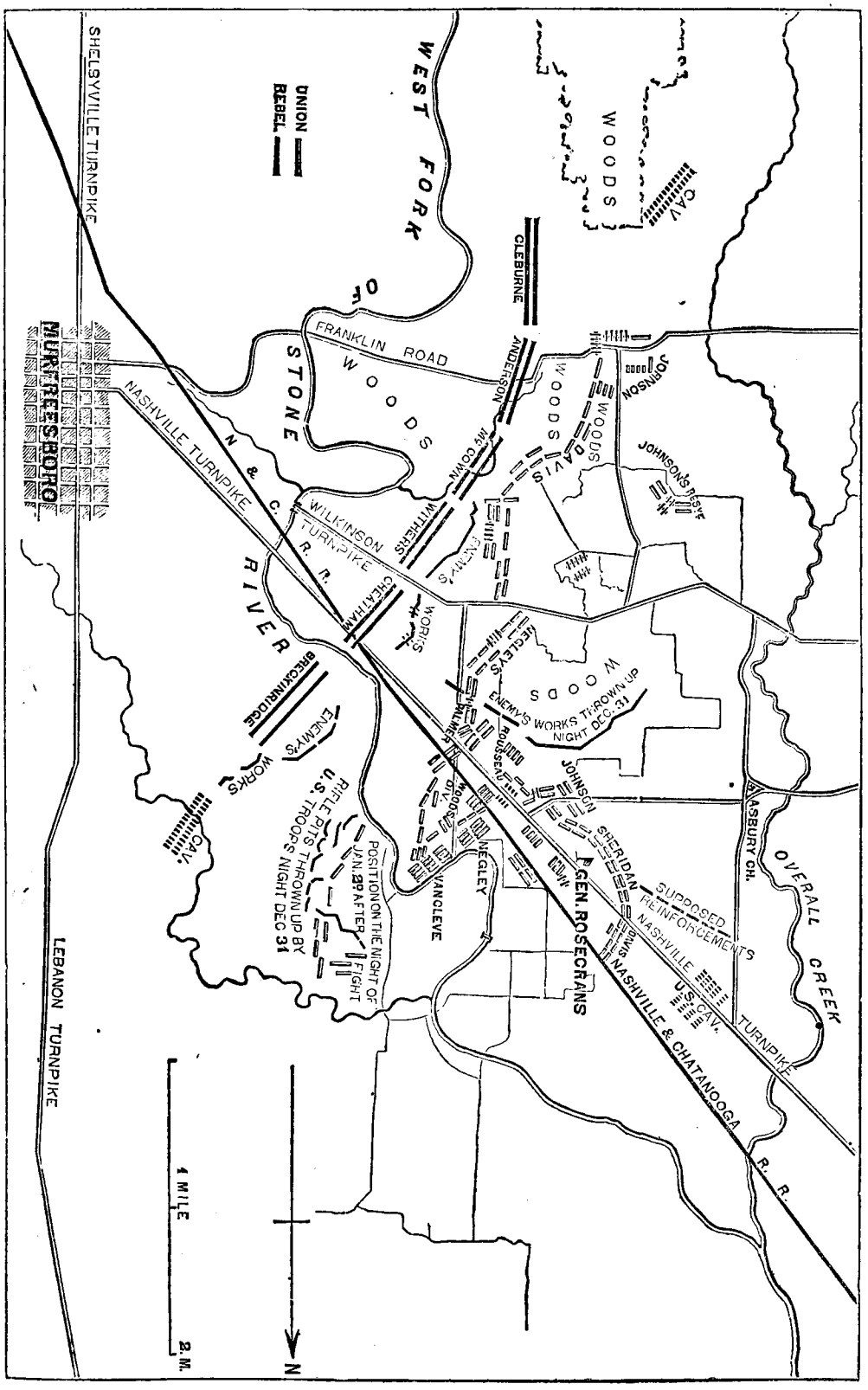
The last course was already perilous in the extreme; half an hour later it was impossible. Yet it must have been with a pang that the General sent orders withdrawing Crittenden's advance, and forwarding re-enforcements instead into the cedar brakes on the right. Thenceforward it was technically a defensive battle.

"The history of the combat in those dark cedars will never be known. No man could see even the whole of his own regiment, and no one will ever be able to tell who they were that fought bravest, or they who proved recreant to their trust. It was left to Sheridan to stay the successful onset of the foe. Never did a man labor more faithfully than he to perform his task, and never was leader seconded by more gallant soldiers. His division formed a pivot on which the broken right wing turned in its flight, and its perilous condition can easily be imagined, when the flight of Davis's division left it without any protection from the triumphant enemy, who now swarmed upon its front and right flank; but it fought until one-fourth its number lay upon the field, and till all its brigade commanders were gone."*

As Sheridan came out of the cedars, with his riddled but still compact division, he rode up to Rosecrans, pointing to his men: "Here is all that is left of us, General. Our cartridge-boxes are empty, and so are our guns."

Meantime Rosecrans had been busy re-forming the line, grouping batteries on the crest of the knoll near the turnpike, once or twice heading charges to repel advancing Rebel columns. With the lines re-formed, the rest of the battle was simple. By eleven o'clock the rout of McCook's corps was over, the new formation was complete, and a lull had come. Then followed assault after assault, mainly upon the left. All were handsomely repulsed; and in all the

*From the admirable account of the battle furnished by Mr. W. S. Furay to the Cincinnati *Gazette*.



THE BATTLE-FIELD OF STONE RIVER.

presence of Rosecrans himself was the inspiring feature. Garesché's head was blown from his body as he galloped by the side of the General* in one of these movements. Richmond and Porter, of the staff, were shot. Kirby was shot. Two or three orderlies were shot; and nearly a dozen of the staff lost their horses. To every remonstrance about this personal exposure, the General only replied: "This battle must be won." When Garesché fell, his most intimate and trusted friend, the General made no sign. But, a moment later, he thundered up to a regiment and ordered it to charge.

So, with unretrieved disaster in the morning, and with handsome defense through the afternoon, the day ebbed out with the ebbing fire. Twenty-eight pieces of artillery had been lost; seven thousand men lay dead and wounded on the field. The General galloped back and selected ground, a few miles in the rear, to which, in case of necessity, the retreat could be conducted; then returned to his corps commanders, and, with few orders, simply said: "Gentlemen, we fight it out here." The rear was swarming with the enemy's cavalry; communication with Nashville was nearly or quite cut off; in front lay an army that had already driven one wing in confusion, broken up the whole plan of battle, and thrown the attacking column into an attitude purely defensive. But, "Gentlemen, we fight it out here." "Most men in that army were whipped," it was afterward well said, "excepting the General who commanded it."

The next day passed quietly, till, in the afternoon, the enemy made one or two partial demonstrations, which were easily repulsed. It began to be seen that, in spite of his seeming success, Bragg had been severely punished. The next forenoon likewise passed inactively; but in the afternoon the enemy concentrated his strength for a final effort. Rosecrans, finding his position apparently secure, had extended his left across Stone River, at the point where he had originally intended that his main attack on the enemy's flank and rear should begin. On this isolated force† the enemy now poured down, driving it in hot haste back across the river again, and crossing himself in pursuit. But here he came under the fire of a great collection of batteries skillfully placed on the north bank. The slaughter was terrible; and, as a couple of brigades advanced upon him, the enemy in turn fled in confusion. His loss in less than forty minutes was two thousand men. Excepting Malvern Hill, it was, perhaps, the handsomest artillery fight of the war.

This was the last sullen effort of the enemy, and ended the battle of Stone River. Next day, under cover of heavy rains, and a vigorous maintenance of skirmishing on the front, Bragg was in full retreat. No pursuit was attempted.

The battle thus inauspiciously begun and happily ended, electrified the Nation. At the capital, men waited, day by day, during the continuance of the fighting, for dispatches from Rosecrans, as if he held in his hands the fate of the Government. General Halleck, lately so dissatisfied, and about, "at the President's request," to name General Rosecrans's successor, could scarcely say

*To whom he was Chief of Staff. † Van Cleve's division.

too much. "The victory was well earned, and one of the most brilliant of the war. You and your brave army have won the gratitude of your country and the admiration of the world. The field of Murfreesboro' is made historical, and future generations will point out the place where so many heroes fell gloriously in defense of the Constitution and the Union. All honor to the Army of the Cumberland! Thanks to the living, and tears for the lamented dead!" Scarcely less enthusiastic was the President: "God bless you, and all with you! Please tender to all, and accept for yourself, the Nation's gratitude for your and their skill, endurance, and dauntless courage." The Country re-echoed the words. Admiring journals dwelt upon the details of the General's personal movements through the battle. Men compared him to that Marshal of France to whom, when Napoleon had said: "I give you sixty thousand soldiers," and he had replied: "Sire, Your Majesty mistakes; I have but forty thousand," the great Master of War rejoined: "No, sir, I do not mistake; I count *you* for twenty thousand."

Yet now, on a calm review of all the facts, it must be confessed that the battle is open to criticisms. It was a fatal mistake to intrust a forlorn hope (such as Rosecrans proposed to make the right while he pushed the left and center upon the enemy's flank and rear) to an officer like McCook. Most of all was it a mistake to do this in an army which then numbered among its Generals, George H. Thomas and Philip H. Sheridan. The man that could do this was hopelessly ignorant of human nature; hopelessly deficient in that foremost quality of a General which teaches how to select the right men for the right places. Had the original plan not been ruined at the outset by this blunder, it would have been exposed to similar danger further on, from its counterpart, for Crittenden, though abler than McCook, was still unfit for such responsible positions. Furthermore, in a case like this, where *everything* depended upon this right wing, while he was convinced that its position was faulty, and knew that the enemy was massed upon it, the General commanding was not absolved from responsibility by a simple statement that, as his corps General* "knew the ground best, he must leave it to his judgment."†

But when the diaster had enveloped half the army, and from that time to the end, Rosecrans was magnificent. Rising superior to the disaster that, in a moment, had annihilated his carefully-prepared plans, he grasped in his single hands the fortunes of the day. He stemmed the tide of retreat, hurried brigades and divisions to the points of danger, massed the artillery, handled his troops as Morphy might his chess-men, infused into them his own dauntless spirit, and out of defeat itself fashioned the weapons of victory. As at Rich Mountain, Iuka, Corinth, it was his personal presence that magnetized his plans into success.

*Throughout the above, the Generals of the center and wings have, for the sake of convenience been designated as corps Generals, though in reality they held no such rank. Rosecrans himself was, as yet, only a corps General, and his army was known at the War Department as the Fourteenth Corps.

†Rosecrans's own explanation in his official report.

Of his forty-six thousand men, Rosecrans lost fifteen hundred and thirty-three killed, and seven thousand two hundred and forty-five wounded, besides nearly three thousand prisoners. In other words, his killed and wounded alone constituted one-fifth of his entire command. He took prisoners from one hundred and thirty-two regiments of Rebel infantry On this basis he estimated the strength of his antagonist at sixty-two thousand five hundred and twenty, which was unquestionably an exaggeration. Bragg, in his official report, said he had but thirty-five thousand men in the field when the battle commenced. Out of these he admits a loss of nine thousand killed and wounded and one thousand prisoners; but he consoled himself and the Rebel Government by estimating Rosecrans's loss at twenty-four thousand killed and wounded.

And now there followed the most unfortunate six months of Rosecrans s career. He kept up a series of skirmishes and affairs of more or less importance with isolated bodies of the enemy; sent General Carter on a raid into East Tennessee; resisted raids upon his communications by Forrest and Morgan; sent Jeff. C. Davis and Sheridan on movements to the southward against small Rebel forces; engaged Morgan, Van Dorn, and others, at points near Murfreesboro'; dispatched Colonel Straight, with eighteen hundred cavalry to the rear of Bragg's army, to cut the Rebel railroad communications and destroy their depots of supplies. Most of these movements were successes; the last, by unskillfulness, resulted in the capture of the entire command.

But these were trifling matters. General Rosecrans had a great army, which had won a great victory. He was expected to improve it. The winter was given him to recruit and reorganize. With spring came an impatience for his advance, which every delay intensified, till at last the dissatisfaction of the Government culminated in such orders as it never in any other case brought itself to address to a General to whose hands it still intrusted an army.

From 4th January to 23d June, 1863, the army lay at Murfreesboro' In his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, General Rosecrans explains this delay by the weakness of his cavalry force, the scarcity of forage, the nature of the roads, and the policy of holding Bragg on his front rather than driving him out of Tennessee, only that he might unite with Jos. E. Johnston and fall upon Grant, who was still ineffectually struggling before Vicksburg. In his sketch of his military career, officially furnished to the War Department,* he says: "The detachment of General Burnside's troops to Vicksburg, the uncertainty of the issue of our operations there, and the necessity of 'nursing'—so to speak—General Bragg on my front, to keep him from retiring behind the mountain and the Tennessee, whence he could and would have been obliged to send heavy re-enforcements to Johnston, delayed the advance of my army until the 23d of June, when, the circumstances at Vicksburg and the arrival of all our cavalry horses warranting it, we began the campaign." And in his correspondence with the General-in-Chief, he said that to fight in

* Manuscript on file in rolls of Adjutant-General's office at Washington.

Tennessee while Grant was about fighting at Vicksburg, would violate one of the fundamental maxims of war, the proper application of which would "forbid this Nation from engaging all its forces in the great West at the same time, so as to leave it without a single reserve to stem the current of possible disaster."*

Some of these considerations are of undoubted weight; but on the whole they will hardly seem now to have afforded sufficient cause for the delay. In point of fact, Bragg profited by it to detach a considerable portion of his troops to the Rebel lines of the South-West, the very result which Rosecrans imagined himself to be hindering.† There are no traces of complaint from Grant himself on the subject, but his friends were not silent; and there is some reason to think that their importunity served still further to exasperate the already dissatisfied feelings of the General-in-Chief.

Presently there sprang up an extraordinary state of affairs between that officer and General Rosecrans. The latter asked for cavalry. General Halleck replied as if he thought it a complaint. Rosecrans telegraphed the Secretary of War. In reply came fresh hints from Halleck about the tendency of his subordinate to complain of his means instead of using them. Rosecrans begged for revolving rifles, adding almost piteously: "Don't be weary at my importunity. No economy can compare with that of furnishing revolving arms; no mode of recruiting will so promptly and efficaciously strengthen us.‡" But the Prussian war not yet having been fought, the practical General-in-Chief considered such applications the extravagant whims of a dreaming theorist.

The dispatches for "cavalry," "cavalry," "cavalry," continued. On 20th March General Rosecrans said: "Duty compels me to recall the attention of the War Department to the necessity of more cavalry here. Let it be clearly understood that the enemy have five to our one, and can, therefore, command the resources of the country and the services of the inhabitants." On 29th March again: "General Rousseau would undertake to raise eight or ten thousand mounted infantry. I think the time very propitious." On 24th April, still the same: "Cavalry horses are indispensable to our success here. This has been stated and reiterated to the Department; but horses have not been obtained." Again, on 10th May, in reply to a letter of General Halleck, proving to him that he had cavalry enough: "We have at no time been able to turn out more than five thousand for actual duty. I am not mistaken in saying that this great army would gain more from ten thousand effective cavalry than from twenty thousand infantry." On 26th July: "I have sent General Rousseau to Washington, directed to lay before you his plan for obtaining from the disciplined troops recently mustered out in the East, such a mounted force as would enable us to command the country south of us."‖ This last application ended the list. General Rousseau returned, telling Rosecrans that he "was satisfied his official destruction was but a question of time and opportunity; the will to accomplish

* Rep. Com. Con. War, series 1865, Vol. III, Rosecrans's Campaigns, p. 41.

† Pollard's Southern History, Vol. III, p. 114.

‡ Rep. Com. Con. War, ubi supra, p. 38. ‖ Ibid., pp. 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41.

it existed, and there was no use to hope for any assistance from the War Department." The Secretary of War had "even gone so far as to say that he would be damned if he would give Rosecrans another man."*

For, meantime, the high spirit and utter lack of caution in personal matters which so distinguished General Rosecrans had led to two other breaches with the Department. Either of them would have served to make his position as a successful General, vigorously prosecuting a triumphant campaign, sufficiently unpleasant. As a delaying General, furnishing excuses for not undertaking the campaign on which the Government, with all its power, was urging him, they were enough to work his ruin. Yet who can check a thrill of honest pride as he reads that an Ohio General, in such a plight, had still sturdy manhood enough left to send a dispatch like this to the all-powerful General-in-Chief:

"MURFREESBORO', 6th March, 1863.

"*General:* Yours of the 1st instant, announcing the offer of a vacant Major-Generalship in the regular army to the General in the field who first wins an important and decisive victory, is at hand. As an officer and a citizen I feel degraded at such an auctioneering of honors. Have we a General who would fight for his own personal benefit when he would not for honor and his country? He would come by his commission basely in that case, and deserve to be despised by men of honor. But are all the brave and honorable Generals on an equality as to chances? If not, it is unjust to those who probably deserve most.

"W. S. ROSECRANS, Major-General.

"To Major-General H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief."

Under the merited sting of this incautious but unanswerable rebuke, General Halleck renewed his complaints, found fault with Rosecrans's reports, and his failures to report, and even criticised the expenses of his telegraphing! At last Rosecrans, chafing under one of these dispatches, with absolutely characteristic lack of prudence, was stung into saying: "That I am very careful to inform the Department of my successes, and of all captures from the enemy, is not true, as the records of our office will show; that I have failed to inform the Government of my defeats and losses is equally untrue, both in letter and in spirit. I regard the statement of these two propositions of the War Department as a profound, grievous, cruel, and ungenerous official and personal wrong." Was it wonderful now—human nature being, after all, only human nature—that Rosecrans's "official destruction was but a question of time and opportunity?"

At last,† thirteen days after every one of his corps and division Generals had in writing expressed his opposition to an effort to advance, General Rosecrans began his movement. Bragg lay heavily intrenched at Tullahoma, with advance positions at Shelbyville and Wartrace. By a series of combined movements which even General Halleck was forced officially to pronounce "admirable," ‡ Bragg's attention was completely taken up by Gordon Granger's dashing

* Rep. Com. Con. War, ubi supra. † 24th June, 1863.

‡ Halleck's Official Report. Report Sec. War, First Sess. Thirty-Eighth Congress.

advance on Shelbyville, while the bulk of the army, hastily moving far to the enemy's right, seized the mountain gaps which covered his flank. Bragg perceived, too late, the extent of his loss, and made haste to expedite his retreat. Rosecrans pushed forward for a similar flanking movement on Tullahoma, but Bragg, foreseeing that Rosecrans's success would cut off his hope of retreat, made haste to get out of Tullahoma while he could, and precipitately retired behind the Tennessee River.

Success had again justified General Rosecrans; but, brilliant as were these operations, they lacked the element of bloodshed which goes so far toward fixing the popular standard of appreciation. The very day on which he had begun the campaign had unfortunately proved the beginning of an unprecedented rain-storm which lasted for seventeen successive days. Through this the campaign was carried on; but for the delays which it compelled, Tullahoma would have been turned so speedily that Bragg would have found himself forced to battle on disadvantageous ground, and the history of the war in the South-West might have been changed. As it was, Rosecrans was fully warranted in his proud summing up: "Thus ended a nine days' campaign which drove the enemy from two fortified positions, and gave us possession of Middle Tennessee, conducted in one of the most extraordinary rains ever known in Tennessee at that period of the year, over a soil that became almost a quicksand. These results were far more successful than was anticipated, and could only have been obtained by a surprise as to the direction and force of our movements."* His total loss was five hundred and sixty He took sixteen hundred and thirty-four prisoners, six pieces of artillery, and large quantities of stores.

General Rosecrans at once set about repairing the railroads in his rear, and hurrying forward supplies. By 25th of July the first supply train was pushed through to the Tennessee River. But already "the General-in-Chief began to manifest great impatience at the delay in the movement forward to Chattanooga." So Rosecrans mildly states it. The nature of these manifestations may be inferred from the correspondence. On 3d July General Halleck telegraphed positive orders to advance at once, and report daily the movement of each corps until the Tennessee River was crossed! Rosecrans, in astonishment, replied that he was trying to prepare for crossing, and inquired if this order was intended to take away his discretion as to the time and manner of moving his troops. Halleck's response was such as was never given under similar circumstances to any other General during the war: "The orders for the advance of your army, and that its progress be reported daily, are peremptory!" The War Department has not favored us with General Rosecrans's reply to this extraordinary order, but we are not without the means for determining its nature. He stated his plans,† showed the necessity of deceiving the enemy as to the intended point for crossing the Tennessee, insisted on not moving till he was ready, and requested that, in the event of the disapproval of these views, he

* Rosecrans's Official Report Tullahoma Campaign.

† Rosecrans's MS. Sketch of his Military Career, furnished under orders of War Department, in files of the Adjutant-General's office.

should be relieved from the command of the army! This seems to have freed him from further molestation; but it needed no prophetic sagacity now to see that only "time and opportunity" were waited for at the War Department.

It was on 5th August that General Halleck telegraphed his peremptory orders to move, and received in reply the tender of the command. General Rosecrans quietly waited till the dispositions along his extended line were completed, till stores were accumulated, and the corn had ripened so that his horses could be made to live off the country. On the 15th he was ready.

The problem now before General Rosecrans was to cross the Tennessee River and gain possession of Chattanooga, the key to the entire mountain ranges of Eastern Tennessee and Northern Georgia, in the face of an enemy of equal strength, whose business it was to oppose him. Two courses were open. Forcing a passage over the river above Chattanooga, he might have essayed a direct attack upon the town. If not repulsed in the dangerous preliminary movements, he would still have had upon his hands a siege not less formidable than that of Vicksburg, with difficulties incomparably greater in supplying his army. But, if this plan was not adopted, it then behooved him to convince the enemy that he had adopted it; while, crossing below, he hastened southward over the ruggedest roads, to seize the mountain gaps whence he could debouch upon the enemy's line of supplies. More briefly, he could either attempt to fight the enemy out of Chattanooga, or to flank him out. He chose the latter.

By the 28th the singular activity of the National forces along a front of a hundred and fifty miles had blinded and bewildered Bragg as to his antagonist's actual intentions. Four brigades suddenly began demonstrating furiously against his lines above Chattanooga, and the plan was thought to be revealed! Rosecrans must be about attempting to force a passage there, and straightway began a concentration to oppose him. Meantime, bridges having been secretly prepared were hastily thrown across, thirty miles further down the river at different points, and before Bragg had finished preparing to resist a crossing above, Rosecrans, handling with rare skill his various corps and divisions, had securely planted his army south of the Tennessee, and, cutting completely loose from his base of supplies, was already pushing southward, his flank next the enemy being admirably protected by impassable mountains.

For Bragg, but one thing was left. As he had been forced out of Shelbyville, out of Wartrace, out of Tullahoma, precisely so had the same stress been placed upon him by the same hand in his still stronger position; and in all haste he evacuated Chattanooga, leaving it to the nearest corps of Rosecrans's army to march quietly in and take possession. The very ease of this occupation was to prove its strongest element of danger. For men, seeing the objective point of the campaign in our hands, forgot the columns toiling through mountains away to the southward, whose presence there alone compelled the Rebel evacuation. But for them the isolated troops at Chattanooga would have been overwhelmed. Thenceforward there was need of still greater Generalship to reunite the scattered corps. They could not return by the way they had gone, for the moment they began such a movement Bragg, holding the shorter

line, and already re-enforced by Longstreet's veteran corps of the Army of Northern Virginia, could sweep back over the route of his late retreat. Plainly they must pass through the gaps, and place themselves between Bragg and Chattanooga, before the stronghold—beyond a mere tentative possession—could be within our grasp. And so it came about that a battle—the bloody one of Chickamauga—was fought to enable our army to concentrate in the position which one of its corps had already occupied for days without firing a shot.

Unfortunately the concentration was not speedy enough. Indeed, there are some plausible reasons for believing that Rosecrans was for a few days deceived by his easy success into a belief that Bragg was still in full retreat. Certainly the General-in-Chief and the War Department did all they could to encourage such an idea; and even after Rosecrans, (every nerve tense with the struggle to concentrate his corps), was striving to prepare for the onset of the re-enforced Rebel army, General Halleck informed him of reports that Bragg's army was re-enforcing Lee, and pleasantly added that, after he had occupied Dalton it would be decided whether he should move still further southward!

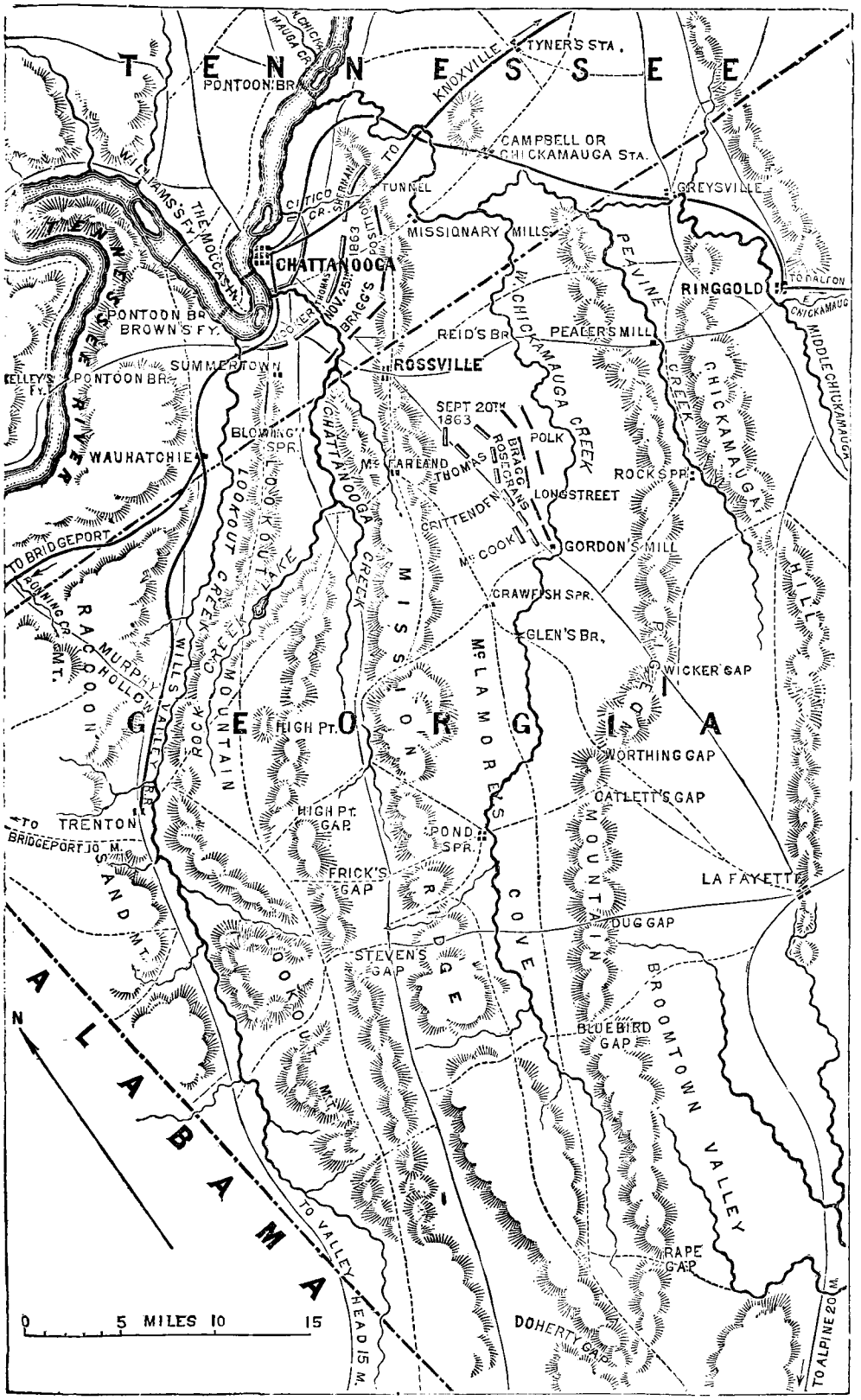
But now Bragg had gathered in every available re-enforcement; Longstreet from the East, Buckner from Knoxville, Walker from the army of Jos. E. Johnston, militia from Georgia,* and, waiting near Lafayette, hoped to receive the isolated corps of Rosecrans's army as they debouched through the gaps, and annihilate them in detail. For a day or two it looked as if he would be successful; Rebel critics insist that he might have been, and he himself seems disposed to blame his subordinates. One way or another, however, he failed. Rosecrans gathered together his army, repelling whatever assaults sought to hinder the concentration, yielding part of the line of the Chickamauga, and marching one of the corps all through the night before the battle. On 19th September Bragg made his onset—with certainly not less than seventy thousand men. Rosecrans had fifty-five thousand.

Bragg's plan was to turn his antagonist's left, and thus clear the way into Chattanooga. But, most fortunately, the left was held by George H. Thomas. Shortly after the attack began, Rosecrans, divining the danger, strengthened Thomas's corps with one or two divisions. Disaster overtook us at first, artillery was lost, and ground yielded, but Thomas re-formed and advanced his lines, regained all that had been lost, sustained every shock of the enemy, and at night held his positions firmly Meanwhile the contest on other parts of our line had been less severe, and had ended decidedly to our advantage. But it was seen that we were outnumbered, and as they came to think how every brigade in the whole army, two only excepted, had been drawn into the fight, the soldiers began to realize the dispiriting nature of the situation.

Through the night the last of Longstreet s corps came up, led by himself, and Bragg prepared for a more vigorous onset on the National left. Rosecrans transferred another division (Negley's) to Thomas, and placed two more in reserve, to be hurried to Thomas's aid if needed. At daybreak† he galloped along the

* Raising Bragg's force, according to Rosecrans's estimate, to ninety-two thousand men.

† 20th September, 1863.



CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA.

front, to find McCook's line, as usual, ill-formed, and also to learn that Negley had not yet been forwarded to Thomas. The errors were corrected as well as possible; but long before Thomas's needed re-enforcements had come, the battle was raging on his front and flank. Profoundly conscious of the danger, Rosecrans sought to render still further aid, and ordered over Van Cleve's division from the right, directing the several division commanders and the corps General to close up the line on the left. In the heat of the battle, which by this time was broken out along the right also, one of these division commanders* misunderstood his orders; and, though he has subsequently stated that he knew the consequences of his action must be fatal, he chose to consider himself bound by the order to break the line of battle and march to the rear of another division. Longstreet perceived the gap and hurled Hood into it. The battle on the right was lost. The whole wing crumbled; the enemy poured forward, and all that was left of McCook's corps, a broken rabble, streamed back to Chattanooga.

General Rosecrans himself was caught in this rout and borne along, vainly striving to stem its tide. Finally, conceiving that if the wing least pressed was thus destroyed, Thomas, upon whom he knew the main efforts of the enemy were concentrated, could not hold out beyond nightfall, he hastened to Chattanooga to make dispositions for the retreat and defense, which he already regarded as inevitable. Meantime his chief of staff, General Garfield, was sent to Thomas to convey to him information of what had happened and of the plans for the future.

This ended Rosecrans's connection with the battle of Chickamauga. The troops under Thomas stood their ground superbly, and their defense saved the routed right from destruction. When they fell back, Rosecrans had perfected his dispositions at Chattanooga, and Bragg found that, beyond possession of the battle-field, his victory had gained him nothing. He confessed to a loss of two-fifths of his army! Rosecrans's loss in killed and wounded was ten thousand nine hundred and six, somewhat less than that of Bragg, though his loss in prisoners was greater.

The battle of Chickamauga was the "opportunity" for which, according to Rousseau, the War Department had been waiting, and Rosecrans was removed from the command as soon thereafter as circumstances permitted. The Country seemed to acquiesce in this displacement of a popular favorite. Journals in the interest of the War Department circulated atrocious calumnies concerning him, which for a time found ready believers. He was a drunkard. He was a confirmed opium-eater. He had been on the point of surrendering his army at Chattanooga. He was worse "stampeded" during the battle than the worst of his troops. He was not under fire, or near enough the battle to have any intelligible idea about it. Even the Secretary of War so far forgot himself, and outraged all decency, as to speak of the hero of Iuka, Corinth, and Stone River, as a coward! In short,

> "The painful warrior, famoused for fight,
> After a thousand victories, once foiled,
> Is from the books of honor razed quite,
> And all the rest forgot for which he toiled."†

* Thomas J. Wood of Kentucky.

† Shakspeare's Sonnets, XXV.

Impartial criticism can not indeed wholly acquit General Rosecrans of blame for Chickamauga. The idle clamor of the War Department about his fighting the battle at all, when he had possession of Chattanooga without it, may be passed by as the talk of those who know nothing of what they discuss. But it is not so clear that it was impossible to concentrate the army one or two days earlier in time to assume strong defensive positions. With a competent commander for his right wing—and after Stone River it was criminal to retain McCook—his orders for re-enforcing Thomas on the night of the 19th might have been executed before ten o'clock of the 20th, and the dangerous closing up on the left under fire in the midst of which the disaster occurred, might have been avoided. The fatal order to Wood might have been more explicitly worded. It was curious wrong-headedness to misconstrue it, but there was left the possibility of misconstruction. And finally, the man who saved Stone River might have done something to check the retreat of the broken right, and rally it on new positions for fresh defense, but for the error of judgment which led to the conclusion that all was lost because one wing was sacrificed. It is not always given to men to come up to their highest capacities. At Corinth and at Stone River Rosecrans had risen superior to disasters, that, as it seemed, must overwhelm him. It must be regretfully set down that at Chickamauga he did not. Yet, what a good General in the midst of sore difficulties might do, he did. He saved the army, gained the objective point of his campaign, and held the gates through which it was fated that other leaders should conduct the swelling hosts that were soon to debouch upon Georgia and the vitals of the Confederacy

When the order relieving him came, he never uttered a murmur. Turning over the command to his most trusted and loved General,* he dictated a touching and manly farewell; and, before his army knew that it was to lose him, he was on his way, under orders, to his home in Cincinnati. It was just a year since he had assumed command of the Department.

For the next three months General Rosecrans remained quietly in Cincinnati; serving as President of the great Sanitary Fair, and in every way striving to cast his influence on the side of the soldiers and of the Government. The value of this influence, particularly among the Roman Catholic voters of Cincinnati, was incalculable. The people of his native State had never sympathized in the hue and cry raised against him, because after so many victories he had lost a battle; and the public journals continued to demand his restoration to command, with such persistency that he was finally† ordered to relieve General Schofield in command of the Department of Missouri.

He found that State harassed by the worst evils of civil war. The militia in the north-western counties, though nominally raised to preserve order in the community, was more than suspected of active sympathy with the rebellion. Murders and robberies were of constant occurrence; no man knew whether to

* George H. Thomas, between whom and Rosecrans the relations were always of the most cordial and confidential nature.

† 28th January, 1864.

trust his neighbor, and the whole country was in confusion; while, to add to the general alarm, the secessionists were all confident that Price would speedily invade the State. His attention being attracted to the large shipments of arms into North-Western Missouri, General Rosecrans began, through his secret service, to explore the machinations of the secessionists, and was speedily convinced that they were well organized in a secret "Order of American Knights," which promised to be dangerous. The matter was thoroughly investigated, a large mass of testimony was taken, going to show a design to invade Missouri, Ohio, and Pennsylvania simultaneously, and efforts were made to warn and arouse the Government.

But Rosecrans was in no better favor at Washington; and Grant, with whom the old affairs at Iuka and Corinth were scarcely forgotten, was now Lieutenant-General. When Rosecrans sent a staff-officer to Washington to represent his need for more troops, the officer was arrested. When he sent the President word of his discoveries concerning the secret society, and asked leave to send on an officer to explain them, he was told to write out and send by mail whatever he might have to communicate. General Grant caused an officer to make an inspection of affairs in the department, who reported that Rosecrans already had far more troops than he needed. And so matters drifted on till, with the State stripped of nearly all troops save her own uncertain militia, the long-expected invasion came.

Price entered South-Eastern Missouri, and the guerrillas, Rebel-sympathizing militia, and secession outlaws over the whole State suddenly broke out into more daring outrages. Securing A. J Smith's command, which happened to be passing Cairo at the time, prevailing upon some Illinois hundred-days' men to come over to St. Louis and help defend the city, although their time of service had expired, and concentrating his troops on his main depots, General Rosecrans strove to preserve the points of importance while he developed the strength and intentions of the enemy.

Then followed a curious medley of isolated engagements, attacks, pursuits, retreats, marches, and counter-marches. Price, with a mounted command, came within striking distance of St. Louis; then beginning to comprehend the nature of the combinations against him, speedily retired. By this time Mower and Pleasanton had come to Rosecrans's relief. There was some marching at cross-purposes in attempting to come up with Price, and one or two opportunities to strike him were lost, but he was severely punished at the Big Blue, at the Marais-des-Cygnes, the Little Osage, and Newtonia, and so driven, shattered, reduced one-half in numbers, and with the loss of nearly all his *materiel*, into Arkansas again.

General Rosecrans estimates Price's force in this campaign at from fifteen to twenty-six thousand. He took from him ten guns, two thousand prisoners, many small arms, and most of his baggage-train. He remained himself in St. Louis, at one time the point of greatest danger, and the place from which, as it seemed, he could best overlook the confused and desultory struggle.* The cam-

*General Grant, in his official report, censured Rosecrans's conduct of this campaign very

paign over, General Rosecrans hastened to forward such of his troops as were no longer needed, to re-enforce General Sherman at Atlanta.

In the preservation of order at the State election which now ensued, and in his general management of the political interests of his department, Rosecrans so acted as to receive the general, though qualified, approval of the "Radicals," and to confirm the reputation he had early acquired in West Virginia for sagacity and fair-mindedness in civil affairs.

He had been appointed to the command in Missouri in opposition to the personal hostility of the General-in-Chief, and of most of those who conducted the business of the war—a hostility largely incurred, as we have sought to show in the preceding pages, by indiscretions and hot-tempered sayings of his own. A political necessity had dictated his restoration; the necessity was thought to be over; the number of his enemies at the head of affairs was increased by the promotion of General Grant. He was relieved of his command, without explanation or warning, on 9th December, 1864, and so took his final leave of active service. He made no public complaints, and was more than ever scrupulous that his influence among the Roman Catholics should bind them more firmly to the cause of the Government.

At the close of the war, having been left by General Grant without assignment to duty, he applied for a year's leave of absence, during which he visited the silver mines of Nevada, and made scientific observations as to the richness of the mineral deposits in that and our other Western Territories. At the end of his leave he tendered the resignation of his high rank in the regular army, which was promptly accepted, and he was thus left, at the age of forty-eight, to begin the world anew, and almost at the bottom of the ladder again.

The officer thus ungraciously suffered to retire from the service he adorned, must forever stand one of the central figures in the history of the War for the Union. He can not be placed in that small category of commanders who were always successful; but who of our Generals can? Few of his battles or campaigns are entirely free from criticism, for "whoever has committed no faults has not made war." But as a strategist he stands among the foremost, if not himself *the* foremost, of all our Generals. In West Virginia he outmaneuvered Lee. At Corinth he beguiled Van Dorn and Price to destruction. In his Tullahoma and Chattanooga campaigns his skillfully-combined movements developed the highest strategic ability, and set the model, which was afterward followed with varying success, in the famed advance on Atlanta. But responsibility weighed upon him and made him sometimes hesitating. For, as a great writer has said, "war is so anxious and complex a business that against every vigorous movement heaps of reasons can forever be found; and if a man is so cold a lover of battle as to have no stronger guide than the poor balance of the

severely, saying it showed "to how little purpose a superior force might be used," and that "there was no reason why he should not have concentrated his forces and beaten Price before the latter reached Pilot Knob." He forgot that this concentration would, even if possible, have left the other portions of the State exposed to the risings to which the oath-bound Rebels of the secret societies stood pledged.

arguments and counter-arguments, his mind will oscillate or even revolve, making no movement straightforward." Rosecrans's mind did not revolve, but more than once it oscillated painfully back and forth, when he should have been on the verge of action. When he did move his tactical ability shone as conspicuously as his strategy. He handled troops with rare facility and judgment under the stress of battle. More than all, there came upon him in the hour of conflict the inspiration of war, so that men were magnetized by his presence into heroes. Stone River under Rosecrans, and Cedar Creek under Sheridan, are the sole examples in the war of defeats converted into victories by the re-enforcement of a single man. He was singularly nervous, but in battle this quality was generally developed in a nervous exaltation which seemed to clear his faculties and intensify his vigor. Once, perhaps,* it led to an opposite result.†

*At Chickamauga.

†Some personal characteristics of General Rosecrans are happily described by Mr. Bickham in the following extracts from the "Campaign with the Fourteenth Army Corps:"

"Industry was one of the most valuable qualities of General Rosecrans. Labor was a constitutional necessity with him. And he enjoyed a fine faculty for the disposition of military business—a faculty which rapidly improved with experience. He neither spared himself nor his subordinates. He insisted upon being surrounded by active rapid workers. He liked 'sandy fellows,' because they were so 'quick and sharp.' He rarely found staff-officers who could endure with him. Ambition prompted all of them to remain steadfastly with him until nature would sustain no more. Often they confessed, with some exhibition of selfish reluctance, that he was endowed with extraordinary vital force, and a persistency which defied fatigue. Those who served upon his staff in Western Virginia or Mississippi predicted a severe future. They were not deceived. He was habitually prepared for labor in quarters at ten o'clock in the morning. On Sundays and Wednesdays he rose early and attended mass. He never retired before two o'clock in the morning, very often not until four, and sometimes not until broad daylight. He often mounted in the afternoons and rode out to inspect or review the troops. It was not extraordinary that his Aids sometimes dropped asleep in their chairs, while he was writing vehemently or glancing eagerly over his maps, which he studied almost incessantly. Sometimes he glanced at his 'youngsters' compassionately, and pinching their ears or rubbing their heads paternally until he roused them, would send them to bed. * * * * *

"During the few days he remained at Bowling Green, he reviewed most of the divisions which had reached that vicinity. Night labors compensated for hours thus stolen from his maps, reports, and schemes for the improvement of the army. At the reviews the satisfaction of the troops with the change of commanders was manifested by their enthusiastic reception of him. The manner of his inspections at once engendered a cordiality toward him which promised happy results. The soldiers were satisfied that their commander took an interest in their welfare—a moralizing agency which no capable General of volunteers can safely neglect. He examined the equipments of the men with exacting scrutiny. No trifling minutiæ escaped him. Everything to which the soldier was entitled was important. A private without his canteen instantly evoked a volley of searching inquiries. 'Where is your canteen?' 'How did you lose it?—when?—where?' 'Why don't you get another?' To others, 'You need shoes, and you a knapsack.' Soldiers thus addressed were apt to reply frankly, sometimes a whole company laughing at the novelty of such keen inquisition. 'Can't get shoes,' said one; 'required a canteen and could n't get it,' rejoined another. 'Why?' quoth the General. 'Go to your Captain and demand what you need! Go to him every day till you get it. Bore him for it! Bore him in his quarters! Bore him at meal-time! Bore him in bed! Bore him; bore him; bore him! Don't let him rest!' And to Captains, 'You bore your Colonels; let Colonels bore their Brigadiers; Brigadiers bore their division Generals; division commanders bore their corps commanders, and let them bore *me*. I'll see, then, if you don't get what you want. Bore, bore, bore! until you get everything you are entitled to;' and so on through an entire division.

His fatal defect as a General was his lack of knowledge of human nature. Whatever he himself did was well done. When he came to intrust work to others he had no faculty of seeing, as by intuition, whom to trust and whom to avoid. And sometimes, when repeated failures had taught him the worthlessness of trusted subordinates, his kindness of heart withheld him from the action which duty demanded. It may well be believed that thus there came upon him that excessive devotion of his own time to minute details, which was sometimes instrumental in causing delay Added to this was that uncontrollable spirit which, ready to sacrifice everything for the Cause, would yet refuse to brook a single slight from a superior. With his inferiors he was uniformly kind and

"'That's the talk, boys,' quoth a brawny fellow. 'He'll do,' said another; and the soldiers returned to their camp-fires and talked about 'Rosy,' just as those who knew him best in Mississippi had talked.

"The confidence which such deportment inspired was pregnant with future good. And it was soon observed that he was careful to acknowledge a private's salute—a trifling act of good breeding and military etiquette, costing nothing, but too frequently neglected by officers who have much rank and little generous sympathy with soldiers who win them glory. This is a wise 'regulation,' but it reaches far deeper than mere discipline.

"Shortly after head-quarters were established at Bowling Green Major-General George H. Thomas reported himself. The military family of the commanding General quickly recognized the real Chief of Staff. It had been observed that General Rosecrans did not 'consult' habitually upon the principles and policy of the campaign with other commanding officers. The keen eyes of those familiar with his customs, however, discovered an unusual degree of respect and confidence exhibited toward General Thomas. Confidential interviews with him were frequent and protracted. It soon got to be understood in the camps that 'Pap' Thomas was chief counsellor at head-quarters, and confidence in 'Rosy' grew apace.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Riding along the highway, he was careful to observe the configuration of the country and its military characteristics, requiring the inscription upon the note-book of his topographical engineer of intersecting roads, as often as such roads rambled off into the forests along the line of march. Habitually cheerful in a remarkable degree, on such expeditions the mercury of his spirits rises into playfulness, which develops itself in merry familiar quips and jests with his subordinates, and none laugh more pleasantly than he. Fine scenery excites his poetic temperament, and he dwells eloquently upon the picturesqueness of nature, exhibiting at once the keenest appreciation of the 'kind mother of us all,' and the niceties of landscape art. But the grandeur of nature more frequently carries his mind into the realms of religion, when he is wont to burst into adoration of his Maker, or launch into vehement and impatient rebuke of scoffers. All of nature to him is admonition of God. Such is his abhorrence of infidelity that he would banish his best-loved officers from his military household should any presume to intrude it upon him. He is wont to say he has no security for the morality of any man who refuses to recognize the Supreme Being. Religion is his favorite theme, and Roman Catholicism to him is infallible. In his general discussions of religion he betrays surprising acquaintance with the multifarious theologies which have vexed the world, and condemns them all as corruptions of the true doctrines of the Mother Church. His social conversations of this character are seldom indulged with his cherished guest, Rev. Father Tracey, with whom he is always *en rapport*, but he is ever ready to wage controversy with any other disputant. But argument with him on his faith had as well be ended with the beginning, save for the interest with which he invests his subject, and the ingenious skill with which he supports it. Ambling along the highway in a day's journey, unless some single theme of business absorbs him, he will range through science, art, and literature with happy freedom and ability. You do not listen long before you are persuaded that you hear one who aspires ambitiously beyond the mere soldier. The originality and shrewdness of his criticisms, the comprehensiveness of his generalizations, and his erudition, assures you that you talk with no ordinary man."

considerate; to those above him he was always punctilious, often testy, and at times deplorably indiscreet. No such correspondence as his with General Halleck, which in the preceding pages we have sought to trace, can be elsewhere found throughout the history of the war. While he was in command at St. Louis he arrested a Consul,* and when ordered by Secretary Stanton to release him, peremptorily refused. He afterward said that he would have been relieved rather than obey that order. This sturdy honesty, which led him to take upon himself the weightiest responsibilities, and incur the gravest displeasure rather than do that which, in his conviction, would prove injurious to the Cause, was at once one of the most striking features of his character, and one of the potent reasons for his constant embarrassments.

The enemies whom he thus made dealt him their fatal blow at the unkindest moment. Rosecrans had never been more active, more enterprising, more skillful than after Chickamauga. His plans for an advance were matured, the preliminary steps were all taken, the troops for which he had so long begged had nearly reached him. In a few days more the glory of Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge might have been his. But the fields he had sown it was left for others to reap; from the coigne of vantage he had won it was left for others, with larger armies and the unquestioning support of the Government, to swoop down on Georgia and march to the Sea. In his enforced retirement it may be his proudest boast that no word or action of his—however deeply he writhed beneath his treatment—tended to injure the cause of the country; so that now, in spite of all the exceptions we have made, he must forever shine in our history as a brave, able, and devoted Soldier of the Republic.

General Rosecrans is nearly six feet high, compact, with little waste flesh, nervous and active in all his movements, from the dictation of a dispatch to the tearing and chewing of his inseparable companion, his cigar. His brow is ample; the eyes are penetrating and restless; the face is masked with well-trimmed beard; but the mouth, with its curious smile, half of pleasure, half of some exquisite nervous feeling, which might be intense pain, is the feature which will linger longest in the mind of a casual visitor. He is easy of access, utterly destitute of pretense, and thoroughly democratic in his ways. With his staff his manner was familiar and almost paternal; with private soldiers always kindly In the field he was capable of immense labor; he seemed never to grow weary, and never to need sleep. Few officers have been more popular with their commands, or have inspired more confidence in the rank and file.

*For being concerned in the Order of American Knights.

NOTE.—The account of the fatal order at Chickamauga, in the preceding sketch, follows General Rosecrans's own statements. The subject has been much disputed, and General Thomas J. Wood, the division commander in question, has been permitted by the War department to file a reply to Rosecrans's official report. Since the preceding pages were stereotyped, some of General Wood's friends have complained that they do him injustice. After a careful review of the subject, I can not convince myself that the words in the text require any modification. General Wood certainly did misunderstand the order. Its language was: "The General commanding directs that you close up on Reynolds as fast as possible and support him." Now, it happened

that Brannan's division lay between Wood's and Reynolds's—though Rosecrans had just been informed that it did not, and on that information wrote. To execute the order literally was impossible. General Wood might "support" Reynolds, but he could not "close up upon" him without crowding Brannan out of line. When the letter of an order, therefore, was impossible, would not any fair mode of interpretation require that its spirit should be looked at? And, to a division commander in that wing—knowing the peril in which Thomas was placed, and the tendency of all the morning's effort to withdraw troops for his support and steadily close up the remaining troops on the left toward him—ought there to have been one moment's question as to the real meaning of an order to close up on somebody on the left?

Here the case might rest; but the indiscretion of General Wood's friends in their discussion of a matter for which they ought to seek a speedy forgetfulness, warrants a further step.

Even if literal execution of the order had been possible, obedience to it approached criminality. It is a well-settled principle of military law that a subordinate has the right to disobey an order manifestly given under a misapprehension of facts, and sure to be disastrous in its consequences. To do so involves a grave responsibility, and (should an error of judgment be made in the matter) a grave personal risk. But there is another and graver responsibility—the ruin of an army, the loss of a cause. Between these responsibilities, on that fateful morning, General Wood made his choice. Whatever may be his present feelings about it, he may be sure that his children, thirty years hence, will not point with pride to the fact that, in such a case, their father chose the risk for the army rather than the risk for himself.

I append extracts giving the pith of the various official statements of the case. General Halleck's annual report, in reciting the facts, says:

"when, according to General Rosecrans's order, General Wood, overlooking the order to close up on Reynolds, supposed he was to support him by withdrawing from the front and passing in the rear of General Brannan."

General Rosecrans's report says:

"A message from General Thomas soon followed that he was heavily pressed. Captain Kellogg, A. D. C., the bearer, informing me at the same time that General Brannan was out of line, and General Reynolds's right was exposed. Orders were dispatched to General Wood to close up on Reynolds, and word was sent to General Thomas that he should be supported, even if it should take the whole corps of Crittenden and McCook. General Wood, overlooking the direction to 'close up' on General Reynolds, supposed he was to support him by withdrawing from the line and passing to the rear of General Brannan, who, it appears, was not out of line, but was in *echelon*, and slightly in rear of Reynolds's right. By this unfortunate mistake a gap was opened in the line of battle, of which the enemy took instant advantage."

General Wood's "note," filed with Rosecrans's official report, says:

"A few minutes, perhaps five, before eleven o'clock, A. M., on the 20th, I received the following order:

"'HEAD-QUARTERS, D. C., September 20—10:45.

"'BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOOD, *Commanding Division, etc.:*

"'The General commanding directs that you close up on Reynolds as fast as possible, and support him.

"'Respectfully, etc., FRANK J. BOND, Major and A. D. C.'

"This order was addressed as follows:

"'10:45 A. M. Gallop. Brigadier-General WOOD, Commanding Division."

"At the time it was received there was a division (Brannan's) in line between my division and General Reynolds's. I was immediately in rear of the center of my division at the time. I immediately dispatched my staff officers to the brigade commanders, directing them to move by the left, crossing in the rear of General Brannan's division to close up and support General Reynolds; and as the order was peremptory, I directed the movement to be made on the double-quick. It was commenced immediately.

"As there was a division between General Reynolds's and mine, it was absolutely physically impossible for me to obey the order by any other movement than the one I made."

To this it may be added that General Rosecrans afterward said substantially that he had once found General Wood giving a liberal interpretation to an order, when literal obedience would have been better; and now a strained literal obedience, when he must have seen that it would be disastrous. The order in question was the only one from head-quarters through the battle not written by General Garfield, the Chief of Staff.

I have preferred, also, to let the figures stand as given in the text, setting forth the numbers of the opposing armies at Chickamauga. In justice to Rosecrans, however, I should add that his Chief of Staff says there were not over forty-two thousand five hundred men on our side in the fight. And finally, minute verbal criticism may object to the sentence which speaks of the whole right wing as crumbling, inasmuch as one division did splendidly maintain its coherence. Nevertheless, the statement is correct as to the Wing, and besides, that division was thenceforward able to exert no influence on the fortunes of the day. Its course is described elsewhere, in the sketch of its distinguished commander, General Sheridan.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

THAT the son of a Tanner, poor, unpretending, without influential friends until his performance had won them, ill-used to the world and its ways, should rise—not suddenly, in that first blind worship of helpless ignorance which made any one who understood regimental tactics illustrious in advance for what he was going to do, not at all for what he had done—but slowly, grade by grade, through all the vicissitudes of constant service and mingled blunders and success; till, at the end of a four years' war, he stood at the head of our armies, crowned by popular acclaim our greatest Soldier, is a satisfactory answer to criticism and a sufficient vindication of greatness. Success succeeds.

We may reason on the man's career. We may prove that at few stages has he shown personal evidences of marked ability. We may demonstrate his mistakes. We may swell the praises of his subordinates. But after all, the career stands—wonderful, unique, worthy of the study we now invite to it, so long as the Nation honors her benefactors, or the State cherishes the good fame of the sons who have contributed most to do her honor.

Hiram Ulysses Grant, since called, Ulysses Simpson Grant, was born on the 27th of April, 1822, in a little, one-story house on the banks of the Ohio, at the village of Point Pleasant, in Clermont County. His parents were poor, respectable young laborers, who had been married only ten months before. His father when a boy, had been brought with the family from Pennsylvania to Columbiana County, near the Western Reserve. Five years later, then an orphan of eleven, he was apprenticed to a tanner. During the war of 1812 he went with his mother to Maysville, Kentucky. At its close, in his 21st year, he returned to the Reserve and established a tannery of his own at Ravenna. After five years' experiment he went back, still poor, to the Ohio River. Here he met with and married Miss Hannah Simpson. The mother of the future General belonged to the same walks of life with the father. She was a native of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and had come West with her father's family only three years before.*

*Those curious in such matters have traced back the lineage of General Grant, on the father's side, to Matthew Grant, one of the Scotch emigrants, by the "Mary and John," to Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630. Among the collateral branches they have also found connections of Hon. Columbus Delano and General Don Carlos Buell, the one related by blood to General

A year after the birth of their first son the young couple removed to the next county eastward, and settled at Georgetown. They continued poor—so poor that all thought of education for their boy, beyond the "quarter in winter-time" at the village school, was out of the question. The lad showed spirit and good sense, but this seems to have suggested nothing more to the struggling pair than what an excellent tanner he would make. "Ulysses was industrious in his studies," so writes his father,* "but at that time I had little means and needed his assistance; so that, except the three winter months, he had but little chance for school after he was about eleven."

Before this, indeed, the boy had begun to show the pluck and obstinacy there were in him. "I had left a three years' old colt in the stable,"—it is again his father who tells us†—"and was to be gone all day. I had had the colt but a few days and it had never been worked. Ulysses, then not quite seven years old, got him out, geared, and hitched him to a sled, led and drove him to the woods, loaded up his sled with bark, chips, and such wood as he could put on, mounted the load and, with a single line, drove home." The passion for horses, which no cares or honors have been able to eradicate, seems, in fact, to have been the most prominent feature of the boy's life; for his father, striving to recall his memories of those young days, immediately afterward‡ gives us another anecdote of the same nature: "I wanted Ulysses to go about three miles and back on an errand for me one day, before I could start on a trip which was to take the whole day. He wanted to ride a pacing horse I had, but as I was going to ride this myself on his return, I told him he must take the colt. 'Well,' said he, 'if I do I will break him to pace.' In about an hour back he came, and he really had the young horse in a beautiful pace."

Already, with an old head on his young shoulders, the lad assumed responsibilities as naturally as a man. His schoolmates tell us that, though never obtrusive, he insensibly came to be the leader in their games, and to direct their schoolboy exploits. So, too, when one of these schoolmates tries to remember what he can recall as the most striking thing about Grant's boyhood, he gives us this:‖ "At the age of twelve he aspired to the management of his father's draught team, and was intrusted with it for the purpose of hauling some heavy hewed logs. Several men with handspikes were to load them up for him. He came with his team and found the logs but not the men. Observing a fallen tree with a gradual upward slope he unhitched his horses, attached them to one of the hewed logs, drew it horizontally to the tree, and then drew one end of it up the inclined trunk higher than the wagon-truck, and so as to project a few

Grant's great-grandmother, the other to his grandfather's first wife. The following they give as General Grant's direct line of descent from the Matthew Grant of the "Mary and John:"

1. Matthew and Priscilla Grant. 2. Samuel and Mary Grant; born Porter. 3. Samuel and Grace Grant; born Miner. 4. Noah and Martha Grant; born Huntingdon. 5. Noah and Susannah Grant; born Delano. 6. Noah and Rachel Grant; born Kellery. 7. Jesse Root and Hannah Grant; born Simpson. 8. Ulysses S. Grant.

* Private letters from Jesse R. Grant, furnishing details for this sketch.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

‖ Letter of Hon. J. N. Morris to the National Intelligencer, March 22, 1864.

feet over it. So he continued to do until he had brought several to this position. Next he backed the wagon under the projecting ends; and finally, one by one, hitched and drew the logs lengthwise across the fallen trunk on to his wagon, hitched up again, and returned with his load to his astonished father."*

Such glimpses we get of the sturdy, active, self-reliant boy who was now fast growing up to the life of a tanner; with some knowledge of reading and writing, a little arithmetic, and not much else in the way of education, save that which came from the great school in which his most valuable lessons have been learned, the school of self-supporting experience. His parents were still in very limited circumstances; children came as they come to poor families generally; there were five more mouths to feed and bodies to clothe. The eldest had now spent six years laboring with his father; he was almost arrived at man's estate. We may well believe that his good mother, a grave, matronly, judicious woman, whose character seems in many ways impressed upon her distinguished son, did not fail to encourage the boy's desire for something better. But what should he do? Colleges were out of the question; high-schools could scarcely be thought of. It was an era of bankruptcy and general financial distress. The future seemed to offer no encouragement. Something of a politician and a worker, it was natural that Jesse Grant should think of political relief. He wrote to Senator Morris concerning West Point. The Senator replied that he had no appointment, but that Hon. Thomas L. Hamer (the representative of the district, a leading Democrat and a noted stump orator of those days) had. Curiously enough it happened that Mr. Hamer had appointed a young man named Bailey, who failed to pass the examination for admittance.† The failure of Cadet Bailey made the vacancy for Ulysses Grant; and he was appointed.‡

In his eighteenth year, then, on the 1st of July, 1839, we find Grant fairly embarked at West Point He had a hundred classmates at the outset—not one, it is said, with preparation as deficient as his for the academic course. But before the four years were ended only thirty-nine were left out of the hundred to graduate; and Grant had worked his way well up toward the middle of this smaller number in the grade of his attainments. Among these men were Wm. B. Franklin, who bore off the honors of the class; Rosewell S. Ripley, late of the Rebel army; John J. Peck, Jos. J Reynolds, and C. C Augur, three well-

*The following story we find in a popular Boy's Biography of Grant. His father has given us a confirmation of it:

"The absence of fear was always a characteristic of Ulysses. When two years of age, while Mr. Grant was carrying Ulysses in his arms on a public occasion through the village, a young man wished to try the effect of a pistol report on the child. Mr. Grant consented, saying, 'The child has never seen a pistol or gun in his life.' The baby hand was put on the lock and pressed quietly there till it snapped, and off went the charge with a loud report. Ulysses scarcely stirred; but in a moment pushed away the pistol, saying, '*Fick it again! fick it again!*' A bystander remarked: 'That boy will make a general; for he neither winked nor dodged.'"

†The examination which Bailey could not pass, and which seems to have been regarded with some apprehension by Grant, included simply reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic to decimal fractions.

‡Letter of J. N. Morris to National Intelligencer.

known Union Major-Generals; Franklin Gardner, who surrendered Port Hudson; Frederick Steele, and Rufus Ingalls. Among the thirty-nine Grant was graded the twenty-first. No one dreamed of his ever being a General. He had good sense, was quiet, industrious, rather popular with those who knew him, and withal a little old-fashioned and peculiar, as was natural to a boy of his antecedents. A schoolmate* says of him: "I remember him as a plain, common-sense, straightforward youth; quiet, rather of the old-head-on-the-young-shoulder order; shunning notoriety; quite contented while others were grumbling; taking to his military duties in a very business-like manner; not a prominent man in the corps, but respected by all and very popular with his friends. His *soubriquet* of 'Uncle Sam'† was given him there, where every good fellow has a nickname, from these very qualities; indeed, he was a very uncle-like sort of youth. He was then and always an excellent horseman; and his picture rises before me as I write, in the old torn coat, obsolescent leather gig-top, loose riding pantaloons with spurs buckled over them, going with his clanging saber to the drill-hall. He exhibited but little enthusiasm in anything; his best standing was in the mathematical branches and their application to tactics and military engineering."

So the uncle-like youth got on; in quiet, jog-trot fashion, making no show, certainly indulging no sentiment, but plodding on in his own matter-of-fact way. And, in reality, he did plod to some purpose; for that a boy who had lived to his eighteenth year in a tannery, with no education beyond "reading, writing, and arithmetic in decimal fractions," should learn enough in four years to stand even twenty-first in a class that had traversed the West Point course, was in itself much.

His standing was of course too low for anything but the Infantry, and so he was assigned as brevet Second Lieutenant to the Fourth, then stationed at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis. His residence here lasted a year, in the usual dull routine of army life, but with one episode that was to have its influence on his future career. Among his classmates had been one Frederick T. Dent,‡ of St. Louis, like him not standing very high in the class, and like him assigned to the Fourth Infantry. It was natural that Dent should take him to visit his family; not very natural, one would say, that Grant should fall in love. But he did. Five years later, on his return from Mexico, he married Miss Dent—the gentle woman who has since been at his side through good and through evil repute.

But service in the regular army makes small allowance for the exigencies

*Professor Coppee—Grant and his Campaigns, page 22.

†There seems to have been some curious blundering about a name that was, one day, to rate so high. As his father explains it, he was originally named Hiram Ulysses, the last name being a favorite with his grandmother. His Cadet warrant, however, was made out for Ulysses Sidney. He quietly took the name and bore it through West Point. Then, in honor of his mother, he finally changed Sidney to Simpson.

‡Still in the Fourth Infantry where he has risen to Major; also Brevet Brigadier and serving on Grant's staff.

of courtships. Within a year Grant was sent away from St. Louis, with his regiment, to Natchitoches, Louisiana; thence, a year later, to the Mexican frontier; then, as the war broke out, across the Rio Grande with Zachary Taylor's famous army of occupation. Meantime, after two years' waiting, he had become a Second-Lieutenant and, by special permission, had been allowed to remain in the Fourth Infantry with his brother-in-law that was to be, instead of being transferred to the Seventh, for which his appointment was originally made out.

With his regiment he participated in the opening contests at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—his first sight of real war; and some months later he passed through the bloodier engagement of Monterey. The regiment was now withdrawn to General Scott's column before Vera Cruz; and presently Grant was made the regimental quartermaster. Apparently there was no thought that the man had better material in him than was needed for managing wagon-trains. But he had no idea of devoting himself to the trains when a battle was going on; and so we find that at every engagement he joined his regiment and shared its exposure. At Molino del Rey he won praise and a brevet. At Chapultepec "he behaved with distinguished gallantry," as the official report of the commanding officer of his regiment testified; while the brigade commander added, "I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, Fourth Infantry, who acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my own observation;" and General Worth himself felt warranted in expressing his obligations to "Lieutenants Lendrum and Grant, Fourth Infantry, especially."

So much of the future General-in-Chief can be seen through the nebulous atmosphere of official reports during the Mexican war—no more. Doubtless he behaved as hundreds of others did—no better—no worse. But he had still made no impression on the men who concerned themselves with the rising officers of the army; no one thought of a brilliant future for him; and he continued to be the quartermaster of his regiment—first in New York, then on the Northern frontier. At last he rose to the command of his company, and about the same time he was married. His command was kept for a season at Detroit; then at Sackett's Harbor. Thus, in quiet garrison-duty, three years of married life went by Then he was ordered to Oregon, where he saw a little Indian fighting. Two years passed on the Pacific coast. The idleness of army life, absence from his family, and the swarming temptations of the early times in California and Oregon, began to tell upon our sober-sided, uncle-like youth. His passion for horses did not, in the least, diminish. Billiards were always fascinating. Presently less desirable sources of exhilaration began to exert their power.

The sudden reception of an order assigning him to a command far in the interior of Oregon, broke the current on which our Captain was embarked. It seemed to indicate indefinite separation from his family; it promised no distinction, and certainly no pleasure. He wisely decided that it was time to rejoin

his wife; resigned his commission just eleven years and one month after entering the service;* and went home to try his fortune in civil life.†

He first established himself near the home of his wife's relatives in St. Louis County, Missouri, as a farmer. In this he failed: He tried to sell wood, and failed again. In his matter-of fact way he went to work with his own hands to earn bread for his family An old comrade at West Point says: "I visited St. Louis at this time, and remember with pleasure that Grant, in his farmer rig, whip in hand, came to see me at the hotel where were also Joseph J. Reynolds, Don Carlos Buell, and Major Chapman of the cavalry."‡ And it is pleasant to find him adding: "If Grant had ever used spirits, as is not unlikely, I distinctly remember that, upon the proposal being made to drink, Grant said: 'I will go in and look at you for I never drink anything;' and the other officers, who saw him frequently, afterward told me that he drank nothing but water."

But proper conduct alone will not earn bread. Farming and wood-selling having proved failures he moved into the city But in all that great, bustling center of activity whither, as to the coming metropolis of the continent, adventurous young men were thronging from every quarter of the over-crowded East to seek their fortunes, there seemed nothing at which Captain Grant could succeed. He tried auctioneering. He applied to the city authorities for a position as engineer, which they "respectfully declined." He attempted something in the real-estate agency way He tried that most unpleasant of callings, collecting money for creditors who had no time to pursue their small debtors with personal duns. All this time he lived almost from hand to mouth. He was too poor to rent an office; but he found a fat, good-natured young lawyer, named Hillyer, whose office was not overcrowded with clients, and who willingly gave him desk room. And so he worried through till 1859.

Meantime the canny Scot nature had shown itself in his industrious father. The old gentleman had prospered bravely in tanning, and had become the owner of a harness and leather store, with means to enlarge his business if he chose. He was beginning a branch of his establishment at Galena, Illinois, in which a younger son was to be a partner. Ulysses had shown so little capacity for "getting on," and withal seemed so deprived of the energy that had been noticed in him during his boyish days by the idleness of army life, that it became necessary to do something for him. Mr. Grant thought the boy ought to know something about the leather trade, if he knew anything at all in a business way, and so he had him remove to Galena to act as a sort of assistant

* On July 31, 1854.

† I have preferred, in the foregoing paragraph, to follow the account sanctioned by Grant's family and friends of the way in which he came to leave the service. But I am reminded of that wise maxim of Lessing's: "It is a duty, if one undertake to teach the truth, to teach the whole of it or none at all." It would be dishonest in one professing to trace the development of Grant's character and the events of his life, to suppress allusion to the dissipated habits into which, at this stage in his career, he had unfortunately fallen. The belief has been current through the West (and there are some reasons for crediting it) that his resignation was prompted by the significant warning which the Department, because of these habits, now felt bound to give him.

‡ Professor Coppee—Grant and his Campaigns, page 26.

manager in the house of Grant & Son. Citizens knew little of the elder brother at the new leather store. But the few that came to be intimate with him, in the two years that intervened before the outbreak of the war, while unable, as all had been before, to discern any signs of coming greatness beneath his almost stolid exterior, had not failed to observe the good judgment and strong common sense, which commended him as an eminently safe man. Whoever knew him well, liked him. Not many thought him much of a business man; but it was a strong point that he was not above his business. He put on no airs; assumed nothing in consequence of his connection with that aristocratic affair, the regular army; was not disposed to boast over his exploits in Mexico. He lived modestly, and seemed to be at last getting his head above water.

Such was the retired army Captain on the 12th of April, 1861. After a hard struggle he seemed to have gained a footing; there stretched before him a quiet, unostentatious life—rising to a partnership, selling good leather for good prices, and gaining in the end a modest competence, which, in Galena, would be ample for a respected and comfortable old age. The next day all was changed. With the firing on Sumter his Destiny came to him.

Up to this time Grant had been a decided Democrat. He disliked the Republican movement, sympathized with the South in its recital of grievances, detested the Abolitionists. But he had the soldierly instinct which was wanting to so many of his old comrades. When the flag he had sworn to maintain was assailed he knew no question of politics. "He laid down the paper containing the account of the bombardment"—so writes an admiring intimate in the family—"walked around the counter and drew on his coat, saying, 'I am for the war to put down this wicked Rebellion. The Government educated me for the army and, though I served faithfully through one war, I feel still a little in debt for my education, and am ready to discharge the obligation.'"*

He threw himself at once into the recruiting work which swept over the North; drilled the company first raised in Galena, and went with them to the State capital. In that hour of sudden need men that knew how to drill companies, and understood the organization of a regiment, were god-sends to the officials who had so long helped the popular prejudice against musters and the "cornstalk militia." It was no sooner discovered, at Springfield, that Captain Grant had actually been at West Point, and had besides seen real fighting in Mexico, than the Governor determined to secure so valuable an aid. Forthwith he was made Adjutant-General for the State, and was set to work at mustering in troops. The confusion was intolerable; at first the rather slow Adjutant-General made little more headway in it than had the civilians. Perhaps, after all, he was not highly fitted for office work. Once or twice it was hinted that he might take a regiment, if he chose, and go into the field. But the plan of electing officers disgusted him. He would not command, as soldiers, men who were his constituents. In June he was absent for a short time on a visit to his father at Cincin-

* A lady friend of the Grants, in the Portage County Democrat, March 30, 1864.

nati. By this time regimental elections were abandoned, and, during his absence, Governor Yates appointed Grant Colonel of the Twenty-First.

The regiment was to serve only three months. Pleased at having an educated soldier for Colonel the men re-enlisted for three years, and speedily became noted for their drill and discipline. Presently there was an alarm about Quincy, and Colonel Grant marched his regiment thither, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. Then came orders to defend railroad lines in Northern Missouri, which brought him into the vicinity of other regiments. The civilian Colonels who outranked him shrank from giving orders to a veritable West Pointer, and so he became commander of the brigade.*

* A "Staff Officer" gives currency to a story of these early campaigning days. It was while Grant was leading a small column after Jeff. Thompson:

"Lieutenant Wickfield, of an Indiana cavalry regiment, commanded the advance guard, consisting of eighty mounted men. About noon he came up to a small farm-house, from the outward appearance of which he judged that there might be something fit to eat inside. He halted his company, dismounted, and with two Second-Lieutenants entered the dwelling. He knew that Grant's incipient fame had already gone out through all that country, and it occurred to him that by representing himself to be the General he might obtain the best the house afforded. So, assuming a very imperative demeanor, he accosted the inmates of the house, and told them he must have something for himself and staff to eat. They desired to know who he was, and he told them that he was Brigadier-General Grant. At the sound of that name they flew around with alarming alacrity and served up about all they had in the house, taking great pains all the while to make loud professions of loyalty. The Lieutenants ate as much as they could of the not oversumptuous meal, but which was, nevertheless, good for that country, and demanded what was to pay. 'Nothing.' And they went on their way rejoicing.

"In the meantime General Grant, who had halted his army a few miles further back for a brief resting spell, came in sight of, and was rather favorably impressed with, the appearance of this same house. Riding up to the fence in front of the door, he desired to know if they would cook him a meal.

"'No,' said a female in a gruff voice; 'General Grant and his staff have just been here and eaten everything in the house except one pumpkin pie.'

"'Humph,' murmured Grant; 'what is your name?'

"'Selvidge,' replied the woman.

"Casting a half dollar in at the door he asked if she would keep that pie till he sent an officer for it; to which she replied that she would.

"That evening, after the camping-ground had been selected, the various regiments were notified that there would be a grand parade at half-past six for orders. Officers would see that their men all turned out, etc. In five minutes the camp was in a perfect uproar and filled with all sorts of rumors. Some thought the enemy were upon them, it being so unusual to have parades when on a march. At half past six the parade was formed, ten columns deep, and nearly a quarter of a mile in length. After the usual routine of ceremonies the acting assistant Adjutant-General read the following order:

"'HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY IN THE FIELD.

"'*Special Order No.*—.

"'Lieutenant Wickfield of the —— Indiana Cavalry, having on this day eaten everything in Mrs. Selvidge's house, at the crossing of the Ironton and Pocahontas and Black River and Cape Girardeau Roads, except one pumpkin pie, Lieutenant Wickfield is hereby ordered to return with an escort of one hundred cavalry and eat that pie also.

"'U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.'

"Grant's orders were law, and no soldier ever attempted to evade them. At seven o'clock the Lieutenant filed out of camp with his hundred men, amid the cheers of the entire army. The escort concurred in stating that he devoured the whole of the pie, and seemed to relish it."

Generals were needed and, since Grant was doing well as acting Brigadier, his appointment to the grade was naturally suggested. On the 9th of August the commission was issued, though it was made to bear date from the 17th of May. True to his old middle-ground he held about the middle place in the list of thirty-four appointments to General rank that day made. Neither to General Scott, however, nor to any of the others who were searching the ranks of the old army for promising young men with whom to fill its higher places, did his name once occur. McClellan was thought of; Rosecrans, Fremont, McDowell, Halleck were all thought of; but no one ever suggested that Grant was worthy of more than a place among the politicians who were carrying off the Brigadier-Generalships of Volunteers. In fact some of his old comrades were even surprised at his attaining that measure of success. But his time was coming.

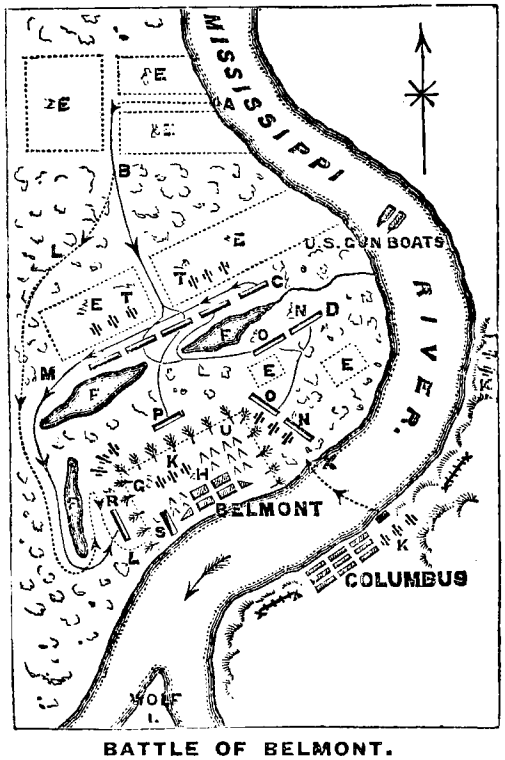
The new General was ordered down to Cairo, and given command of the small district around the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, then known as the District of South-Eastern Missouri. Troops were pouring down the Illinois Central Railroad from all parts of the State, and the General soon found himself with an ample command. Those were the days of the McClellan and Buckner neutrality.* While the Kentuckians were amusing McClellan, their friends were seizing Hickman, Columbus, and Bowling Green. They were just about to plant themselves at Paducah (on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Tennessee), a strongly secession town, the possession of which would have enabled them to command the navigation of the Tennessee and the lower Ohio. General Grant comprehended the position and acted promptly. The people of Paducah were hourly expecting the arrival of a Rebel force when, on the morning of the 6th of September, they awoke to find the town in possession of a brigade of Grant's troops under Chas. F. Smith. Soon after he seized Smithland, ten miles further up, at the entrance of the Cumberland, and thus held the mouths of the streams which led to the center of the extended line the Rebels were forming. In these operations Grant showed promptness and good sense; but he gave also the first display of another quality, little suspected as yet, which was to prove one of the most important elements of his future success. He selected the right man for the work. Chas. F. Smith was the *beau ideal* of a soldier, and men of the old army held him its ablest and most accomplished officer. It was an army tradition that he had incurred the hot displeasure of General Scott, who never forgot nor forgave. But for this, many thought, he might have had the place to which young McClellan was so unexpectedly raised. With Smith at Paducah the Tennessee was safe. But the ways of the rigid old disciplinarian were not the ways of the fresh volunteers, and soon a clamerous storm against him began to blow about head-quarters. The newspapers scolded; their columns teemed with communications from indignant soldiers; politicians took hold of it, and the sins of Paducah Smith were canvassed at the Capitol. But Grant knew his man, and never faltered in his support. By-and-by came Fort Donelson; and

*See *ante*—Life of McClellan.

the vision of the white-haired old hero, bare-headed, leading the wild charge over the outer intrenchments, shamed into silence the grumblers and the slanderers

Price was advancing into Missouri. Jeff. Thompson was already roaming, apparently at will, through the State. The Rebel garrison at Columbus was believed to be re-enforcing Price, and it seemed probable, at any rate, that it would interfere with a small column sent out by Grant in pursuit of Thompson. Fremont, now in command of the department, accordingly ordered Grant to make a demonstration against Columbus. Grant at once sent word to Smith, at Paducah, of his intentions, and requested that a co-operating movement from that point be made against the rear of Columbus. At the same time he ordered some changes in the movement of the forces in pursuit of Jeff. Thompson, that might tend to confuse the enemy as to the real nature of the operations in hand. Then, embarking a force of three thousand men* on steamboats, he proceeded down the Mississippi to a point nine miles below Cairo (not quite half way to Columbus), where he rounded to, and tied up for the night on the Kentucky shore.

Up to this point it would seem that General Grant had formed no decided plan for a demonstration against the enemy News received here after midnight, he tells us,† determined him to attack—not Columbus—but the out-lying post at Belmont, directly across the river from Columbus, and under its guns. Th news which decided this unexpected movement was brought by a "reliable Union man" to his small force at Charleston, and thence forwarded to him by special messenger It was to the effect that the garrison at Columbus had been crossing troops into Missouri at Belmont, for the purpose of pursuing and falling upon the rear of the column which Grant had sent after Jeff. Thompson. It does not appear that he had any expectation of pursuing the pursuers. He only decided to attack vigorously whatever forces he might find at Belmont, "knowing that in case of repulse we could re-embark without difficulty.‡"



BATTLE OF BELMONT.

It is easy enough now to see that such a movement could have but one termination. The troops landed on the Mississippi shore, just as near Belmont as the steamboats dare approach—for fear of the Columbus batteries. They

* The exact number was three thousand one hundred and fourteen—Grant's Official Report, Belmont.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

marched by the flank, with skirmishers well in advance, about a mile down the river, and then formed in line of battle; where, presently, they encountered the enemy advanced a mile or more above his camp. The troops, to nearly all of whom it was their first battle, behaved handsomely. They were opposed by three Rebel regiments, nearly or quite equal in numbers to their own force; but they steadily advanced their line, drove the Rebels into the tangled timber abattis in front of their camp, through which they finally charged, sweeping everything before them, and driving the Rebels (now augmented by Pillow's recently arrived re-enforcements) over the bank down to their transports.

Grant, meanwhile, had freely exposed himself to all the dangers of the conflict, his horse had been shot under him, and the soldiers, seeing him ever in advance, were inspired with confidence. But, though it was the first battle in which he had ever held a command (for he did not even have charge of his own company in any of his engagements in Mexico), he remained cool enough in the midst of the enthusiasm, to comprehend the necessity of instant retreat. Already the heavy Rebel artillery, from the opposite bank, was trained upon them. Pillow had brought over three fresh regiments only in time to be caught in the impetuous charge of the Illinoisians and Iowans, but now they were re-forming under the bank, and General Polk himself was crossing with two regiments more. It was not evident that General Grant yet knew that three more regiments were crossing above to intercept his return to his transports; but enough was seen to convince him that not a moment must be lost in getting out of his captured camp. Everything was hastily fired, the Rebel artillery was dragged off, and the column started up the river for its boats.

And now there suddenly rose in their path the apparition of a fresh foe. The Rebel column designed to cut them off from their transports had gained its position. Four pieces of the captured artillery were abandoned; and with the others the line charged again, successfully cutting its way through till it reached the steamers. One regiment, however was missing. It had gone too far from the river bank on the return, had missed the intercepting Rebels, and was now groping its way at random down to the river. Meantime the Rebels had formed again on the bank, and opened fire on the crowded jam of National soldiers on the transports. The gunboats came to their relief, and presently their shells began to fall not only among the Rebels, but into the ranks of the missing regiment. It hastened down to the river, coming out through a little depression, below where the Rebels were engaged, and embarking there under cover of the gunboats, as soon as a transport could be dropped down to take them off. In such guise—with Rebel shot still whistling through their helpless mass, with the wounded crowded confusedly among the throng, with their dead and a hundred and twenty-five wounded left in the hands of the exultant Rebels, as well as with the loss of a hundred more taken prisoners—did Grant and his men steam slowly up the river to the point from which they started.

General Grant frankly told the story of the day in his official report, but claimed that he had prevented the Columbus garrison from re-enforcing Price, or sending out an expedition to cut off the column moving against Jeff. Thomp-

son. An impartial judgment can not confirm these claims. Three hours after the battle of Belmont the Columbus garrison was as free to re-enforce Price as it had been three days before. What the Rebels knew was that a small force, making a sudden descent upon an out-lying camp, had been able to burn the tents and blankets, and carry off a couple of guns before being driven back to its boats, and forced, in its haste, to leave its dead, wounded, and prisoners behind it. Such performance was not likely to so terrify them that, under the possibility of a similar attack, they would fail to re-enforce Price if they chose.

Whether any more important results could have been obtained from the "demonstration against Columbus," which Fremont had ordered, may be questioned. But it is clear that the same results could have been secured by an operation (especially in conjunction with Smith's Paducah column) against the rear of Columbus, without the necessity of an enforced retreat under fire; without leaving dead and wounded in the enemy s hands; and without definitely assuring the enemy, in advance, that nothing more than a sudden, inconsequential dash was intended, by delivering the attack on a spot that was, by no possibility, tenable for the attacking party.*

Yet the action at Belmont, unfortunate as it seemed, and depressing as were its immediate effects upon the public mind, did good. It showed the raw soldiers what war was; it gave them unbounded confidence in their capacity to take care of themselves against anything like even numbers; and it taught them that their General was ready to go wherever he asked them to go. To the General himself it revealed the mettle of the blade he was privileged to wield, as well as the nature of his work, thus far known only in theory. More than all, it revealed to those controlling the business of this war a General, cool and brave in action, and skillful enough if he led his troops into tight places to get them out again without serious loss.† Furthermore it showed to the country one General, in the midst of the prevailing inaction, who believed that war meant fighting—not everlasting preparations and proclamations. So that, while with the unthinking, Belmont was set down as a failure and its General as little better, and while the General himself, and the staff that surrounded him, grew restive and

* "The same results could have been secured." That is to say, the enemy could have been kept busy for a little while, and made to believe that there was danger of serious attack. Keeping him busy to whatever extent it might be carried, to that extent diminished the danger to the column pursuing Jeff. Thompson, or the probability of re-enforcements being sent to Price—the professed objects of the movement. And just so far as the movement looked like a serious one did it answer the purposes of the demonstration Fremont desired. But no Rebel General thereabouts was fool enough to suppose that the descent upon a palpably untenable position like Belmont, *could* be anything more than a frivolous demonstration—a sudden dash—having no element of a serious movement against Columbus about it. They were simply warned to draw in their troops to the fortifications, and run no risks of such attacks again—that was all.

† For, notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances, Grant had the pleasure of knowing that the enemy's loss was heavier than his own. They took ninety-nine able-bodied prisoners; he carried off one hundred and seventy-five; their entire loss—killed, wounded, and missing—was six hundred and thirty-two (according to Pollard); his was four hundred and eighty-five. They lost their tents, blankets, and two pieces of artillery; he none.

soured with the lack of popular appreciation of their work, they had made firm friends they litle dreamed of, whose friendship was to prove potential.

Through the whole summer, and fall, and winter of 1861, our military leaders, stupefied by Bull Run, lay idle or consumed their resources in frivolous reconnoissances and expeditions that came to nothing. Meanwhile the Rebels had made the best use of their opportunities. By the 1st of January, 1862, their laboriously-strengtened line stretched from Columbus, on the Mississippi, westward through Missouri to the plains; eastward through strong posts on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers to Bowling Green in Kentucky, thence to Cumberland Gap; and so connected with the head and front of their force in Virginia. Their garrisons at the important points were considerable, their advantage of rapid communication by railroads on interior lines was well used, and their fortifications were represented to be scientific and formidable. The true vital points were tersely indicated by General Buell: "I think it is not extravagant to say that the great power of the Rebellion in the West is arranged on a front, the flanks of which are Columbus and Bowling Green, and the center about where the railroad between those points crosses the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers."* Unfortunately the system of parceling out the country by State lines, to find places for as many independent Generals as possible, still prevailed. One-half this formidable line was confronted by the left of General Halleck's forces; the rest of it by General Buell. With a single commander it might easily have been broken almost before it was formed; with the two it was the 1st of February, 1862, before any practical effort to break it was commenced.

General Buell had proposed to General Halleck an advance up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers by a combined land and naval force, with cooperative, simultaneous movements threatening Bowling Green and Columbus.† General Halleck regretted that his important operations in Southern Missouri would prevent him from giving any assistance to such a plan. But shortly afterward he gave orders, in the most inclement season of the year, for a general reconnoissance (as it would seem) through and around South-Western Kentucky. The roads were very muddy, and the whole alluvial bottom-land through which the columns moved was sticky mire. General Grant sent one column down the river, from Cairo, toward Columbus, which wandered about through the mud, bivouacked in the mud, and returned to fill the hospitals; having at no time gone nearer than to the distance of a mile from the defenses of Columbus. General C. F Smith, meanwhile, with his force from Paducah, performed a somewhat similar task a few miles further east. At its close, however, he undertook a reconnoissance on his own account, the results of which were far-reaching. Encountering one of the new gunboats on the Tennessee, he went on board and ran up toward Fort Henry. He approached near enough to draw the fire of the fort, and to get a rough idea of its defensive capacity He hastened to present his report to General Grant, in which he urged that a sudden

*General Buell to General Halleck—Official dispatch, January 3, 1862. †Ibid.

movement upon the fort could hardly fail to result in its surrender. Grant forwarded the report to Halleck as early as the 24th of January. Halleck made no reply Four days later Grant and Admiral Foote, commanding the gunboat flotilla, urged it upon his attention. The next day Grant renewed his importunities, and on the afternoon of the next he received permission to try So much had General Halleck to do with the grand conception of breaking the enemy's center, on which his fame has subsequently rested. Don Carlos Buel was the first to make official suggestion of the plan;* Chas. F. Smith was the first to show how practical it was; and Grant richly deserves the honor of having at once comprehended the opportunity, and persisted in applications till he finally secured leave to embrace it.

On the morning of February 2d, Admiral Foote started with his gunboats General Grant following with the divisions of McClernand and Chas. F. Smith about fifteen thousand strong, on steam transports. Next morning the gunboats were only a few miles below the fort. Here, however, they suffered three days to pass, partly waiting for the troops, partly fishing up torpedoes. At last on the 6th, everything being ready, General Grant was to invest the fort on the land side, while Admiral Foote was to open the attack.

Meanwhile General Tilghman, the Rebel commander, had gained a thorough knowledge of the situation. The fort was indifferently planned and worse situated; high lands on the opposite side, on which Grant was moving a couple of brigades, completely commanded it; the high water uplifted the gunboats so that they could pour their fire almost horizontally into its midst. He had two thousand six hundred and ten men of all arms;† he knew that he was threatened by a large land force (which he only estimated at three thousand too many) as well as by the gunboats; and he considered successful defense impracticable. He determined, therefore, early in the morning to order a retreat of the main body of his troops, across the narrow neck of land between the two rivers, to Fort Donelson, retaining only the artillerists to work the heavy guns in the fort, and so to keep up a show of resistance while the retreat was being made good. And to aid this movement, in case of discovery, he ordered a small portion of the Donelson garrison to move half-way across and await events.

In the light of these facts it is very easy to see that Grant should have hastened up his overwhelmingly superior numbers in time to cut off escape. But the woods were miry and the country was unknown, while ignorance of the enemy's force or intentions counseled the greatest caution. Admiral Foote steamed up, opened the fight half an hour after the time agreed upon with Grant, knocked the fort to pieces, and received the surrender of the General and his little band of artillerists in an hour and a half. An hour later Grant got up, but the escaped garrison was already far on its way to Fort Donelson.

Preparations for attacking Fort Donelson were at once begun. Six days after the surrender of Fort Henry, Chas. F. Smith and McClernand were on the

*Unless, indeed, the prior claim of Fremont be admitted.

†General Tilghman's Official Report, Spec. Com. Rep. on Recent Military Disasters at Forts Henry and Donelson, published by authority, Conf. Congress, page 184.

march across. Our forces had, meantime, been ordered up the Cumberland river from Cairo, to be landed as near Donelson as circumstances would permit, and to unite with Smith and McClernand. The gunboats hastened down the Tennessee, made such slight repairs of damages as were possible, and steamed up the Cumberland to within a few miles of Donelson. But Grant, conscious of having lost time before Fort Henry, and now determined not to give the navy another opportunity to snatch a victory from his grasp, began operations without waiting for the gunboats, or for the re-enforcements that were to accompany them.

The fort now to be assailed was the last defense to the "center of the line" which Buell had proposed to break. It alone stood between the gunboats and Nashville. Its fall would inevitably drag down Bowling Green with it; while it would also remove the last serious obstacle to a movement for the taking of Memphis in the rear. So much was known to Grant; but beyond this it does not appear that, at head-quarters, ideas concerning the nature and importance of the work to be undertaken prevailed, more definite than the utterly vague notions which were floating through the country The whole region was an unknown land since the Rebel occupation. The chatterers who labored at the voluntary task of finding excuses for all delays, had found a fresh Manassas at every earthwork between the mountains and the plain; while no words but Gibraltars of the West could serve to describe the tremendously-fortified positions of Bowling Green and Columbus. The reaction from this folly may possibly have carried the Generals, as it did the people, a little toward the other extreme. But we now know that, in the language of Albert Sidney Johnston, "We (the Rebels) decided that we must fight for Nashville at Fort Donelson." The Bowling Green garrison was accordingly weakened to re-enforce Donelson, while General Buell's magnificent army in Kentucky was being held back by a paltry force of ten thousand men.* Meanwhile, at Fort Donelson, had been accumulated a garrison which General Johnston supposed to number sixteen thousand; which Chief Engineer Gilmer—apparently the only man making any report about the surrender who seemed willing to tell the simple truth—fixed at "fifteen thousand effectives;" which General Pillow pronounces to have been less than thirteen thousand, and which General Floyd seems inclined to rate still lower.† This garrison received no very large re-enforcements in the persons of its Generals. On learning of Tilghman's surrender at Fort Henry, the Rebels hastily sent General Pillow to take command. Three days later General Buckner reported to General Pillow. A few hours afterward General John B. Floyd arrived and assumed command.

General Pillow, *not* a high authority on fortifications since the date of his engineering exploits in Mexico, considered the works strong and defensible. Nobody else, before or since, has been known to entertain so high an opinion of them. Up to the night before the appearance of Grant's troops the outer line was unfin-

*Sidney Johnston's letter to Jefferson Davis, March 17, 1862. Published by Conf. Gov't. in Rep. Com. on Surrender of Forts Henry and Donelson.

†Official Report Surrender Fort Donelson.

ished. It ran, zig-zag, through the medley of knolls and ravines, covered with a dense forest, that lay back of the river, and followed, at great length, the line of the hills. Heights farther to the rear, however, commanded it, and the works themselves were slight. But the water battery was strong and well-finished and it had a splendid range down the river.

The two divisions with which Grant was advancing to the attack, could not have numbered over fifteen thousand. With their advantage of fortifications and knowledge of the country, the enemy ought to have routed him in confusion (and might even have aspired to the recapture of Fort Henry) before the gunboats and re-enforcements could have arrived. But the panic-stricken infantry that had run away from Fort Henry without firing a gun, had infused their own terror into the rest of the garrison. General Pillow, indeed, tells us that on his arrival (three days before the attack) he "found deep gloom hanging over the command, and the troops greatly depressed and demoralized by the surrender of Fort Henry."*

On Wednesday morning† Grant marched from Fort Henry. By twelve o'clock his column had crossed the strip of land intervening between the two rivers, and was driving in the Rebel pickets. With astounding lack of enterprise the garrison quietly allowed itself to be invested by an assailant no stronger than itself. Nothing but light skirmishing interfered with the progress of the investment, and the little force bivouacked in line of battle around the fort. Thursday morning the Rebels opened with artillery. General Grant, it would seem, had intended no attack, owing to the absence of the gunboats and infantry reinforcements,‡ but under the sting of this fire, he was drawn into something more than the "extension of the investment on the flanks of the enemy" of which he speaks in his report. An advance upon the enemy's left (up the river) developed into an action, which the Rebels dignify by the name of the "Battle of the Trenches," in which they claim to have repulsed their assailants, and won a clear advantage. Grant's troops were really compelled to fall back from one or two positions they had taken, in some disorder, and with considerable loss. Meantime the weather changed from the balmy breezes of spring to sleet, cold rain, and finally to snow; the troops were without blankets, without rations, and without shelter. Furthermore, they began to comprehend that they were fronting intrenchments manned by a force as strong as their own; and the arrival of the gunboats came to be a matter of much anxiety. In such plight they passed the weary watches of Thursday night.

By Friday morning Grant considered the situation really critical, and hastily dispatched a messenger to General Lew Wallace to bring up the garrison he had left at Fort Henry. A little later, however, the gunboats came in sight. Even then Grant did not feel himself equal to the assault, and the army lay still, awaiting the result of the gunboat attack. Admiral Foote steamed gallantly up, and speedily silenced several of the enemy's guns. But his vessels had been shattered at Fort Henry, and the Rebel artillery practice soon began

* General Pillow's Official Report.

† 12th February, 1862.

‡ Grant's Official Report.

to tell upon them. In ten minutes more he would have been able to pass the fort and take it in reverse, when a shot cut the rudder-chains of one of his boats, his flag-ship had her pilot's wheel shot away, and he himself was wounded. The other two iron-clads were, moreover, seriously damaged, and thus, with two vessels helplessly drifting, and the others injured, he was forced to give the order for retiring.

To the watching young General on the bank, this came with the weight of a disaster that enforced a change of all his plans. He at once decided* to make no further direct attempts upon the fort, but to complete his investment, fortify his line, get more men to hold it,† and await the return of the gunboats.

Meantime, in the Rebel councils reigned strange confusion. They believed themselves surrounded by "an immense force"—not a regiment less than fifty-two would General Pillow admit—and visions of batteries above the fort on the river that should cut off their communication with Nashville and their supplies began to float before them. Floyd dwelt upon the immense resources against which they were battling; beside the gunboats there was "a land force drawn from an army of two hundred thousand men, all so stationed as to be easily concentrated on the banks of the Cumberland in a week!" "With a less force than fifty thousand men Fort Donelson was untenable," and even that garrison "must be sustained by twenty thousand at Clarksville and twenty-five thousand at Nashville!"‡

And thus, while Grant was abandoning the idea of attack, and mentally tracing lines of fortification that should protect him till relief had come, Floyd and Pillow, taking numbers from their imaginations, and counsels from some quality that looks strikingly like cowardice, were devising means of escape from a struggle they had given up in advance. It was to Buckner, it would seem, that they owed the plan finally adopted. A sortie was to be made on the portion of the National line farthest up the river toward Nashville, and if possible it was to be rolled back upon the center, where Buckner was then to strike it. If they should succeed in shattering the National column, well; if not, they might hope, at least, so to break the lines as to make their escape. So they have since explained their plans. A more probable explanation appears to be that, after their first emotion of unmanly terror, they were shamed by Buckner into the opposite extreme, and came to think that they might really break the National lines and drive Grant off. Stimulated by such hopes, they moved out, under Pillow, early on Saturday morning—while Grant was off on a gunboat consulting with Foote—and commenced an attack. Catching our pickets napping, they pushed vigorously forward, drove two of McClernand's brigades in confusion, and started a panic, that came near spreading to the whole division. Finally new lines were formed, and the attack was temporarily checked. Meanwhile, Buckner had found it impossible to do anything with his

*Grant's Official Report.

†Although the large re-enforcements that followed the gunboats up the river had now reached him.

‡Floyd's and Pillow's Official Reports.

timid troops; the first heavy fire they encountered drove them to cover, and their General was forced to employ "persuasions" instead of commands, in his efforts to bring them once more to the work. At last they advanced, just as Pillow was again forcing back McClernand's line; the two Rebel columns met; the National forces were hurled clear back from their positions on the right; a mounted officer galloped among the troops scattered to the rear, shouting, "We are cut to pieces!" In fact, the panic seemed on the point of sweeping away the army, when General L. Wallace's division, not yet heavily engaged, came up in fine order and checked the retreat.

What followed was curiously confused. Pillow returned to the fort, and telegraphed to Nashville, "on the honor of a soldier," that he had won a brilliant victory. Part of his troops seem to have been retired; the rest took no advantage of the disorder into which their success had thrown the ranks of their antagonists. At this critical moment the inspiration of Grant's imperturbable coolness came upon him. His right was in disorder, amounting almost to rout, but Charles F. Smith's division, on his left, was unharmed. The enemy had palpably withdrawn their forces from that part of their line to aid in Pillow's attack. "*Then charge it!*"* Leaving the soldierly Smith to his work, he rode over to the shattered right, and ordered General Lew. Wallace to advance. By five o'clock that officer had handsomely regained all that McClernand had lost. Meantime, down the river on the left, the old soldier to whom had been committed the crowning trust, was marshaling his column. His skillful dispositions, heroic bearing, superb presence, all inflamed the enthusiasm of his command, which, as soon as the word was given, rushed up the hill with bayonets set and the wildest cheering. In front is the color-bearer of the advance brigade; by his side rides the General. The Rebel artillery riddles the advance, and it wavers. Smith urges it on, and leads the way; the line straightens, charges, pours over the abattis, climbs the embankments, rushes into the outerwork; and almost before its defenders are out of the way, the batteries are whirled up and are opening upon the lower interior fortifications. Darkness ends the struggle, but white-haired old Charles F Smith has insured the fall of Fort Donelson.

Within the fort the position is comprehended clearly enough. General Buckner tells his superiors that, with Smith inside his intrenchments, an attack is sure to be made, and that he can not hold out half an hour. Pillow talks of his having at least, by his own brilliant victory, cut open a way out of the fort, and the command is actually mustered to retreat, when, to his amazement, he learns that the National troops are in the way, pressing even more closely than before his victorious battle was fought. Scouts are sent out to see if they can march by the river bank, directly up along the brink of the river. They report the route open, but waist deep in mire and water. Boats are sought for, on which

* "I remember an anecdote which General Grant told me about Donelson—that at a certain period of the battle he saw that either side was ready to give way, if the other showed a bold front, and he determined to do that very thing, to advance on the enemy, when, as he prognosticated, the enemy surrendered." Sherman's Letter to the United Service Magazine on Pittsburg Landing.

to cross to the other bank of the river and so escape; but these have been sent to Nashville and are not yet returned. So passes the night with Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner. The two ranking officers dread the Yankees to such extent that they declare they must be permitted, personally, to escape. Buckner reminds them that a General has no right to desert his men. But they have made up their minds that in no event will they fall into the hands of the Yankees—if they can help it. And so Buckner assumes the command, and sends a flag of truce. Floyd seizes on the steamboats, when they return about daylight, and makes off, with such of his own brigade as he can hurriedly embark. Long before this the redoubtable Pillow has made *his* way across the river, "in a small hand-flat"—let us be true to history, for has not Pillow himself recorded it for our benefit—"in a small hand-flat, about four feet wide by twelve long. Myself and staff then made our way to Clarksville by land."*

General Buckner solicited an armistice, and the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation. General Grant's reply struck the key-note of popular feeling, and has become historic: "No terms, other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner had been at West Point with Grant. He was there a showy, chivalrous Kentuckian. Grant was the son of a tanner, poor and not graceful. That this poor schoolmate of his would be flattered by his offer of "capitulation" he did not doubt. His amazement at the matter-of-fact response stung him into boyish folly. "Notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms on yesterday," he was "compelled to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms." And so Grant's army marched in.†

Up to this time Grant had secured little popular recognition. The battle at Belmont had been counted a disaster. Fort Henry had been taken without him; and he had even failed to get up in time to intercept the runaway garrison. But Fort Donelson was the first great, decisive success of the war. Its results were the capture of Nashville and the speedily following fall of Memphis. Moreover, the army of prisoners was something hitherto unknown in wars on the Continent. The General who had accomplished these things at

*Pillow's Answer to Interrogatories of Conf. Sec. War.

†General Grant reported a capture of twelve to fifteen thousand prisoners. This number was exaggerated; but the Rebels went to the other extreme. Pollard sets down the exact number of prisoners taken as five thousand and seventy-nine. He omits, however, in his list all the wounded left on the field, and at least two regiments—known to number a thousand men. On the other hand Floyd carried off between fifteen hundred and two thousand, including the stragglers who subsequently joined him. Wounded, to the number of eleven hundred and thirty-four, had been sent to Nashville, and the dead must have swelled this to nearly two thousand. Deduct these and the two thousand carried away by Floyd from the fifteen thousand originally present, and we have about eleven thousand well and wounded left for Grant. No accurate lists are known to have been made out.

Some forty pieces of artillery were captured, with large store of muskets, horses, mules, etc. General Grant's estimate of his own losses was twelve hundred killed, wounded, and missing, which subsequently proved to be far below the real number.

once became the popular idol. A Major-Generalship was bestowed upon him and his command was extended. People dwelt admiringly on his curt answer to Buckner. His accidental initials were turned to new use, and our uncle-like youth, whom his schoolmates had called Uncle Sam, was now denominated Unconditional Surrender Grant. The newspapers gave the new Secretary of War some credit for the victory, whereupon he announced* that "We owe our recent victories to the Spirit of the Lord, that moved our soldiers to dash into battle, and filled the hearts of our enemies with terror and dismay. What, under the blessing of Providence, I conceive to be the true organization of victory and military combination to end this war, was declared in few words by General Grant's message to General Buckner, 'I propose to move immediately on your works.'" Furthermore, with these popular approvals, and this evidence of the admiration of his official chief, Grant obtained another advantage. He acquired the firm, admiring friendship of the strong-willed and influential member of Congress from Galena, which was henceforth, in more than one emergency, to prove his protection.

It was General Grant's high, good fortune to be thus at the head of a movement, whose material and moral results were alike inspiring to the Nation. He did his duty in it simply, courageously, and well. But if we look for signal displays of special military ability in the operations, we shall have to read the story over again under the spell of the enthusiasm it first aroused. There was praiseworthy energy in the prompt movement from Fort Henry; there was high courage in undertaking the investment with only fifteen thousand men; but, yet, these were qualities which many undistinguished men are constantly exhibiting. One striking circumstance brings into bold relief one of Grant's strongest mental points. He secured Fort Donelson when, after the rout of his right wing, he ordered Chas. F Smith, with the left, to charge the enemy's works. He selected the right man, and in the midst of disaster he chose the right moment.

Then followed an interval of civil administration. While Grant was becoming the popular hero, he suddenly fell into disgrace at head-quarters. After Donelson, he went up to Nashville with a division; taking troops out of his own district without cause, and intruding upon the independent department of General Buell, whom, by his recent promotion, he outranked. The last was a breach of military etiquette, the other something more. General Halleck further complained of Grant's failure to make satisfactory reports of the state of his command, and of a prevailing disposition, as he construed it, to act independently. The result was, that after Grant had issued some orders to the people of Tennessee, forbidding the Rebel officers to exercise any official functions, and directing the conduct of his troops in enforcing martial law over West Tennessee, he found himself—just when the expedition up the Tennessee River came to be organized—suddenly ordered to head-quarters at Fort Henry, and forbidden to take the field. The hero of Fort Donelson, Chas. F. Smith, a subordinate of Grant's from the outset, was assigned to the command of the troops, and Grant

*Secretary Stanton's Letter to New York Tribune, February, 1862.

became little better than an Adjutant-General. Stung to the quick, he sent an indignant letter to Halleck, protesting against the injustice, complaining bitterly of anonymous letters attacking him, and finally asking to be relieved of command! Explanations however ensued, and ten days after the issue of the order to quit the field he was again ordered into it.

The interval however was not unfruitful. The Tennessee River Expedition had been organized; great fleets of steamboats had swept up the stream, crowded with the troops of six divisions and sixty regiments. Sherman had been sent to cut one of the railroads leading into Corinth, and had failed. Lew Wallace sent to cut another, had succeeded, but in a few days the damages were repaired. Then the army had been debarked, by an almost fatal error of judgment, at Pittsburg Landing, on the South side of the river, and within easy striking distance of the enemy's concentration of forces at Corinth. *

On Grant's arrival he found the army scattered through the woods about the Landing, like a huge militia encampment, preparatory to the annual muster-day; or like a great Maying party, camping out for a pic-nic. Troops established themselves here and there, it would seem, almost as the spots happened to strike the fancy of the Colonels; there was no definite front; no relation of one part of the army to another, such as would go to make up a satisfactory defensive line. The several brigades of a division were not even encamped together. One of General Sherman's own brigades lay more than two miles from

*Subsequent events (even if abstract military principles were not sufficient) having seemed to most men to condemn the location of the army on that side the river, while awaiting Buell's arrival, General W. T. Sherman has volunteered a defense of General Grant in the premises. Having first justified the landing on the south side and consequent exposure to an enemy believed to be largely superior, with a swollen river in the rear between the army and the one that was to re-enforce it, on the absurd ground that "it was not then a question of military skill and strategy, but of courage and pluck; that it was necessary that a combat, fierce and bitter, to test the manhood of the two armies should come off, and that was as good a place as any;" he continues, after the pattern of the famous cracked kettle defense: First, the kettle was not returned to the lender cracked. Second, it was cracked when it was borrowed. First, General Grant was not wrong in locating the troops on the enemy's side of the river. Second, he didn't locate them there at all. "The battle-field was chosen by that veteran soldier, Major-General Chas. F. Smith. If there were any error in putting that army on that side the Tennessee, exposed to the superior force of the enemy also assembling at Corinth, the mistake was not General Grant's." These statements of fact have been questioned by officers of equal rank and ability. General Grant has himself added nothing to the controversy, nor is he likely to do so. He has long ago outlived, (if indeed he were ever subject to) the foolish vanity of thinking it necessary to prove that he never made a mistake, in order to vindicate his title to greatness

Of the general issue thus raised, however, one thing ought to be said. It is ungenerous, and likely to be unfair, after public odium has attached to a transaction, to shift it to a dead man's shoulders. Chas. F. Smith can not appear to tell us under what stress of orders he was acting, and the General of the schools, who from his head-quarters in St. Louis was then controlling the campaign, is not the man to tell for him. Furthermore, Smith, prostrated by disease incurred at Fort Donelson, was capable of giving active direction to affairs for but a few days subsequent to the arrival at Pittsburg Landing, and soon after he was stretched on his death-bed. Moreover, Grant himself, restored to command, was on the spot weeks before the battle. If he had regarded the position faulty, he was bound to rectify it. If, absorbed in the duties of the head-quarters six miles below, he intrusted such duties in the field to the responsible General there, that General has now no right to shield himself from criticism, just or unjust, behind a hero's corpse.

the rest of his troops, with two other independent divisions thrust in between The ground was well adapted for defensive works, yet not a rifle-pit was dug nor even the simplest breastwork of rails and earth thrown together. Slashings of timbers could have been made before every camp; yet not a hatchet was raised to prepare an abattis. Three miles in advance ran a stream which might well have been used as a defensive line; yet even its crossings were not watched And still the enemy was known to be but a little more than a dozen miles distant and was believed to be in superior force. However the dispute ought to be decided as to the responsibility for such errors at the outset, there can be no question as to the responsibility for their continuance. To his honor, be it said, General Grant has never sought to evade it. Let us gratefully add, that in all his varied career he has never repeated such blunders.

The army thus confronting the enemy had been originally expected to accomplish more. General Halleck's first instructions were to occupy Florence, and destroy the railroad connections between Johnston's army, retreating from Nashville, and that of Beauregard, so soon to retreat from Memphis. Corinth, Jackson, and Humboldt were the railroad points he hoped to strike.* We have seen that the first movements in this direction under Sherman and Wallace were abortive. Then came the surprise of finding Corinth occupied and fortified, "with twenty thousand men under Beauregard," telegraphed General Halleck; and "Smith not strong enough to attack." Next came a determination to "land at Savannah and establish a depot."† Then, as Johnston fell back from Murfreesboro, Halleck, estopped before Corinth, and finding it impossible to prevent the junction of Johnston and Beauregard, arranged with Buell to gain the co-operation of the Army of the Ohio. While preparing to move in accordance with this arrangement, Buell signified his approval of Halleck's dispositions, thus: "The establishment of your force on this side of the river, as high up as possible, is evidently judicious."‡ But what must his astonishment have been on learning, a week later, that the column he was already toiling overland to join, was planted on the opposite side of a swollen river, and almost under the fortifications of the concentrating foe! He refused to believe it, and telegraphed to Gen. Halleck for information. What we have now to add would seem incredible, were not the official dispatches on file. Whether General Halleck himself knew that his army was thus scattered on the south bank, with the river in its rear and the foe in its front, does not certainly appear; but it does appear that if he did know, he did not, in reply to this dispatch, notify General Buell of it.‖ That officer moved on

* "Available force gone up the Tennessee to destroy connections at Corinth, Jackson and Humboldt. It is of vital importance to separate them (Beauregard's troops) from Johnston's army. Come over to Savannah or Florence and we can do it." Halleck's dispatch to Buell, 4th March, 1862.

† "Florence was the point originally designated, but on account of enemy's forces at Corinth and Humboldt, it is deemed best to land at Savannah and establish a depot." Halleck to Buell, 10th March, 1862.

‡ Buell to Halleck, 10th March, 1862; reply to dispatch just quoted.

‖ Buell's dispatch, 18th March, 1862, said, "I understand that General Grant is on the east (north) side of the river; is it not so?" Halleck's reply "did not inform him to the contrary."

as rapidly as the roads and bridgeless streams would permit, but in no special haste, ignorant of any cause for special haste; actually requested by General Halleck to halt at Waynesboro, thirty miles short of the junction with Grant till he (Halleck) could get ready to run up from St. Louis; not even notified by Grant of the true condition of affairs; and finally—strangest of all—he was informed by Grant, as late as the Saturday night before the direful Sunday of Pittsburg Landing, that it was unnecessary to hasten his march!* So absolute was the surprise of that fateful attack.

Meantime the golden opportunity had been lost. When the army under Chas. F. Smith began moving up the Tennessee, Corinth (next to Florence—if not before it—the great objective point) could have been seized by a handful of troops. When the army was blindly striking at railroads, right and left, Corinth was still feebly garrisoned. Beauregard admits that it was only on the 2d of March that he began the effort to concentrate there. As late as March 6th, General Halleck himself, repeating the news sent "down the Tennessee," placed the force at Corinth at only twenty thousand; whereas the army he had sent against it could even then muster almost double that number. But the chances were flitting fast. As early as 25th of February General Sidney Johnston had declared, in a private letter to Mr. Davis, his determination to abandon Middle Tennessee, and move toward Corinth, to co-operate or unite with Beauregard. Buell moved from Nashville on the 15th of March, to form a junction with Halleck's forces (under Grant); but, three days afterward, Sidney Johnston was able to write Mr. Davis again, "the passage is almost completed, and the head of my column is already with General Bragg at Corinth." He adds, with a satisfaction warranted by the apparent success of his grand strategy, "the movement was deemed too hazardous, by the most experienced members of my staff, but the object warranted the risk. The difficulty of effecting a junction is not wholly overcome, but it approaches completion. Day after to-morrow, unless the enemy intercepts me, my force will be with Bragg."† The "enemy" did not "intercept him." The junction was completed; fresh re-enforcements arrived from Louisiana and other States; the rest of Beauregard's spare forces had been called in—altogether not less than forty thousand effective troops were mustered within less than a day's march of our scattered, undefended, unguarded camps on the Tennessee.

Moreover there was an end to the management of Floyds and Pillows and Pilghmans in the Rebel army The ablest soldier then, or ever espousing their cause, had assumed the command in the field. He had patiently borne the popular clamor that followed his abandonment of Bowling Green; had made no

* Buell to Editor U. S. Service Magazine, January 19th, 1865. Halleck proposed to leave St. Louis, April 7th. The battle began on the 6th. Buell's words about Grant's communication are: "The day before his arrival at Savannah, General Nelson, who commanded my leading division, advised General Grant, by courier, of his approach, and was informed in reply, that it was unnecessary to hasten his march, as he could not, at any rate, cross the river before the following Tuesday." It will be seen hereafter in these pages (Life of General Ammen) that another officer of Buell's army received from Grant more striking statements to the same effect.

† Sidney Johnston to Jeff. Davis, March 18, 1862. (Private letter communicated to Confederate Congress.)

answer to the storm that beat upon him when his subordinates sacrificed For Donelson. Now, at last, his army was in hand; the unsuspecting antagonist la before him inviting the blow; and on the third of April he announced to th "Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi," that he "had put them in motion t offer battle to the invaders of their country," and to "fight for all worth livin or dying for."

One more opportunity was left for that torpid antagonist. The hand of Go interfered to work delay Johnston moved from Corinth by noon of April 3d; bu the heavens opened and deluged the swampy country over which he had to pass Less than seventeen miles of marching would bring him upon our camps; he di not accomplish the distance till the afternoon of the 5th. One whole day was spen with an army of forty thousand men, floundering through woods within the lin our pickets should have occupied. Even yet it was not too late. There, throug that long afternoon and evening, lay the Rebel army, almost within gunshot o the camps it was to attack. If the camps were without pickets, and the arm without Generals, it would seem, at least, that the men could scarcely be with out ears. And yet day darkened into night without alarm; the commandin General quietly returned to his head-quarters in Savannah; the army sank int slumber; the enemy in silent bivouac on its front actually listened to its drums and was guided by its "taps" and "reveille." "The total absence of cavalr pickets from General Grant's army," writes an officer of Beauregard's staff,* "was a matter of perfect amazement. There were absolutely none on Grant' left, where Breckinridge's division was meeting him, so that we were able t come up within hearing of their drums entirely unperceived. The Southern Generals always kept cavalry pickets out for miles, even when no enemy wa supposed to be within a day's march of them. The infantry pickets of Grant' forces were not above three-fourths of a mile from his advance camps, and they were too few to make any resistance."

And yet there had been enough to alarm any but the blindly self-confident On Friday a reconnoissance, a few miles out from camp, had developed a Rebe battery in position, and had led to a sharp skirmish. On Saturday there had been more or less picket firing; more than one Colonel had felt it incumbent upon him to give emphatic warning of the signs of the enemy's presence in force which he could perceive on his front. They were treated as alarmists, whose freshness from civil life and ignorance of the noble art of war must excuse their nervous apprehensions! Saturday evening, as he passed down to his head-quarters at Savannah, General Grant stopped at Crump's Landing to see General Lew Wallace. There were some indications of possible attack, he thought, but if it were really intended, it would probably fall there, and not at Pittsburg Landing. And so we drifted into the assault.

Next morning it came. By daylight the Rebel divisions were in motion. The shots of our pickets had scarcely been noticed, till such of them as were not captured rushed into camp. Almost simultaneously crashed the first volley of

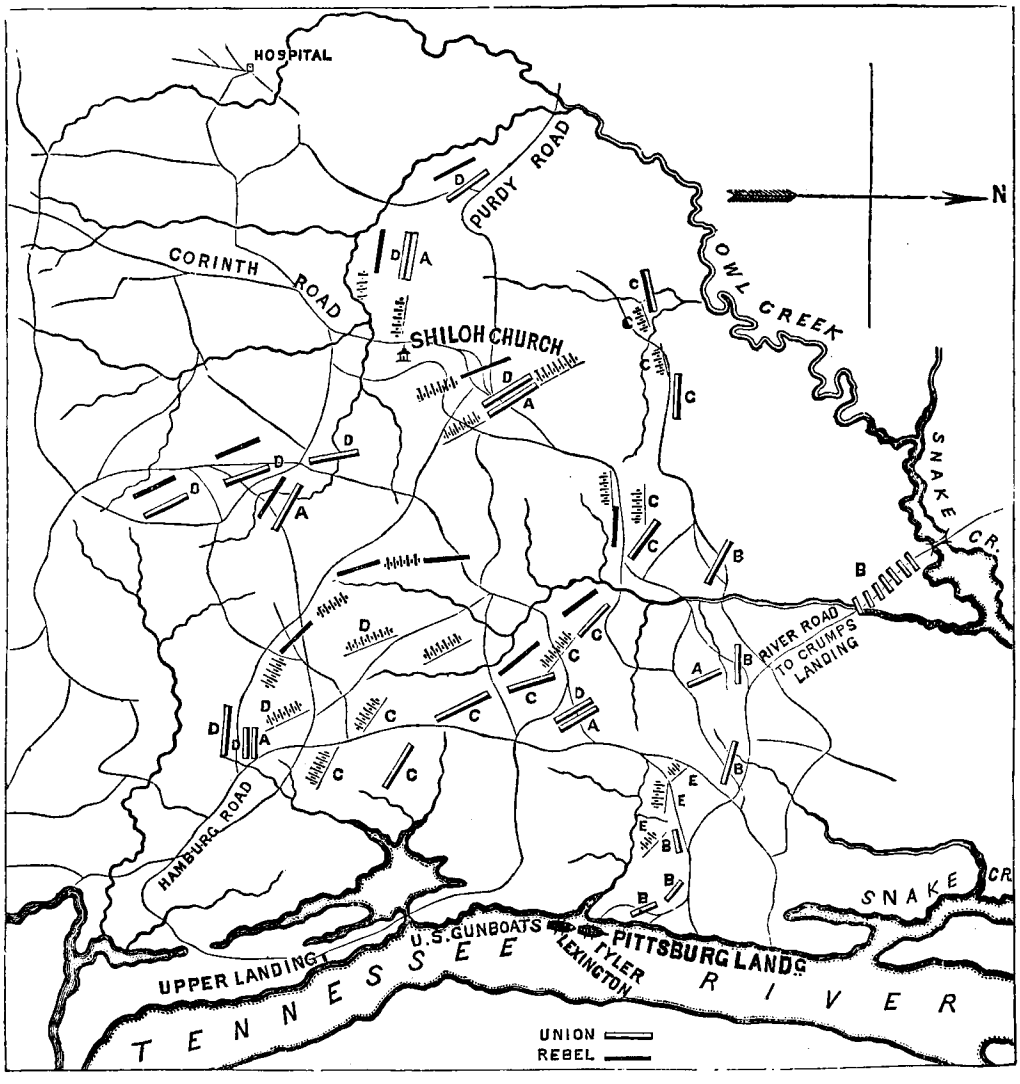
* "An Impressed New Yorker's Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army." The author of this work is Geo. M. Stevenson, son of Rev. Dr. Stevenson of the American Tract Society.

the advancing foe on Prentiss's front. A little later they struck Sherman. Each hastened to form line of battle. The latter was successful, and for some little time held his ground. Prentiss was scarcely so fortunate. Meanwhile the two divisions had no connection; the enemy found the gap, and the flank of each was turned. Sherman's left broke in disorder; the confusion was spreading to his right when the whole line fell back. Away to the left the enemy found another gap, for Prentiss had as little connection with Sherman s solitary brigade on the extreme left as he had with the other brigades of that officer on the extreme right. He was flanked there also; three sides were enfolded; he fell back, fighting bravely enough against the inevitable, and was at length compelled to surrender such fragments of his force as still retained their coherency The enemy rushing in on his left flank had struck the right of Sherman's isolated brigade, and it, likewise under the same stress, was hurled backward. Never was there a battle where everything had been so skillfully arranged to court such sudden disaster. The roar of the onslaught startled Grant from his peaceful Sunday morning slumbers, down the river at Savannah. He hurried up, on the first steamboat he could obtain, to find Prentiss practically disappeared from the contest; Sherman's division in confusion; McClernand's, which had hastened to support it, crippled, and but Hurlbut and W H. L. Wallace left to save the day. He strove to make the troops contest the ground more obstinately, hurried forward supplies of cartridges, and for a time did little more. He was facing his superiors in the art of war, and, as he first felt the weight of their skillful combinations and resistless assaults, we may well believe that for a moment there came over the mind of our Infantry Captain and Galena leather-dealer—now returned to his old profession to rival his old masters—a wish that the confidence born of Fort Donelson had not carried him so far. But he allowed no signs of distrust to escape him. There seemed little that he could do, but he could at least keep up his courage. The troops were beaten back from place to place, with an ever narrowing front, and a steadily swelling stream of deserters to the rear. The bluff was alive with them. Miles down the stream they made their hurried way in scores and hundreds. Still the army of forty thousand, surprised, broken in fragments, driven piecemeal, dwindled to scarcely more than half its number, kept up a good fight. Never did Generals strive more bravely in the field to redeem their irredeemable blunders in the council.

By half-past four in the afternoon there remained for them scarcely more than half a mile of ground to stand on. Rebel shells were dropping among the skulkers on the Landing. A staff officer was killed, almost at Grant's side, on the bluff. The tremendous roar to the left, momentarily nearer and nearer, told of an effort to cut him off from the river and from retreat. Grant sat on his horse, quiet, thoughtful, almost stolid. Said one to him, "Does not the prospect begin to look gloomy?" "Not at all," was the quiet reply "They can't force our lines around these batteries to-night—it is too late. Delay counts everything with us. To-morrow we shall attack them with fresh troops and drive them, of course."*

*I was myself a listener to this conversation, and from it I date, in my own case at least, the beginnings of any belief in Grant's greatness.

For Buell had already arrived in person; the advance of the Army of the Ohio was at Savannah; before daybreak almost the whole column would be up. There was no consultation between the independent commanders now on the field. Grant explained to Buell the position; Sherman furnished him with a little map of the roads, and, by common consent, it was understood that Buell was to advance at daybreak with his fresh troops on the left, where his foremost division had already done some fighting. Grant gathered together what he could of his army and prepared to advance on the right.



PITTSBURG LANDING AND SURROUNDINGS.

Explanations:

A. Positions of Major-General Grant's forces on the morning of April 6th.
B. Positions of Grant, with the divisions of Nelson and Crittenden, on the evening of April 6th.
C. Positions of Grant and Buell on the morning of April 7th.
D. Positions of Grant and Buell on the evening of April 7th.
E. Reserve of Artillery.

The next day brought success. The Army of the Ohio extended its front over three-fourths of the battle-field; Grant's shattered troops were barely able

to keep up the line on the other fourth; but there were enough—the day was won. The troops were too much exhausted for pursuit, and halting in the camps from which they had been driven the day before, were content to call it a victory. Not to be outdone, Beauregard (in command since Sidney Johnston's death in the first day's battle) telegraphed to Richmond that *he* had won a great and glorious victory; and Mr. Davis went so far as to communicate the glad tidings to the Confederate Congress in a special message.

The losses were about equal. Beauregard reported his at ten thousand six hundred and ninety-nine killed, wounded, and missing. Grant estimated his at five thousand killed and wounded, while two thousand two hundred prisoners were known to be taken with Prentiss. The incomplete reports of the subordinates, however, subsequently showed a loss of ten thousand six hundred killed and wounded. Altogether our loss must have been fifteen thousand, and Beauregard's could not have fallen many hundreds below the same figure. On the first day the contending forces were about equal. On the second Beauregard was largely outnumbered.

Of General Grant's conduct during this battle nothing can be said but praise; of his conduct before it little but blame. Flushed with Donelson, and seeming to despise his antagonist, he neglected almost every precaution and violated almost every rule of his profession. Believing the enemy to be largely superior in numbers, he lay, awaiting Buell's army, in a position inherently false and dangerous.* The order of his encampments was worse even than the position. "With an enemy in front," says Montecuculli, "an army should always encamp in order of battle." It is Napoleon himself who tells us that "encampments of the same army should always be formed so as to protect each other;" and again, that "it should be laid down as a principle never to leave intervals by which the enemy can penetrate between corps." The neglect to fortify is palliated by the popular dislike then existing to the spade as a weapon. But officers who had studied war and knew its requirements could scarcely have forgotten the spirit, even if they had failed to recall the words of the great Master of War, when he declared that, in the presence of an enemy, "it is necessary to intrench every night, and occupy a good defensive position." The neglect of pickets and out-posts approached criminality. That an enemy, forty thousand strong, only eighteen miles distant at the outset, and hourly approaching, could spend three days preparing to attack and in leisurely selecting its positions, without discovery by the antagonist General, will seem to the next generation preposterous and incredible. When the storm which he thus invited had burst, when he found how disaster was enveloping his army, and saw divisions melting bodily out of his grasp, Grant rose to the height of a hero. More than that, he rose (and for the first time on that movement) to the height of a General. "For it is the first qualification of a General-in-chief," says Napoleon again, "to have a cool head." The man who amid the disasters of that day could calmly

*Napoleon laid it down as a maxim of war, that "when the conquest of a country is undertaken by two or three armies, having separate lines until they arrive at a point fixed upon for their concentration, *the union of these different corps should never take place near the enemy.*"

reason out the certainty of success to-morrow, gave proof, in spite of blunders that under most managements would have cashiered him, of his capacity to lead the hosts of Freedom in greater struggles yet to come.

The battle of Pittsburg Landing added to Grant's reputation at the East, and increased his already rapidly rising popularity In the West, where it was better understood, where the ghastly losses were felt and the causes were known, it was held to be sufficient reason for his removal from command. The Governors of several Western States requested his removal on the grounds of incapacity and alleged intoxication. The fearful loss of life was charged directly to his negligence, and exaggerated stories of his habits were widely circulated. Even the gross slander, that explained the disasters of the first day's battle by the allegation of Grant's absence for hours in a state of intoxication at Savannah, found ready believers.

In the midst of all this, General Halleck hurried from St. Louis to take personal control, and thus illustrate to the Nation what one, who had gained such brilliant victories from his remote head-quarters, could accomplish when once his martial tread shook the actual field. One of his earliest deeds was to deprive Grant of all command. But Halleck had been lawyer quite as much as soldier; and his explanation to the victim, of the high honor he did him in thus beheading him, was a masterpiece of lawyer-like strategy. General Grant was the second in command; therefore it was necessary that he should have no command. For, in the event, which his constant exposure made hourly imminent, of the General-in-chief's being killed or disabled, it was necessary that the next in rank should be ready on the instant, and disengaged from other duties. "The General studied a long while over that stroke, and seemed mightily pleased at the shape he gave it," said an admiring staff officer.

Grant tried hard to believe in the theory, but his sturdy common sense was too much for it. Indeed, there were times during that weary two months' "siege" of Corinth when those who entered his tent found him almost in tears—contemplating, once it is said, the tender of his resignation as a means of escape from a position which he felt to be humiliating. In these dark days he had a constant friend in General Sherman—a fact not without its influence in the later career of both.

Halleck's summons to the East as General-in-chief, not long after the evacuation of Corinth, left Grant again in active command. For a time there was little to do. The campaign that, opening so bravely amid winter snows around Donelson and Henry, had swept the Rebels from Bowling Green to Corinth, from Columbus to Vicksburg, frittered itself away by early summer, in inconsequential pursuits and final stagnation. The enemy had time to recover from blows that had well-nigh proved mortal, to concentrate his scattered forces, and to resume the offensive. For this it is not plain that Grant should be held in any sense responsible. He had always advocated vigorous action, to the extent indeed of taking too little rather than too much time for preparation. Through all the amazing delays at Corinth he had urged advance, and it may

well be believed that his natural bent was not changed when power was at last lodged again in his hands.

The limits of his command naturally placed before him the task of opening the Mississippi. It was not till 27th of November that he was able to set about it. This interval of six months after the fall of Corinth, was spent in civil administration, and in a couple of battles directed by Grant and fought by Rosecrans. At first Grant established his head-quarters at Memphis. Presently it was discovered that the resident families of Rebel officers were constantly furnishing them news of the movements and numbers of troops. To prevent this, such families were peremptorily ordered beyond the lines. Subsequently the order was so far modified as to permit those to remain who chose to give their word of honor not to communicate with the Rebel army An order holding the communities which sustained guerrilla bands pecuniarily liable for their outrages, struck at the root of the system. A disloyal newspaper was summarily suppressed. Efforts were made to keep back the swarm of unprincipled speculators who hastened South, loaded with specie, to cross the lines and trade with the Rebels. The runaway slaves who crowded his camps were organized into companies and made to earn a living by being set to work picking cotton. The army was rigorously forbidden to interfere with the natural workings of the slavery question. Slaves were neither to be enticed away from their masters nor returned to them. A regiment that had been guilty of pillaging to a disgraceful extent, found itself charged with the value of its robberies when the paymaster came around. The Jews, as a class, were arraigned for "violating every regulation of trade established," and were ordered out of the department on twenty-four hours' notice, not to return under penalty of imprisonment.

Some of these orders were perhaps indiscreet; the most were well-judged and had a happy effect. Grant's strong common sense was conspicuous through the various work; but the chaotic condition of civil affairs in the conquered territory, and the confusion of trade regulations under conflicting authorities rendered it impossible that the labors of any one should be satisfactory or complete.

The midsummer repose was broken by the advance of the columns which the Rebels had been given time to re-assemble. Van Dorn and Price were the leaders. The designs were uncertain; but the first demonstration was an effort to break the line between Memphis and Corinth. Grant drew back his isolated garrisons before the advance, and suffered Price to take quiet possession of Iuka. Then, learning that Van Dorn could not come up for four or five days, he suddenly concentrated upon Price. Ord, with six thousand five hundred men, was to come in from the north; Rosecrans, with nine thousand, from the direction of Jacinto. Grant remained with Ord's column, which was to attack as soon as Rosecrans could get up on the opposite side. Unfortunately a strong wind was blowing directly against this advance, and the sound of Rosecrans's cannonade was not heard. Grant, resting on the idea that as his march was a long one, he could hardly be expected so soon, held Ord back, and thus Rosecrans was left to fight the battle alone. Next morning Price, discovering his danger, had re-

treated, and the chance of closing with a consolidated force of near sixteen thousand upon Price's twelve thousand, and crushing it, was lost.

Van Dorn next advanced upon Corinth. Grant entrusted its defense to Rosecrans, and disposed his remaining forces with a view to protect other points if the movement on Corinth should prove only a feint. Rosecrans was attacked with a desperation that made Corinth one of the hardest fought battles of the war. The close of the second day saw Van Dorn with his combined forces in full flight. Grant had already forwarded fresh troops to Rosecrans for the pursuit; he now threw in Ord upon the flank of the beaten enemy and inflicted still further punishment. The brief little campaign was admirably managed. The pursuit might have been more energetically pushed, but there were reasons for delay that may leave Grant free from blame.

The battle of Corinth was fought on the 4th of October. It was nearly two months later before Grant again advanced. The enemy was now posted on the Tallahatchie, to the south-west of Grand Junction and Corinth, where he covered Vicksburg and Jackson. Grant himself moved down on his front, while he sent a small force from Helena, striking eastward across the country, to demonstrate upon his rear and cut off his supplies. So marked was the effect of this demonstration that the enemy hastily abandoned the line of the Tallahatchie, and fell back upon the Yallabusha. Grant pressed steadily down into the interior, leaving in his trail a long train of posts to be garrisoned, the loss of any one of which would inevitably throw him back upon his base. It was a hazardous experiment, but one that promised brilliant results if successful.

Whether this movement had originally been designed as one against Vicksburg does not appear; but about this time General Halleck sent orders from Washington that a direct expedition against Vicksburg should be started. General Sherman was at once sent back to Memphis to organize it, with orders to "proceed to the reduction of Vicksburg." The garrison, it was hoped, would be found weak; and Grant's advance was relied on to keep the Rebel army, then on the Yallabusha, too fully occupied to relieve it.

Such were the plans when a single stroke disarranged them all, and left, in place of the victory that had been hoped, a barren record of retreat for one column and a bloody repulse for the other. Grant had made Holly Springs the immediate base of supplies for his advance, and had left it under the command of Colonel Murphy, with a garrison of a thousand men. Supplies and transportation had been accumulated here to the value of over four millions of dollars. The Rebel cavalry were suddenly discovered dashing past Grant's column, with evident design to cut his communication. In alarm for his supplies he sent word to Murphy of the impending danger, and hurried four regiments back to re-enforce him. The regiments were delayed; Murphy proved himself an imbecile; the post was surrendered without firing a shot; Van Dorn destroyed everything in hot haste, and pushed on to other posts in quest of further work. It was the defeat of the whole movement. Grant moved back, and the enemy was left to devote his attention undisturbed to Vicksburg.

Sherman, unfortunately, started the day after this disaster, and before he had

heard of it. He reached the northern defenses of Vicksburg, made a gallant and bloody assault, was repulsed with heavy loss, and was forced to abandon his effort.

And so, by the opening of 1863, Grant found himself fairly confronted with the problem of Vicksburg. His most trusted Lieutenant had essayed it and failed. He had himself essayed a co-operative movement and failed. The Administration said: "Take Vicksburg." The people grew restive under the delay in fulfilling the order. To their minds the Great River was the symbol of the Union. Till every obstruction to its peaceful flow was burst off, they could see no hopeful issue to the conflict. About this time, too, the whole horizon was dark. The partisans of McClellan waged fierce war upon the Government that had removed their favorite; his enemies shrank appalled, as by their own handiwork, from the ghastly slaughter of our bravest which his incompetent successor had wrought on the heights of Fredericksburg. The capture of New Orleans had led to none of the expected results. Operations on the sea-coast were frivolous and inconsequential. At a great cost the old Army of the Ohio had, before Nashville, maintained its ground, without the ability to advance. From the sea to the river our armies seemed paralyzed. The opponents of the war at the North, encouraged by these indications, ventured upon an opener course. Their able representatives in Congress pointed to the failures of two bloody years as proof that the seceded States could never be subdued; demanded a cessation of hostilities; declared that continuance of the struggle would insure the eternal separation of the South. Their eloquent spokesman warned the Government that, in such case, the North-West would go with the South. If war could not open the Father of Waters, the men who dwelt on its tributaries and about its sources would make peace to accomplish the end. "There is not one drop of rain that falls over the whole vast expanse of the North-West," he exclaimed with threatening emphasis, and with the instant applause of his great party, "that does not find its home in the bosom of the Gulf. We must and we will follow it, with travel and trade, not by treaty but by right; freely, peaceably, and without restriction or tribute, under the same Government and flag."*

Unmoved by the clamor that thus agitated the public mind and gave feverish interest to his operations; unmoved likewise by the signs of his own growing unpopularity, the stories about his habits, the comments on his Mississippi failure, the censures of his negligence in leaving Holly Springs with defense so inadequately proportioned to the importance of the post—moved by none of these things from his equable calm, Grant, still with the fullest support of the Government, began his study of the Vicksburg problem.

It was evident that the conditions were different from those under which the other strongholds along the Mississippi had been successively secured. The naval force had in every case proved insufficient to reduce the Rebel batteries which blocked the navigation, so long as their garrisons were free from menace

* Vallandigham's Speech on Wright's Resolutions, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., Jan., 1863.

by a superior land column. But the moment that an army in the interior endangered the communications of the garrison, the post had fallen. With the establishment of Grant's forces at Fort Donelson, Columbus had been abandoned. With Pope's appearance below it, Island No. 10 had been abandoned. With the evacuation of Corinth came the evacuation of Fort Pillow, and the resulting fall of Memphis. With the occupation of Jackson, which Grant had essayed, might have come Sherman's occupation of Vicksburg. But Grant had failed to keep open his communications on his march toward Jackson; and whether he might have done better again or not, he abandoned the effort, and committed himself to the radically false movement* of passing directly down the river.

He was not long indeed in discovering the error; but the steps could not well be retraced. Thenceforward his mind was wholly turned upon efforts to find some way of vaulting from the river in the front, to the hills in the rear of Vicksburg. And here it was that the peculiar difficulties of the problem were encountered.

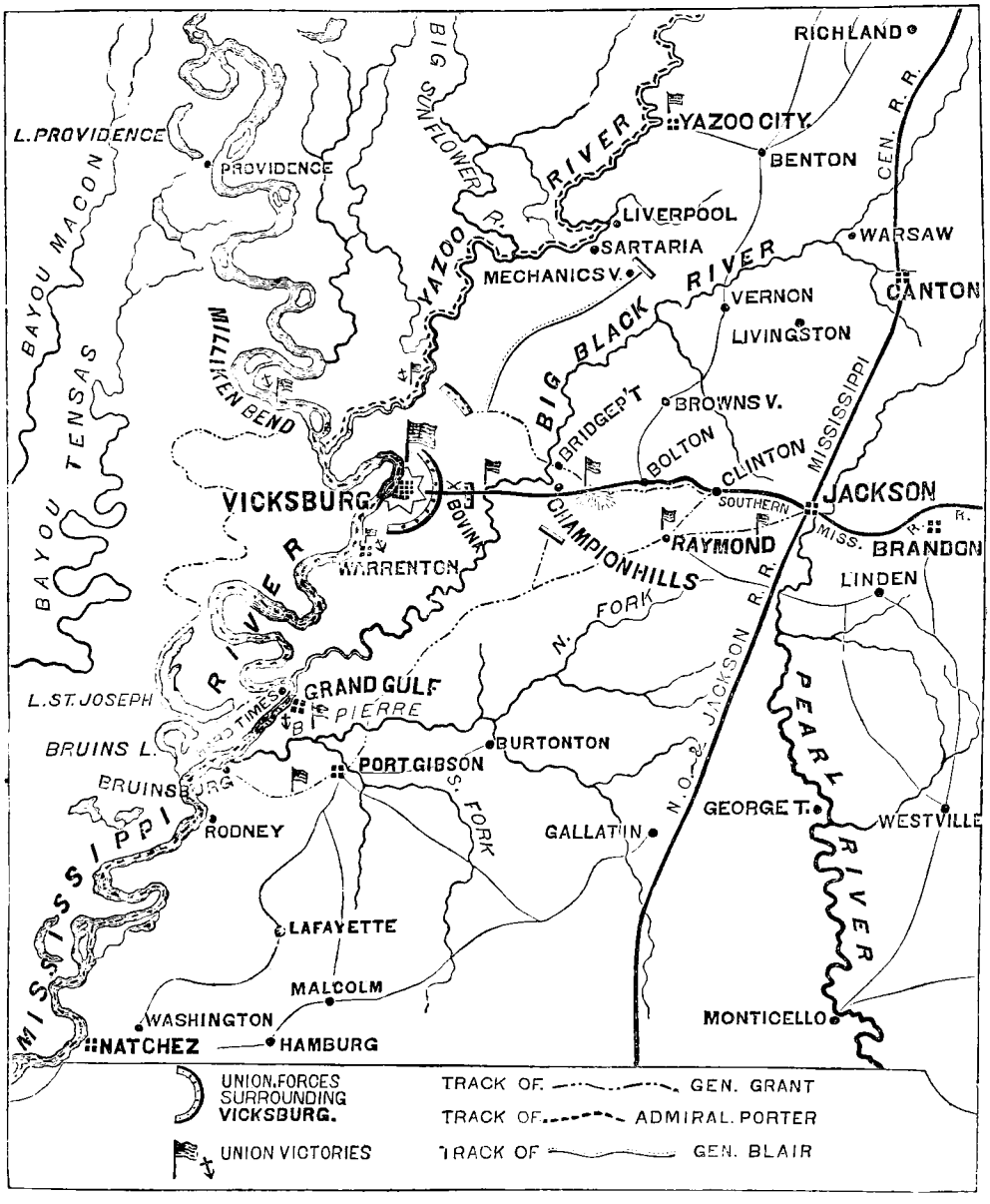
This city of Vicksburg is situated at the eastern end of a great bend of the Misssisippi, and on its eastern bank. Its high bluffs render direct assault from the front an impracticable thing. It is now to be seen that a movement from the east bank of the Mississippi above it, around to its rear, was likewise an impracticable thing. A few miles above Vicksburg the Yazoo river empties into the Mississippi, on the eastern side. The hills which skirt Vicksburg extend northward, forming a good defensive line up to Haines's Bluff on the Yazoo, twelve miles from its confluence with the Mississippi. In front of these hills lay swamps, dense woods, and an old bed of the Yazoo—an uncertain region, neither land nor water, but presenting the obstacles of both, and admirably improved by the Rebel commander. The batteries at Haines's Bluff effectually closed the Yazoo to our gunboats; the defensive line thence to Vicksburg, just described, barred an advance by the land forces.

This then was the problem: How should the army be planted in the rear of Vicksburg and supplied? The route overland, *via* Holly Springs, having been definitely abandoned, but two possible lines of supply seemed left. If the Yazoo could be used, the army might reach the rear of Vicksburg from the north side. If the Mississippi could be used, it might reach the rear from the south side. But we have seen that the Yazoo was closed by the batteries of Haines's Bluff, the Mississippi by the batteries of Vicksburg itself.

Months were spent in efforts to evade first the one and then the other. All were futile; and failure after failure served at once to strengthen the opposition at the North, to embarrass the Government, and to discourage the army

* High authorities will condemn this censure. But I find myself fortified in it, not merely by the abstract principles of war, but by the openly expressed conviction of so eminent a soldier and so distinguished a friend of Grant's as General Sherman. In his speech, July 20th, 1865, at a banquet given in his honor, at St. Louis, General Sherman, after referring to the canals and the "drowning on the levee like muskrats," said: "All that time the true movement was the original movement, and everything approximating it came nearer the truth. But we could not make a retrograde movement. Why? Because you people of the North were too noisy. We could not take any step backward, and for that reason we were forced to run the batteries at Vicksburg."

The first project was to open the Mississippi by cutting a canal (scarcely a mile in length), directly across the neck of land around which the river bends, to wash the bluffs of the threatened city. This would have opened a line of supply to



VICKSBURG AND SURROUNDINGS.

the southward—even if the channel had not been permanently changed—and would thus have enabled Grant to move from the south side to the rear of Vicksburg. The work was energetically prosecuted, but before the canal was deep enough, the rising river swept in the dam at its upper end, flooded the camps and drove off the workmen. Even then the undertaking might have been a success; but the upper end of the canal had been located exactly at a powerful eddy in the river, which effectually prevented the current from entering it. And—as if the planners had predestinated failure—even if the canal had been

made navigable, it must have been useless, for it entered the Mississippi again, directly under heavy batteries of the enemy. The river rose none too soon to prevent further waste of time on a scheme like this.

Still seeking a route down the river by which he might supply his army below, Grant next bethought him of the chain of lakes and ponds and stagnant bayous through the swamps of Louisiana, connecting Lake Providence (lying only a mile west of the Mississippi) with the Tensas River, which, through the Red, leads again into the Mississippi far below Natchez. Chimerical, indeed, must have been the visions of relief from the remorseless conditions of his problem that were swarming before the mind of the puzzled General, when the project of opening and defending a line like this, through the enemy's country, was seriously entertained. But a canal from the Mississippi into Lake Providence was begun, and for a time the troops were kept busy with the spade upon it.

Scarcely less unpromising was another wild effort, the last of the schemes for evading Vicksburg and still descending the Mississippi. Near Milliken's Bend are certain Louisiana bayous, sluggish wastes of water in that "half-made land," which, during the spring freshets, swell into navigable streams. By one tortuous connection and another, through cypress swamps innumerable, it was just possible that a shallop could be floated along these bayous, at flood time, till it should strike the Tensas, and thus again reach the Mississippi, through the Red, half way down to New Orleans. Along this circuitous route an effort was actually made to dredge a channel. Presently the river fell, the bayous shrank again into scum-covered ponds, the connections with each other stiffened into mud, and, mayhap, before the season ended, cotton stalks were growing along the track the dredge boats had marked.

With this ended the series of efforts to evade the Vicksburg batteries, and still find a line for supplies down the river.

Meantime more promising plans were projected. We have seen that if the waters of the Yazoo could be reached, that stream would furnish a line, by the aid of which the army might safely essay from the northward a movement to the rear of the defenses of its long-coveted prize. The mouth of the Yazoo being closed by these defenses themselves, it became necessary to seek some other and unknown way of bursting into that river. Far up the Mississippi—well-nigh to Memphis itself—lies one of those anomalous sheets of water that line the banks of the Great River,—tributaries in its weakness, parasites in its strength. This connects with a little lake, this again with the head-waters of one of the branches of the Tallahatchie, and through it with the Yazoo. Such is the route which now came to be known to the baffled, struggling army, as the Yazoo Pass. An expedition was formed to enter it, and after incredible labor, navigating those dark, interminably winding aisles of cypress, the Tallahatchie was fairly reached, early in March. "But," to take General Grant's own explanation, "while my forces were opening one end of the pass the enemy was diligently closing the other." Just as the leaders of the expedition imagined that they were about to reach the goal of all their labors (the Yazoo) and sweep

down from the rear upon the batteries of Haines's Bluff, they were suddenly stopped by a fort the Rebels had been busily building at the junction of the Tallahatchie with the Yazoo. It proved too strong for the gunboats; the high water prevented the land forces from co-operating in an attack; and so, by 21st March, the movement that had come so near success was abandoned, and the expedition returned.

But there yet remained a roundabout road to the Yazoo,—so obscure that perhaps the Rebels had not obstructed it. Parallel with the Tallahatchie, and like it, emptying into the Yazoo, but nearer the Mississippi, with a more sluggish current, a shallower channel and more confusedly winding course, ran the Big Sunflower. It too could be reached, through lakes and bayous and ponds, from Yazoo Pass. Into this the gunboats now adventured. The trees from either bank interlaced their branches above; cypress trees rose in the very midst of the channel; here and there a sturdy cypress stood fair in the path the boats must take; logs and brush floated idly on the surface of the dark lagoons. "Every foot of our way," wrote an officer, "was cut and torn through a dense forest never before traversed by steamers." Delays were necessary, arising mainly from the utter ignorance of steamboatmen and all others as to the nature of the waters thus to be navigated. The enemy discovered the movement and prepared to check it; and so, when almost ready to emerge into the Yazoo, this last of the failures returned.

Three months had now been consumed, and the army that had been expected to storm Vicksburg still lay on the Louisiana shore, with the Mississippi river between it and its goal. It was in good health, for at that season the evils of the climate and of the swamp are not felt; but to the excited apprehensions of the people at home, who knew their sons to be aimlessly crowded on levees or wading through dark morasses, to no successful end, the condition of the troops became a matter of keenest apprehension. Meantime, all that the country knew was that effort after effort had failed; that now seven distinct and successive undertakings against Vicksburg, six of them under General Grant's sole direction, had fallen impotent, and had only aroused the mirth of the enemy, who jeered at the Yankee ditch-diggers. One by one, those wise men of the East, who had followed the rising star from Fort Donelson, fell off. Long since it had been possible to number, with few figures, Grant's friends at the West. "There was a time," said Mr. Lincoln, "when I stood almost alone in supporting him." The clamor for his removal swelled. Even that sturdiest of champions for a friend's cause, the Congressman from Grant's own district, who had already tilted many a parliamentary joust in his favor, grew lukewarm. Slanders revived. "The army was being ruined," said the coarsest and most reckless of the newspapers, "in mud-turtle expeditions, under the leadership of a drunkard, whose confidential adviser was a lunatic." It was the crisis of Grant's career. One thing, one only, stood between him and a removal, which would have consigned him to the purgatory of broken-down Generals, with a record that, in the light of this final failure, would have been read as one of unbroken blunders and disasters, relieved only by a victory that another had

won for him at Donelson. The confidence of Abraham Lincoln, though sadly shaken, did not yet give way; he would "let Grant try once more." And it is to be specially noted that, in so resolving, he resolved likewise that the General thus favored should be supplied with every re-enforcement and appliance for which he asked. With such hard fortune as befell other Generals in similar straits, Grant must inevitably have gone down like them. But while McClellan, in the midst of the like futile attempts against a Rebel stronghold, clamoring for re-enforcements, was denied—while Rosecrans, piteously begging for troops, was told to cease his importunity and use what he had—Grant, in greater disfavor now than either, was still supported with generous and unstinting hand. Whatever he sought, that he straightway received.

The endangered General himself bore stoutly up. Through all this floundering for a plan of operations, one feature of his character shines clear—he did not see how to take Vicksburg; but without discouragement, or despondency at failures that would have broken down most men, with unabated hope, indeed, he resolutely continued to face the problem.

"All this while," says General Sherman, "the true movement was the original movement,"—that is, the march from Memphis *via* Holly Springs upon Jackson—and in this verdict that eminent General unquestionably follows the teachings of sound military science. That, at the time, he urged upon General Grant a return to Memphis to undertake the campaign over again on some such route is well understood;* that Grant was for a time impressed by the suggestion seems probable. But our "uncle-like youth" had been growing. Repeated failures had cleared his vision and inflamed his resolution; till now, determined not to go back, he had wrought himself up to the point of an undertaking, obvious enough to have been talked over among the privates by their camp-fires, but so hazardous that not the boldest General in all that brave army would have dared it. He decided to march his troops southward on the Louisiana side, to trust for supplies to steamboats that might run the gauntlet of the Vicksburg batteries, to cross the Mississippi below the last post in the chain of defenses, and then, staking everything upon the die, and trusting to the fortune of the cast, to cut loose from supplies, and strike for Vicksburg or ruin. Moreover, there was that in the mind of this most audacious of Generals that never permitted him to doubt of success, or to admit, in this wildest flight, the most prudent and judicious precautions.

In the last days of March, the troops moved across the little peninsula opposite Vicksburg, and came out on the Mississippi below New Carthage. Gunboats and transports next ran past the batteries,—a fearful ordeal, from which they emerged, battered, shattered, some in flames, while others had gone down beneath the pitiless rain of shells. Then, with gunboats leading the way, and

* General Sherman, in his St. Louis speech, referring to an incorrect version of the above statement, emphatically denied having protested against Grant's final movement. "I never protested against anything," he said. But he did not deny that, after Grant's movements had actually begun, he submitted in writing his reasons for believing that his own policy, as indicated above, would be better. Portions of this memorandum may be found in the (following) sketch of Sherman's life.

transports bearing down store of provisions, the army marched on, till it came opposite the last Rebel fort, that at Grand Gulf. Here the gunboats were expected to reduce the hostile works, but they failed. Grant then hastened twelve miles further down; the gunboats and transports followed.

The movement had now consumed a month; and the Rebels were still incredulous or blind as to its real purpose. For Sherman had been left above, with his corps; and, when Grant was ready to cross to the eastern side of the river and at last launch his army upon the enemy's rear, he had skillfully arranged that Sherman should be making a feint of attacking them in force above. And so it came about that, while, on the first of May, Pemberton was watching Sherman, at Haines's Bluff, Grant was fairly across, far below the city, and moving rapidly in the rear of Grand Gulf.

From this moment there was in the mind of the great strategist, now at the head of all the Confederate armies in the West, no doubt of the course to be pursued. Comprehending instantly the menace, recognizing that the fate of Vicksburg was now to be settled by the fate of this army that was so suddenly rushing without a base into the enemy's country, General Jos. E. Johnston ordered Pemberton out of Vicksburg, to concentrate everything, fall upon Grant and crush him. But not less clear was the vision of the General with whom Johnston was contending. From the hour that he set foot on the east side of the Mississippi, below Vicksburg, he persistently addressed himself to one clearly defined, distinct object, from which no raids upon his rear, no question of communications, no dubious maneuvers of the enemy were to swerve him. Herein lay the great Generalship of his movement. He at last knew precisely what he wanted. Interposing between Pemberton's forces near Vicksburg, and any troops to the eastward which Johnston might collect for the emergency, he struck straight along the most eligible route for the rear of Vicksburg, whence bursting off instantaneously, by attack in reverse, the fortifications on the Yazoo, he might open communication with the fleet, and sit down at his leisure to the siege.

Accordingly, no sooner had the advance corps landed on the east side of the river and drawn four days' rations than it was pushed out on the road to Port Gibson—a point, the possession of which necessarily menaced the Rebel fortifications at Grand Gulf. The garrison here understood well enough the nature of such movement, and four miles in front of Port Gibson strove desperately to check the advance. The battle raged along the narrow ridge on which ran the road of the National army throughout the day, and cost a thousand of Grant's troops. But the end was inevitable; the Rebels were defeated and forced back toward their fortifications. Grant pushed instantly on, and the Grand Gulf garrison found itself on the point of being cut off from Vicksburg. In all haste, therefore, it evacuated and fled, leaving Grant to move up the transports from Bruinsburg, and make his temporary base of supplies at the point he had originally selected.

A little above Grand Gulf, the Big Black, after flowing a few miles to the rear of Vicksburg, and thence almost parallel with the Mississippi southward,

empties into the Great River. Crossing it at the bridge which the Grand Gulf garrison took, there lay before the army a straight road, only twenty miles long, directly to Vicksburg. But it was no part of Grant's plan to move square in the teeth of his foe. Yet he sent a column along this road to pursue the flying garrison, and thus creating the impression that the whole National army was rushing straight upon him, held Pemberton near Vicksburg. Then, pushing his army along the eastern bank of the Big Black, he protected by that stream his left flank, while he hastened to plant himself upon the line by which Johnston and Pemberton communicated—the short forty-five mile railroad connecting Vicksburg with Jackson, the capital of the State. Assured by this skillful interposition of the Big Black, of his safety from Pemberton, he even stretched his right, under McPherson, miles away to the eastward, to strike Jackson itself, destroy the Rebel stores, and discover what force Johnston might be gathering for Pemberton's relief.

Meantime it was the fate of that able but unfortunate commander to be cursed with subordinates who fancied they knew more than their chief. Troops for the emergency were collecting at Jackson. He had already ordered Pemberton to concentrate against Grant; now, on his arrival at Jackson, he found Grant pushing by long strides against the railroad, midway between Jackson and Vicksburg, while Pemberton, conceiving it to be his duty in any event to cover Vicksburg, lay near it on the railroad. Johnston saw at once the false position of his forces, scattered on either side of Grant's column and sure to be beaten in detail; and he peremptorily ordered Pemberton to move north-eastward, crossing in advance of Grant's front, and so reaching Jackson. Had that brave but brainless General known only enough to obey his superiors, the issue might have been different. But he could not conceive of anything that could absolve him from the duty of standing by the earthworks of his cherished fortification; and so he took it upon himself to disobey Johnston's order. Not merely this; so bent was he upon helping his adversary that, remembering the rule in the books about striking an enemy's line of communications, and utterly failing to comprehend the essence of Grant's movement, which was an abandonment of all lines of communication, he actually marched southward, big with the mighty purpose of preventing Grant from drawing supplies from Grand Gulf.

Meanwhile, Grant, hearing of Johnston's attempted concentration at Jackson, bent eastward the lines of Sherman and McClernand also, so that suddenly the whole army thus concentrated, burst upon Johnston's feeble force. That commander, disobeyed by his subordinate on whose troops he had confidently counted for such an emergency, did the best he could; but in two hours his handful was driven from Jackson, and the accumulated stores were in flames. Then, having thus cleared away obstructions in the rear, turning sharp to the westward, Grant had before him—*Vicksburg!*

To this stage had he reached in two short weeks! For, crossing the Mississippi on the first, he was now, on the fifteenth, marching straight from Jackson upon the doomed city. All too late, Pemberton discovered his blunder. Four days before his mighty resolve to throw Grant back by cutting his communica-

tions, Grant had sent word that "he would communicate no more with Grand Gulf." Now, therefore, Pemberton finding that, in utter contempt of his threats, Grant was almost upon his flank, came hastening back with intent to march northeastward in the direction of Johnston's original order. But while he had been marching and countermarching, Grant with single purpose, had been driving straight to his goal. So then, when Pemberton, coming up from his futile raid against an abandoned line, reached in his northward march the Jackson and Vicksburg railroad, he was struck by Grant's columns hastening westward. It was too late to think of concentrating now with Johnston; for his life and the life of his army he was forced to fight on the ground where he stood. Thus came about the battle of Champion Hills, at which the doom of Vicksburg was sealed.

Pemberton's position was naturally strong and he had twenty-five thousand men to defend it.* Grant's heads of columns only were up; one entire corps—that of Sherman, was still near Jackson. By eleven o'clock Hovey's division of McClernand's corps was fiercely engaged. Once it was repulsed; but Grant hastened to put in a division from McPherson's corps to strengthen it. Meantime Logan was sent far to the right to feel the enemy's flank. He found the road on which he moved suddenly bend down so as to bring him fairly upon the enemy's rear. Hovey was being once more repulsed, in spite of supports, when Pemberton discovered this new source of danger and hastily drew off. Then Hovey and the rest pressed forward; Logan's flanking column joined in; the retreat of the Rebels became a rout; one whole division was cut off from their army, and the rest were driven to the Big Black—almost within hearing of the bells of Vicksburg—before nightfall.

Here came the last flickering effort of the bewildered and blindly struggling Rebel commander. Crossing most of his troops, he left on the east side enough to hold the strong work defending the approaches to the river, while on the heights of the western bank he posted his artillery. Here, next morning, the advance corps of Grant's army, after some skirmishing, made an impetuous charge. The demoralized Rebel force broke at once. Pemberton vainly strove to rally them. Threats, persuasion, force were all in vain; disordered, terror-stricken, a mob, not an army, they poured back to Vicksburg.† There were still left them a few hours in which to escape, for Grant was delayed half a day bridging the Big Black. Johnston's peremptory order once more came to save them, but not even as by fire was this Pemberton to be saved. He could still see nothing but Vicksburg, and while he debated with his officers about Johnston's strange order to evacuate and hasten north-eastward, Grant's columns came sweeping up in rapid deployment around the city, and thenceforward there was no evacuation for the caged army. It was only the 18th of May; the movement had begun on the 1st. Into such brief limits was crowded the most brilliant cam-

*Some Rebel authorities say only seventeen thousand five hundred.

†Eighteen guns were captured here and fifteen hundred prisoners. Grant's total loss was but two hundred and seventy-one. At Champion Hills, however, the day before, he lost two thousand four hundred and fifty-seven. The Rebel loss in killed and wounded was nearly as great; while it was swelled by two thousand prisoners, fifteen guns, and the death of Lloyd Tilghman, of Fort Henry memory.

paign of the General whose star, bursting at last from all clouds and concealment, soared thenceforward steadily to the zenith.

Here Grant might well have rested, for his right had already carried the Yazoo, and communications with the fleet were once more restored, and the issue of a siege could not be doubted. But as Johnston was known to be in the rear with a force which he would doubtless strive to increase for the purpose of raising the siege, and as the Rebel garrison was known to be greatly demoralized, it was thought best to try the effect of an immediate assault. Accordingly the day after the investment, this was ordered, but resulted only in carrying the lines forward upon the very verge of the enemy's works. Two days later, after ample preparations, a grand simultaneous assault along the whole line was made. Twenty-five hundred men were lost in the attempt, and Grant then concluded, to use his own words, "that the enemy's position was too strong, both naturally and artificially, to be taken in that way."

Then followed the regular details of a siege. The utmost activity was maintained; Grant himself exercised the closest supervision of all the bombardments, mines, parallels, and siege approaches. By and by Johnston was reported to be moving upon him. Straightway Sherman was detached to face the new danger. "The Rebels," wrote Grant, referring to the intercepted letters on which he based this movement, "seem to put a great deal of faith in the Lord and Joe Johnston; but *you* must whip Johnston at least fifteen miles from here."

With all his efforts Johnston was too late. By the 7th of July, as he finally wrote Pemberton, he would be able to make an effective diversion. But Pemberton never received the letter; it went, like so many more, to swell the well-grounded confidence of the taciturn commander who now pressed his lines hard against every point of the beleaguered defenses. The garrison had long been on half rations; hope was exhausted; on the 3d of July Pemberton sought to "capitulate" on terms which "commissioners" might arrange. Grant knew his advantages and replied that commissioners were useless, since he had no terms but unconditional surrender to offer. Still he was willing to have an interview on the subject. Pemberton gladly assented. They met between the lines under a clump of trees, at a spot since marked by a monument. Pemberton insisted upon commissioners. Grant, between the puffs of his cigar, replied that it was impossible. They sat down on the grass—tens of thousands of eager troops from the lines on either hand devouring their every movement—and talked it over. Pemberton still stood out for better terms. Perhaps, as the Rebel commander has since hinted, some trace of the melo-dramatic tinged Grant's wish that the next day, the Fourth of July, should witness the surrender which he knew to be inevitable. At any rate, that night he receded from his demand of unconditional surrender, agreed to parole the entire Rebel army, and permit it to carry off such provisions as it wanted. Pemberton still higgled, with skill commonly attributed in his section only to Yankee bargainers, and on the morning of the Fourth he gained the further privilege of marching out with colors and arms, and stacking them in front of his limits. This done the conqueror rode in. McPherson and Logan were by his side; a division of the army that

had followed him from his movement on Jackson six months before, through all the buffets and reverses that fortune had given him, up to this crowning moment, followed him now. As he rode, the "uncle-like youth" placidly smoked his cigar!

This triumphant ending of the six months' efforts against Vicksburg was slightly marred, in the popular estimation, by undue lenity. It was generally believed that the paroles of an army of thirty-seven thousand men were not likely to be too scrupulously regarded in such straits as those upon which the Confederacy was now fallen, and Grant was blamed for not having sent his prisoners to the North. In reply, it was said that, under all the circumstances, this was impossible. But the subject never affected the instant outburst of enthusiasm that bore Grant to the first rank among all the Generals in the service of the country. From the day that Vicksburg fell, he was, in the eyes of the men who made up the army, and of the men who sustained it, the central figure of the war.

President Lincoln addressed him a characteristic letter—"in grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish," he continued, "to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below, and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below, and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong." Rarely as such words have reached a General from the head of a great Government, it has been more rarely still that the high honor they confer has been so meekly borne. While the army was wild, while the North was ringing bells and building bonfires, while the politicians were nominating him for the Presidency, and the President was thus wreathing his name with the praises of the Nation, General Grant, scarcely pausing to look at his conquest, was hastening to make head against Johnston's army in his rear. Sherman s division was not even allowed to enter the city before which it had so long suffered and fought. While the streets of Vicksburg resounded with the shouts of such troops as had entered, it was toiling far to the eastward again, to press Johnston into position at Jackson, and soon thereafter to force him to retreat. At the same time General Frank J. Herron was sent to capture Yazoo City; that handsomely accomplished, he was ordered to re-enforce Sherman.

Throughout these operations, thus happily ended, three great traits of character shone conspicuously. Grant rarely mistook his men, or failed to choose for every task, leaders amply qualified to execute it. He was uniformly calm and sensible, even in his moods of most audacious undertaking. And his determination to conquer, at whatever cost, was invincible—not to be daunted by any risk, not to be turned back by any slaughter.

There followed an interval of comparative leisure, extending to the middle of October. Expeditions were sent to prevent the passage of supplies from the Trans-Mississippi to Johnston; re-enforcements were dispatched to Banks and Schofield; civil affairs were measurably adjusted in the conquered territory and along the Great River that at last "went unvexed to the sea." Grant carefully regulated the issue of rations to the destitute inhabitants and to the swarming contrabands. He opposed the policy, enunciated in the expression attributed to Secretary Chase, that "trade follows the flag," declaring that any trade whatever with the rebellious States was equivalent to a weakening of the National forces thirty-three and a third per cent. He observed the extortions practiced by the greedy steamboat men who first followed the re-opened river, regulated the fares they were permitted to charge soldiers; and ordered that, if a private soldier chose to travel as a cabin passenger, and had the money to pay for the privilege, no boat officer should have the power to hinder him.

For the first time since the outbreak of the war he saw his wife. She now visited him at his head-quarters. The good woman's uneasiness about a livelihood for the future, from the man who had been forced to peddle wood through the streets of St. Louis to earn a living for her, were at last at an end; for having resigned his place many years ago, in the regular army, he was now re-appointed. But what a leap was there! He had resigned a Captaincy with the pay of an ordinary clerk; he was appointed to a Major-Generalship with a salary for life larger than that of a cabinet officer or of the Chief-Justice of the United States! Soon after, he was entertained at a costly banquet given to him in Memphis. The honors and attentions showered upon him wrought no change. He was the same quiet, undemonstrative, plain-looking, plain-spoken man that had been at his wit's ends, digging ditches through weary months of vain experiment above Vicksburg. Some one sought to draw out his political opinions. He had none, he said. He didn't understand politics. But there was one subject he did understand, and, if they chose, was ready enough to discuss. He thought he knew all about the right way for tanning leather!

In September he went to New Orleans, for a little rest. General Banks had a grand review in his honor. Grant was given a very fiery horse to ride. Even in the review he proved unmanageable, and the guest, unable to control his steed, went thundering along the lines as if he rode a break-neck race. The attendant Generals and their staffs did their best to keep up, and the horses all became wild with the excitement. As Grant turned back to the city, the sudden shriek of a locomotive startled his horse; it plunged against a carriage that was meeting him, and threw Grant heavily to the ground. He was carried insensible to an adjacent house; his hip was paralyzed; and for a time it seemed that he was permanently disabled. More than two months passed before he could walk without the aid of a crutch.

While Grant was resting after the completion of his task, Rosecrans had been busied with his. Sweeping down from Murfreesboro', with the movements of a consummate strategist, he had maneuvered Bragg beyond the Tennessee; then, gathering all his resources, with muscles tense and every nerve on the

rack, he had leaped to clutch the end of his campaign—the Hawk's Nest* that looks down to Georgia and the Sea. At the cost of a bloody battle he had won it, and Chattanooga was ours. But the conquest cost the conqueror his command.

Startled by their loss the Rebels hastened to concentrate upon the devoted army that, perching there among the mountain fastnesses, held firm in its bloody grasp the key to all their land. It was well-nigh too late when the War Department perceived the danger to be real. Then, detaching from the Potomac a column under Hooker, it ordered Sherman across from the Mississippi, and made haste to concentrate the great armies of the West upon the spot whence it saw that, henceforth, the West must be defended and the South subdued. Inasmuch as it had decided to remove Rosecrans, there was but one man left to command these converging columns. The hero of Vicksburg was spontaneously suggested. On his arrival, under orders, at Indianapolis, he was met by the Secretary of War in person, and was given command of the whole country between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies. At last, then, victory was indeed organizing. Rosecrans had been left with the depleted Army of the Cumberland, with restricted command, and no possibility of re-enforcements, to take the strategic point and hold it against Bragg and Longstreet. It was the rare good fortune of his successor that, thanks partly to the awakened apprehensions of the Government, but more to its present unlimited confidence in the man, he was able to bring to the continuation of this same work the colossal re-enforcement of two armies.

On the 23d of October, 1863, General Grant arrived at Chattanooga. He found the men on half rations and likely, within a week or two, to be starved out. But he found, also, the plans elaborated by which they could be relieved the proper officers apprised of their nature, and the troops in position to execute them. Furthermore, he found the plans elaborated for the army's resuming the offensive. With his usual good sense he at once adopted these arrangements of his predecessor, and, with larger forces and unquestioning support from the Government, proceeded to their execution. We may now, therefore, look back to the weeks intervening between the disastrous day of Chickamauga and Grant's appointment to his new command, to trace the origin and development of the brief but brilliant campaign that was to carry our sturdy hero one step higher, and bring him the only promotion that remained for him to win.

When, crushed beneath the Rebel concentration which the War Department had refused to believe possible, Rosecrans drew back his shattered columns to Chattanooga, that astute strategist realized, more fully, perhaps, than when a wing of his army first entered it, that *there* was the top and crown of his rounded campaign—not to be lost under any circumstances—not to be yielded to any superiority of attack. Knowing how largely he was outnumbered he first sought to form a defensive line, sufficiently concentrated to defy the enemy in any strength. To this end he abandoned Lookout Mountain and his line of

* The Indian word Chattanooga means "Hawk's Nest."

supplies south of the Tennessee, trusting that the re-enforcements, at last so vigorously forwarded after the battle was over, might arrive in time to re-open the line before its loss should be seriously felt. Meanwhile steamboats were building at Bridgeport for supplies, and bridge materials were earnestly sought.

Now the position in which the army that had wrested Chattanooga from the enemy stood, was this: Lying on the south side of the Tennessee, closely shut up within its fortifications, it was forced to bring its supplies far over rough mountain roads to the northward. In front of it lay its victorious enemy, looking down into its camps from the fastnesses of Mission Ridge, with outlying divisions down the river to its right, holding the point of Lookout Mountain which abuts on the river, and the ferries below it. But to the left, above Chattanooga, it was possible for a force operating from the north side of the stream to cross to the rear of the enemy, who there bent his flank down around the beleaguered garrison. Likewise to the right, below Chattanooga, it was possible again for a force, operating from the north side of the river, to plant itself on the enemy's flank. For the river bends southward below the city, and then returns, making a huge U, with the curved end toward the south. Now against this curved end abuts Lookout Mountain. But beyond this, along the returning side of the U, runs Lookout Valley The force holding Chattanooga, by passing to the north side of the river, behind the city, and marching across the little peninsula inclosed within the two sides of the U, would strike the river again below and beyond Lookout, and, by gaining a passage there, would find itself directly on the flank of the troops that held Lookout Mountain. Moreover, it would still be practically nearer to its main body than would any force which the enemy could then send to attack it. For, from Lookout, no artillery could be moved to this lower point, save by a long march twenty-six miles to the southward, to the nearest practicable gap. But from Chattanooga there was only the short march, on the north side, across the little peninsula. Thus, when this ferry on the further side of the peninsula was once gained, its possession was secure; for if it were disputed the army from Chattanooga could concentrate there in two hours, the enemy scarcely in two days.

If we have at all succeeded in explaining these peculiar topographical features, we have made the plans of General Rosecrans clear. As soon as Hooker's re-enforcements began to approach, they were ordered to Bridgeport, the place where the railroad strikes the Tennessee, and the nearest point on the river in our possession. Hooker was to cross here; troops from Chattanooga were suddenly to seize the ferry on the lower side of the peninsula we have described, leading into Lookout Valley; Hooker was then to sweep up to it along the south side road from Bridgeport, and the direct line of supplies would be once more opened; while the enemy's flank down the river would be compromised. Then another force was to be crossed above Chattanooga, at the point already mentioned, and planted upon the other flank.

Further than this it does not appear that the plans of Rosecrans had taken consistent shape; when, on the very day of his return from the final reconnoissance of the ferry, by which he meant to open communication with Hooker,

then about ready to march, he found orders relieving him from command of the army.*

Four days later General Grant arrived. He found these elements of a campaign ready to his hand, and competent subordinates to explain them. In three days, in precise conformity to Rosecrans's arrangements, he had Hooker crossing at Bridgeport. Meantime General W F Smith, one of the officers to whom Rosecrans had developed the plans, was sent down the river with a small force, in pontoon boats, to float silently past the enemy at Lookout, and seize the ferry at Lookout Valley. No sooner had they landed and driven off the Rebel pickets, than they were re-enforced by a column that had been marched across the peninsula. It only remained to fortify and await Hooker's advance. That officer pushed vigorously forward, suffering a terrible night attack from the now thoroughly aroused enemy; but repulsing it and effecting the connection on the 29th of October. Supplies could then come forward freely, by rail to Bridgeport, thence by river to the posts in Lookout Valley; and thence it was but a two hours' march, over the pontoon bridge and across the peninsula, to Chattanooga.

Favored as he had been by great re-enforcements and wise dispositions for the execution of a skillful plan, there was now reserved for Grant a crowning piece of good fortune. The Rebel commander, seeing that it was no longer possible to starve out the army in Chattanooga, and little dreaming that his

* The above account differs widely from those currently received, which attribute to Rosecrans the intention of abandoning Chattanooga, and to Grant the elaboration of the brilliant campaign that raised the siege after his arrival on the spot. But Grant's fame is too solidly established to need such poor inventions for building it up by detraction of others. General Rosecrans, in testimony under oath before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, specifically stated that he had formed these plans, had made reconnoissances preliminary to carrying them out, and had explained them (fifteen days, in fact, before his removal) to Generals Thomas and Garfield, and, some time later, to General William F Smith. Grant afterward acknowledged, in terms, his indebtedness to General William F. Smith for the crossing below Chattanooga, and the connection with Hooker; and Sherman took pains to emphasize *his* obligations to Smith for aid in all the details of the crossing above.

In the course of his testimony, just referred to, General Rosecrans said: "As early as the 4th of October, I called the attention of Generals Thomas and Garfield to the map of Chattanooga and vicinity, and, pointing out to them the positions, stating that, as soon as I could possibly get the bridge materials for that purpose, I would take possession of Lookout Valley (the point on the south side, reached by the march across the peninsula) and fortify it, thus completely covering the road from there to Bridgeport. To effect this General Hooker was directed to concentrate his troops at Stevenson and Bridgeport, and advised that, as soon as his train should arrive, or enough of it to subsist his army, ten or twelve miles from his depot, he would be directed to move into Lookout Valley. On the 19th I directed General William F. Smith to reconnoiter the shore above Chattanooga, with a view to that very movement on the enemy's right flank which was afterward made by General Sherman."

These words of Rosecrans, it will be seen, are the only direct evidence I have cited to show who planned the Chattanooga and Mission Ridge campaign. No other evidence will be needed till it can be established, first, that General Rosecrans is at once knave and fool enough to be guilty of the perjury, with circumstance of falsely swearing to these statements, and naming the Generals who must know them to be true or false; and second, that these Generals, all honorable and highly esteemed gentlemen and soldiers, are guilty of silently suffering themselves to be thus quoted, in matters of high moment, as authorities for statements which they know to be untrue.

own mountain-girt eyrie could be assailed, bethought him of the plan of crushing Burnside's weak column in East Tennessee, which should have been sent, months ago, to Rosecrans. General Longstreet, with his tried division of incomparable soldiers from the Army of Northern Virginia, was accordingly detached to East Tennessee. It was Grant's opportunity He was already re-enforced by Hooker; Sherman, with the Army of the Mississippi, was marching to join him; and thus, while the force that held Chattanooga was being well-nigh trebled, its unwary antagonist was being weakened by almost one-half of his fighting capacity. Manifestly, Sherman's arrival must be the signal for attack. The outlines of the plan were already drawn. Hooker lay below menacing the enemy's flank on Lookout. Thomas, in Chattanooga, faced his center. It remained to put in Sherman on the upper flank; and the means for doing this secretly, from the north bank of the river, had already been devised by Smith, in the reconnoissance on which Rosecrans had sent him. On Sherman's arrival, Smith, at once, became his guide.

It was only left to deceive the enemy as to the destination of this new army, now marching in from the westward. A happy accident directed one of its divisions to Hooker; behind this, and unknown to the enemy, the rest of the army passed to the north side, behind Chattanooga and up to the points already selected for its recrossing to the eastward of the enemy's strongest position on Mission Ridge.

Thus positioned, the troops awaited the signal of the quiet soldier now limping about the streets of Chattanooga on his crutch. They were seventy-five thousand strong; their recently weakened antagonist could only muster forty thousand. Grant had been impatient to attack from the moment he had heard of the detachment of Longstreet's corps; the importunities of the War Department concerning the danger to Burnside made him more eager; and he had once resolved not to wait for the arrival of Sherman. In that case he would have been carrying out Rosecrans's plan with Rosecrans's means. But fortune meant better for him. Now, on the evening of the 23d, Sherman's army lay concealed above Chattanooga, on the north bank, and ready for the crossing. Therefore, it was time that the movement should begin by attracting the enemy's attention somewhere else. Thomas was accordingly moved out on the center—that superb soldier so handling the finely tempered force that had won its way from Stone River to the ground it stood on, that the enemy, looking down from the heights of Mission Ridge, thought it was a grand review, till, with compact lines, the column suddenly swept out upon his pickets and on over his advance posts, and crowned the "review" with the capture of Orchard Knob. The new positions were at once intrenched and strengthened with heavy artillery.

Six hours later Sherman's men were crossing. By daylight a column, eight thousand strong, stood ready for the march on Mission Ridge; by noon the bridges were all built, and the whole Army of the Mississippi was crowding across; by half-past three the north end of Mission Ridge had been carried, and, in strongly intrenched positions, Sherman awaited the hour for pressing hard upon the enemy at this vital point, while, by sweeping down the river from

the newly-gained heights, communication was opened again on the south side with the army in Chattanooga.

Simultaneous with these operations were those grander ones down the river, which, through all our history, are to be known as Hooker's battle above the clouds. While the enemy, suddenly called off from contemplating the capture on his center, in which Thomas's grand review had ended, was now striving to make head against the new danger up the river, where Sherman was pushing into the very fastness of his strength, and while Grant knew, by the necessity of his weakened ranks, that his forces below on Lookout could not be large, Hooker was ordered to advance and take it. He charged up the slopes of the mountain, carried the works, took two thousand prisoners, and, emerging on the side of Lookout up the river, kindled his camp-fires at night in safety among the clouds, in full view of the patient commander in Chattanooga, who now saw his several lines converging to their focus, and his preparations complete.

Next morning* Sherman and Hooker both advanced—the latter carrying every thing before him as he marched down Lookout and across the intervening valley, toward Mission Ridge; while Sherman moved vigorously from the heights of that Ridge next the river, across some intervening depressions, till Bragg, concentrating upon his front, held him stoutly at bay, and for a brief time drove one or two of his divisions. In thus strengthening his exposed flank the Rebel commander had weakened his center. Now, therefore, was the opportune moment. Hooker, delayed for a time by the stream that runs through the valley between Lookout and Mission Ridge, was now advancing again. Thomas lay ready Grant, watching the panorama from Orchard Knob, gave the signal. Six guns, fired at intervals of two seconds, from head-quarters, sounded the order to charge along the lines. In an instant the old Army of the Cumberland was up, Hooker was up, the last reserves were up, every man that could bear a musket was thrown forward. The plain was swept; the rifle-pits were carried. And then the spectator on Orchard Knob saw that the troops no longer waited for his orders. They were climbing the mountain. "They dash out a little way and then slacken; they creep up, hand over hand, loading and firing, and wavering and halting, from the first line of works to the second; they burst into a charge, with a cheer, and go over it. Sheets of flame baptize them; plunging shot tear away comrades on right and left; it is no longer shoulder to shoulder; it is God for us all. Under tree trunks, among rocks, stumbling over the dead, struggling with the living, facing the steady fire of eight thousand infantry, poured down upon their heads as if it were the old historic curse from heaven, they wrestle with the Ridge. Ten, fifteen, twenty minutes go by like a reluctant century The hill sways up like a wall before them, at an angle of forty-five degrees; but our brave mountaineers are clambering steadily on. They seem to be spurning the dull earth under their feet, and going up to do Homeric battle with the greater gods. If you look you shall see, too, that these thirteen thousand are not a rushing herd of human creatures; that along the Gothic roof of the Ridge a row of inverted V's is

*Wednesday, 25th November.

slowly moving up, almost in line. At the angles is something that glitters like a wing—*the regimental flag*—and glancing along the front you count fifteen of those colors that were borne at Pea Ridge, waved at Pittsburg Landing, glorified at Stone River, riddled at Chickamauga. Up move the banners, now fluttering like a wounded bird, now faltering, now sinking out of sight. Three times the flag of one regiment goes down. You know why. Just there lie three dead color-sergeants. But the flag, thank God! is immortal, and up it comes again, and the V's move on. The sun is not more than a hand's breadth from the edge of the mountain; its level rays bridge the valley from Chattanooga to the Ridge with beams of gold; it shines in the Rebel faces; it brings out the National blue; it touches up the flags. Oh, for the voice that could bid that sun to stand still. Swarms of bullets sweep the hill; you can count twenty-eight bullets in one little tree. The Rebels tumble rocks upon the rising line; they light the fuzes and roll shells down the steep; they load the guns with handfuls of cartridges in their haste. Just as the sun, weary of the scene, was sinking out of sight, the advance surged over the crest, with magnificent bursts all along the line, exactly as you have seen the crested waves leap up at the breakwater. In a minute, those flags fluttered along the fringe where fifty Rebel guns were kenneled. What colors were first upon the mountain battlement one dare not try to say; bright honor itself might be proud to bear, nay, to follow the hindmost. Foot by foot they had fought up the steep, slippery with much blood; let them go to glory together!"* At the same time Hooker was charging through the Rossville Gap, on the enemy's left flank. The battle was over; the Rebels retreated in wild disorder. Bragg himself narrowly escaped capture. The Hawk's Nest was secure, and the army stood ready to be launched on Atlanta and the sea. First, however, Burnside was to be saved, and Sherman was hastily detached to that end; while a brief pursuit harassed the enemy to Tunnel Hill.

Grant modestly announced his success. Quartermaster General Meigs sent an elaborate dispatch, describing it, in which he declared that "perhaps not so well-directed, well-ordered a battle had taken place during the war;" and the fame of the General now rose to its culmination, while with the War Department, with the President, and with the people, his word became law. The Legislature of his native State voted him its thanks. That of the Empire State followed its example. Congress voted him a gold medal, bearing his laurel-wreathed profile and the image of Fame, with the scroll of his victories. Presents were showered upon him. Honorary memberships in societies of all sorts were conferred. And most significant of all, his sturdy friend, Mr. Washburne, now introduced his resolution reviving, for Grant's sake, the grade of Lieutenant-General, never filled in our armies save by Washington and (with brevet appointment only) by Winfield Scott. While it was pending, Grant visited different points of his Department, received the banquet and municipal honors of the city in which he had hauled wood to the kitchen-doors of its citizens, for a livelihood, and so passed away the winter. Men talked to him about the Pres-

* From the stirring account of the battle written by B. F. Taylor, Esq., an eye-witness.

idency, for it was now within a few months of the time for a nomination, and great journals, discerning that he was the most popular man on the continent, were urging his name. Grant's common sense and caution stood him in good stead. His Commander-in-Chief was a candidate for re-election; and besides, as we may well believe, he could see that just then his greatest glory was to be won in the field. So, when approached on the subject, he replied that there was but one political office that he desired—after the war was over he wanted to be elected Mayor of Galena. If successful, he meant to see to it that the sidewalk between his house and the depot was put in better order!

On the 2d of March, 1864, the leather-dealer of Galena, who had raised a company and marched with it to the State capital to gain an entry into the service, became Lieutenant-General of the United States Army He repaired at once to Washington, to accept the position and study its requirements. The diners at the fashionable hotel scarcely noticed the quiet, rather rough-looking little man, who, with an air of embarrassment, came down the private staircase, leading a little boy, and was shown to a seat at the head of one of the cross-tables. But presently a buzz ran along the great dining-hall, fair ladies turned with feminine impetuosity to gaze at the man who had taken Vicksburg, and scaled Missionary Ridge; the inevitable Congressman sprang to his feet to announce that "We have the honor of being in the presence of Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant;" and the fashionable proprieties were startled by three cheers that rang from end to end of the hotel, while the mob of Washington greatness and beauty bore down upon the General's devoted hand. In the evening our quiet officer thought it his duty to pay his respects to the President, who had just placed him at the head of the army, and so he went up to the levee. He met Abraham Lincoln for the first time in his life. But there was little opportunity for acquaintance. The mob again besieged the conqueror from the West, and the evening was devoted to hero-worship, in its coarser forms of staring and crowding and forcing on exhibition. The next day, in the presence of the Cabinet and the retiring General-in-Chief, he received his commission, with the gentle admonition that, with the high honor devolved a corresponding responsibility, and a few days later a Presidential order gave him the actual control over the armies which his rank implied.

The man into whose hands were thus committed the issues of the war was now in his forty-third year. His rapid rise had in no wise changed his appearance or bearing. He was still the same taciturn, undemonstrative, unpretentious person, in well-worn uniform, with perpetual cigar, and withal not a little embarrassed by the attentions of the fine people with whom he now found himself surrounded. Experience had taught him much in the details of his profession. There was no chance for another Belmont in his career, no possibility of another Pittsburg Landing. But this experience had not altered the essential characteristics of the man's mental organization. There were no flights of genius about him; no strokes of brilliant generalship; there were "the genius of common sense" and an unconquerable pertinacity.

The position, as the Lieutenant-General saw it, was this: At the North was a great people, weary, perhaps, of reverses and delays, but not yet touched by the exhaustion of war. Its resources, instead of being drained, were, in fact, scarcely comprehended. Its spirit was invincible; the troops it could command were innumerable. Against it stood up a brave, skillful antagonist, driven to the last straits, with limited resources and inferior numerical strength. The General shall himself tell us what resolution the sight inspired: "I, therefore, determined first to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the enemy; second to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until, by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him."* That strategy of the campaigns that followed is not far to seek. There it is, in its author's own words: "To hammer continuously, till, by mere attrition, there should be nothing left to him." In the light of that sentence we may follow with a quicker pen all that follows.

By the rule of hammering continuously, which the Lieutenant-General thus prescribed for the conduct of our armies, strategic points lost a large share of their importance. Armies, not strongholds, now became our objectives. The purpose in view was to kill off or capture the Rebel soldiery—not specifically to conquer the Rebel territory. Two Rebel armies thus became the objectives of the great Eastern and Western campaigns—those under General Robert E. Lee and General Joseph E. Johnston. The latter Grant committed to his trusted associate and friend, General Sherman, whom he raised to the chief command between the mountains and the Mississippi. For himself he set the task of crushing the great, often-tried and fire-refined army of Northern Virginia. For the work he was able to concentrate a column of one hundred and thirty thousand, against the fifty-two thousand six hundred and twenty-six† men, of all arms, whom General Lee was able to muster. But, besides this overwhelming preponderance, he was also able to dispose a column of thirty thousand on the James to menace the flank of Richmond, and another of seventeen thousand for co-operative movements in the Shenandoah and Kanawha Valleys. Plainly he was able, as he was sometimes credited with saying, to change off man for man with his antagonist, and still come out, by long odds, victor in the end.

Two months of preparation intervened. Sherman was visited; particular instructions were dispatched to Banks, now engaged in the ill-starred Red River expedition, and to other outlying commanders. Then Grant returned to the Army of the Potomac, and addressed himself to his task.

On the 2d of May, 1864, the long-expected order was issued. Within twenty-four hours the army was crossing the Rapidan. Below it lay Lee, not unmindful of its movements. Grant's hope was to turn the Rebel right beyond the Wilderness, then throw his army between Lee and Richmond. To the Wilderness itself, that dark, tangled "region of gloom and the shadow of death,"

* Grant's first Annual Report as Lieutenant-General.

† The exact figure shown by the consolidated morning returns of Lee's army for the 1st of May, 1864.

he trusted for protection of his own flank, and concealment of his purpose, till his success should disclose it. But, for the first time in his career, since his disasters at Pittsburg Landing, he was matched against a first-class General.* Scarcely had his movement begun till his experienced adversary had detected and prepared to neutralize it. And so it came about that while Grant was marching through the Wilderness, with eyes and thoughts only for that which should befal him when he had emerged from it, he was suddenly struck fair on the flank by Lee's veteran divisions. At first he refused to believe that it was more than a light reconnoitering party of the enemy, to be hastily brushed aside by and by. The fierceness of the confused grapple in the dark woods taught him better, and he made all haste to call up the detached corps from their loose marching order, lest, before he could concentrate, his army should be fairly cut in two by this terrible flank attack. The battle raged thenceforward with musketry alone—a huge "bushwhacking" Indian fight, with varying success, but perfectly indecisive issue, till nightfall. It was not at all what he had hoped when he moved across the Rapidan; but, undismayed by the failure of his purpose, he issued his simple order of battle for the morrow, to "attack along the line at five o'clock." But once more Lee was quicker. At daybreak his massed troops fell upon Hancock, and only the accidental wounding of Longstreet, the Rebel General in charge of the attack, would seem to have saved the army from serious disaster. As it was, the day wore on with the rattle of musketry in the gloomy woods, where no man could see the battle, and with confused struggles by troops that had lost all formation in the tangled thickets. Grant seated himself on the grass, under the trees, a little to the rear, smoked his cigar, and awaited the issue. "It has been my experience," he said, "that though the Southerners fight desperately at first, yet when we hang on for a day or two we whip them awfully."† Fresh onslaught, however, broke out along his lines, while his orders for preparing for another attack were being delivered. Lee had again precipitated his gray masses through the obscure woods, upon our exposed lines. The fight raged till dark; then, exhausted with their blind and fruitless wrestling, the antagonists each withdrew a little, and waited to see what the other would do.

The Army of the Potomac, accustomed to fall back when failure to accomplish its intent was palpable, awaited the order to return across the Rapidan. But it was now commanded by the man who, amid the disasters of Pittsburg Landing, calmly reasoned out the certain success of the morrow As he found that Lee's attack upon his flank had ended through exhaustion, he silently drew out his troops and—renewed his march toward Richmond!

This opening slaughter certainly displayed no brilliant generalship. It was the blind collision of brute masses in the midst of dense thickets. It cost us twenty thousand soldiers—the enemy scarcely ten thousand. But our army

* Johnston indeed sought to make head against him at Vicksburg, but was without troops, and utterly disobeyed by his subordinates.

† Swinton's Decisive Battles of the War, p. 380.

marched onward. It was to hammer continuously—had not the Lieutenant-General declared it?

On the night of the 9th of May the advance of the Army of the Potomac silently moved out from the Wilderness, and marched rapidly toward Spottsylvania Court House. The troops were somewhat entangled on the narrow roads, and several hours were thus lost. When, at last, Spottsylvania was approached a seething fire of musketry burst out upon the column, and told that again Lee had divined the movement. Only his advance was yet up, and a vigorous attack might have gained the point; but one untoward event and another hindered; Lee gained time to form his lines, and when, on the morning of the 10th, Grant renewed his assault, he was everywhere met by a compact, well-ordered resistance. Hancock was sent across the River Po, to the north-west of Lee's position, without any very distinctly defined object. Presently he was ordered back to aid in an assault. In retiring his troops were vehemently assailed, the woods behind him were fired, and, after appalling suffering and heavy loss, his corps rejoined the army Meanwhile there had been two successive assaults upon a hill crowned by the enemy's works, and approachable only through a thicket of dead cedars. The failures taught no lesson; with the re-enforcement of Hancock's corps two more charges were made upon the same position; five or six thousand men were lost, and, at last, the effort was abandoned. All this was hammering continuously, but the process was proving fatal to the hammer.

At daybreak on the 12th a better devised attack began. A point in Lee's center was selected as likely to be more easily carried. The troops, unable to see it after they entered the woods, were guided to it by the compass. A brilliant charge carried a salient of the Rebel work; an effort to penetrate further met a bloody repulse; the troops, however, kept the salient, and there, heavily re-enforced, barely held up against Lee's tremendous efforts to regain it. An effort was, thereupon, made to break another point in Lee's line, which it was supposed must be weakened by his concentration to regain the salient. The supposition proved erroneous, and another bloody repulse followed. Then ensued fresh struggles around the salient, till at night the Rebel dead were actually piled in veritable heaps on the slopes of the intrenchments. Eight thousand more were added to the frightful lists of the National lost.

It was the day before these bloody repulses that Grant had sent his roseate dispatch to the Secretary of War, announcing that the result, up to this time, was much in his favor, that he believed the enemy's loss to be greater than his own, and that he "proposed to fight it out on this line if it took all summer." Only, indeed, on this groundless opinion that the enemy was losing as much as himself, can we comprehend Grant's persistent attacks fair on the front of a position he could so easily have turned. Man for man he was willing to kill off, till the list on the Rebel side should be exhausted. No higher generalship controlled the contests around Spottsylvania. Seven days more of blind attacks or essays to attack followed. Everywhere the attacking column—mayhap marched wearily for miles along the extended front, to catch the enemy unawares —was met by the vigilant antagonist with ample force. The troops were worn out. At last,

on the night of the 20th, fairly baffled, Grant drew back once more, and, in secret silence, renewed the march past Lee toward Richmond.

Since crossing the Rapidan he had lost, in his hammering, forty thousand soldiers—four-fifths as many as the entire army which, at the outset, confronted him! The difference between the generalship which only proposes to hammer continuously and that which seeks to accomplish ends, with all the saving of life that may result from the most skillful applications of military science, could find no more impressive illustration. Lee—on the offensive quite as much thus far as Grant—lost through this series of battles less than half as many! Already Grant's army of one hundred and thirty thousand going out to do battle against fifty thousand, was calling lustily for re-enforcements!

Meanwhile Grant had signalized his assumption of personal command at the East, by the opportune display of one of his strong points. At Mission Ridge he had noticed a fiery little division General. He remembered the man; and now Philip H. Sheridan was placed at the head of the cavalry, and sent sweeping around Lee's rear to Richmond. The expedition took much spoil and brought back much information. At the same time Butler had been demonstrating against Richmond along the James. That he accomplished little was mainly due to the orders under which he acted.

The movement away from Spottsylvania was hazardous; but it was skillfully accomplished; and the army, once more with a clear road before it, struck out Richmondwards. Not less active, however, was its wary antagonist. The columns headed for the North Anna; on the morning of the 23d they approached it, only to behold, on the opposite side, the advance of Lee's army ready to receive them. A passage was forced; there was some heavy fighting by detached corps; in the end the army found itself pushed out southward, from the river on each wing, with Lee clinging firmly to it in the center, and thus ready to cut the column in two, and beat it in detail. Discovering his dangerous predicament Grant drew carefully back again, abandoned the route upon which he had essayed to enter, and turned the heads of his corps away toward the Pamunkey. The army was skillfully handled on the route; it reached the Pamunkey and crossed it in safety, connecting thus with its new base of supplies from the Chesapeake;* and then the march turned toward the Chickahominy. But once more Lee, having the shorter route, was found in advance, planted across the paths by which the army moved. His real positions were skillfully masked; but at last he was found near Cold Harbor, covering the approaches to the Chickahominy. It was the old battle-field of Gaines's Mills, whence McClellan's retreat to the James began; but with this difference, that Lee now occupied McClellan's, and Grant, Lee's old ground. Preliminary contests for position, on June 1st, cost two thousand men.

On the 3rd Grant decided upon attack, not upon any special point, but along the whole line. It was executed at daybreak next morning, and resulted in

* A striking feature of Grant's overland march was that the peculiar topography of the country enabled him to dispense with long supply trains. Each new movement brought him to a new river which floated his supplies.

bloody failure. The men swept up to the works, found them impregnable (save at one point where a footing was actually gained in the intrenchments, but, being utterly unsupported, was lost again), then sullenly fell back, and, thenceforth, refused to advance—having no further faith in orders to pour out their blood for nothing. The battle scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour; it cost eleven thousand men! When an order was sent to each corps commander to renew the assault, independently of any other part of the line, it was duly delivered, and the men, from one end of the line to the other, simply refused to stir! There were brains in those ranks; and they did not reckon self-murder to be the best method of making war. A few days of fruitless siege operations followed; then came a total change in all the plans of the campaign.

Up to this point Grant, starting with one hundred and thirty thousand men, had lost the appalling number of sixty thousand in a month's campaign. The losses inflicted on his adversary scarcely reached twenty thousand. If the object of the campaign had been to reach the positions on which, at its end, the army stood, one-half the loss might have been saved. For it is to be observed that the heavy casualties occurred in the hopeless, direct assaults on the enemy's fortified positions, after the failure of which they were, in each case, successfully flanked. But if the object had been to wear out the Rebel army by the "attrition of continuous hammering," it was most unfortunate that the process should be so managed as to cost us three to the enemy's one. And in these words there seems to be summed up all the criticism the campaign requires.

But we have now to see that, after such ghastly experience, the mind of the General who conducted this campaign, far from depression, was actually rising to the height of a moral courage, capable of steps most distasteful to the Government whose favor had made him, and to whose favor, after this costly experience, he still looked for support. General Grant determined to abandon the overland route against Richmond,* to abandon the work of furnishing direct cover to Washington by his army, and, marching away from the Rebel intrenchments at Cold Harbor, to plant himself on the south side of the James River. Lee's army ceased to be his objective; he now made it—Richmond.

Warren was instructed to seize certain crossings of the Chickahominy, spread his front to cover all the roads by which Lee could attack the retiring army, and create the impression that he was about to assume a vigorous offensive. The plan was admirably carried out; the army crossed the James undisturbed, and Lee, when he discovered the movement, retired into Richmond. But there had been one or two unfortunate delays in a plan, the success of which depended upon its celerity. For General Grant was now resolved to capture Petersburg, to the south of Richmond, by the very suddenness with which he approached it, while Lee was in doubt as to his plans. This done, the Rebel capital was untenable. But he had intrusted the whole work to W. F. Smith, and, with singular lack of precaution, had even failed to inform the advance of

*The line on which he had proposed to fight it out if it took all summer.

the Army of the Potomac of his plans. Smith advanced from Butler's position on the James, reconnoitered the defenses of Petersburg, and finally carried the outer works, when, at nightfall, further operations were most unfortunately suspended, although the moon shone brightly, and energy was never more needed. In spite of the delays Hancock was across the James that day, in ample time to have re-enforced Smith, when Petersburg must have fallen without a struggle. But till late in the afternoon he was kept idly awaiting rations at the river-bank, and was not even told what weighty matters were in hand a few miles out on his front. When at last he was moved up the opportunity was not yet quite lost, for an assault by moonlight was practicable. But the auspicious moment was soon gone. Lee's advance, marching all night, reached Petersburg in time to confront the old antagonists from behind its formidable earthworks at daybreak; and the Cockade City, instead of being carried with a rush in an evening's attack, was to be, for a twelvemonth, the impassable barrier on which the great armies of the Lieutenant-General were to wear themselves away.

Grant himself was now up. In his vexation he cast the blame for the failure to take the city upon W F Smith,* and ordered an instant assault. It failed. Repeated efforts were made to find some weak spot in Lee's close-jointed armor. All failed. The army was swung southward, away to its left, to cut one of the railroads supplying Petersburg. This, too, failed. Then at last, when two weeks of such efforts had cost Grant fifteen thousand more men, and had gained for him absolutely nothing, he sat down to that nondescript thing which was called a siege. Widely different, indeed, were the conditions here, from those which had, from the outset, insured his success at Vicksburg. There the enemy was completely cut off from any communications; the fleet thundered on the front, the army on the rear; and surrender was only a question of rations and physical endurance. Here Lee was in no sense under siege, save in name. To his rear stretched four great lines of road, securely connecting him with all that was left of the Confederacy. By his side lay Richmond, protected by his position. His front was covered with fortifications which Grant's engineers pronounced too formidable for assault; he so guarded his flanks that all attacks were repulsed at heavy cost to the assailants.

Realizing that his hopes of speedy results in the campaign, undertaken with such superb forces, and prosecuted with such fearful loss—a loss already swelling to seventy-five thousand men—were all blasted, Grant began a series of fortifications to match those of his enemy These completed, a mine was extended under one of the enemy's forts, the explosion of which should prepare the way for a grand assault. Then a force was detached to the north side of the James, which, demonstrating against Richmond, drew away from Petersburg to the immediate defense of the imperiled capital a heavy portion of Lee's army.† Thus the most favorable conditions for the explosion of the mine and assault were happily secured. Unfortunately, however, instead of the best, it

* "Baldy" Smith—the same who had figured so prominently in the movements at Chattanooga and Mission Ridge.

† Five out of Lee's eight divisions.

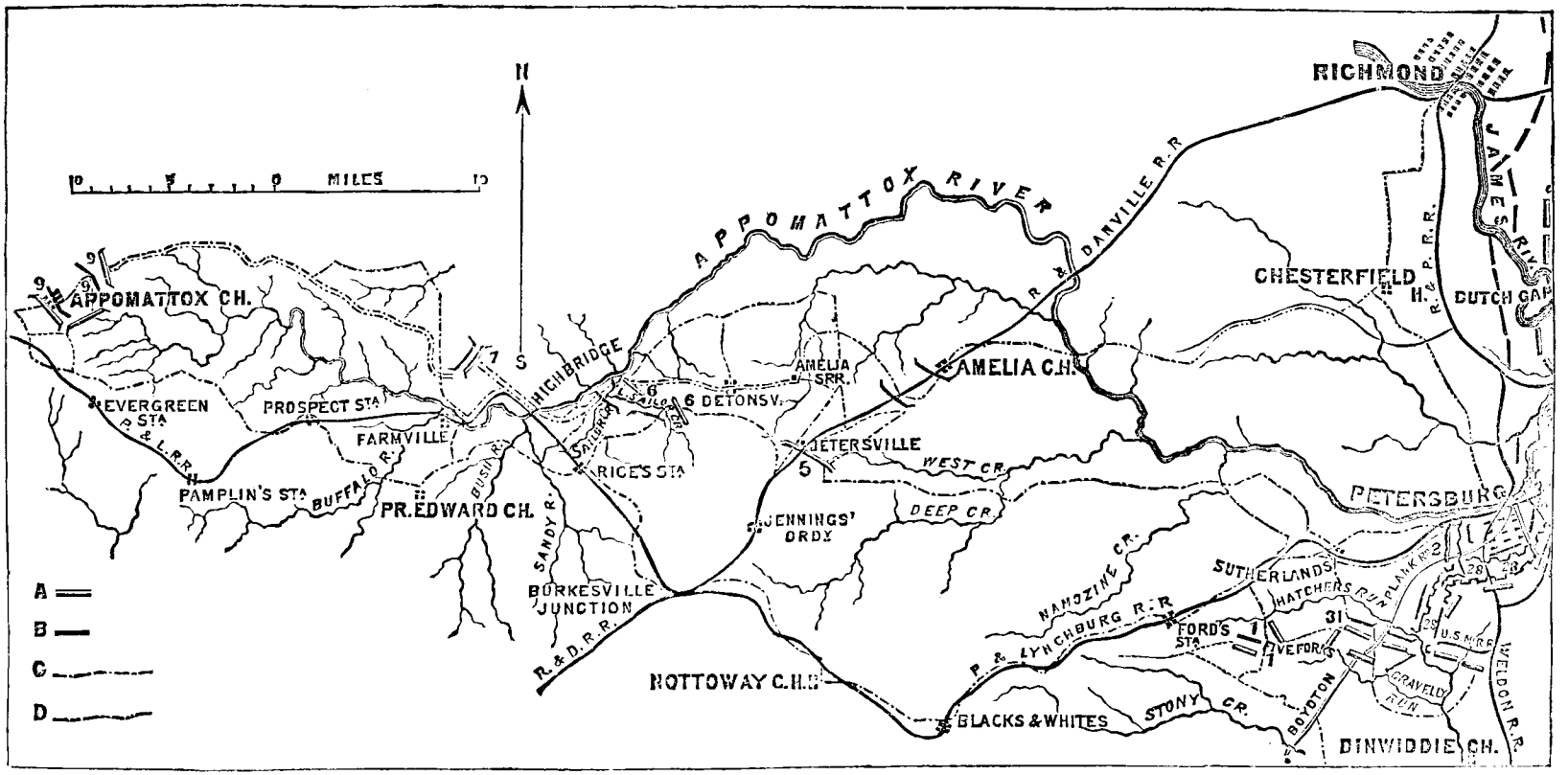
actually turned out that the very poorest troops in the army were selected for the assault. Burnside's corps—the worst in the army—having been ordered to furnish the assaulting column, it was reported to General Grant that the negro division was the best in the corps. Grant, however, refused to permit it to make the assault; the choice between the other divisions was made by lot; the assault was, of course, badly made, and inefficiently supported. Miserable confusion and slaughter followed, ending in total repulse. The loss was over four thousand. General Grant was not on the ground at "this miserable affair," as he has himself justly styled it, nor was the officer whom he retained as the titular commander of the Army of the Potomac; and the military court of inquiry subsequently pronounced as one of the potent causes of failure, "the want of a competent common head at the scene of the assault to direct affairs as occurrences should demand."*

Meantime, Lee, as soon as the failure of Grant's initial attacks on the lines of Petersburg, and the beginning of elaborate fortifications, had assured him of the comparative safety of his positions, detached Early with a considerable force to menace the National capital. In this operation the sagacious Rebel commander relied upon a double reason, which seemed to render certain the abandonment of Grant's efforts against him. He remembered how fears for the safety of Washington had so often paralyzed the aggressive operations of the Army of the Potomac, and reckoned on similar results now from the similar causes. But, furthermore, he was convinced that his present antagonist was a General who relied for success solely on overwhelming superiority of numbers—an opinion that the events of the campaign were, by no means, ill-calculated to produce. Now he was well assured that menace to the capital would immediately call forth from the Washington authorities orders for the return of at least a part of Grant's army. With such a reduction of strength he believed that it would not accord with Grant's theory of superior numbers to continue the efforts against Petersburg.†

But our quiet General was to surprise Lee, as he had surprised so many others, by the exhibition of qualities for which no one had given him credit. He, indeed, detached a corps to defend the capital, and deflected another to the same end, which was on its way to him from New Orleans; but he never relaxed his grip on the positions which menaced Richmond. The agitation at Washington was extreme, and, indeed, the peril was for a few hours imminent. Under former managements, the Army of the Potomac would have come streaming back; there was the more reason to expect it now, since, when Grant crossed the James in disregard of the well-known views of the Administration, as to the necessity of covering Washington, it was with the implied pledge that he would keep the enemy too busy at home to leave them the opportunity for adventures north of the Potomac. Through such action the capital was now on the verge of capture; could he fail to bend every energy to its relief? But there was that

* Rep. Com. Con. War. Second Series, Vol. I, page 215.

† The latter motive for the movement against Washington was assigned by Lee's staff officers. Swinton's History Army of the Potomac, p. 528.



PETERSBURG AND THE FLANKING MOVEMENTS TO THE LEFT.

Explanations.

A. Union lines.
B. Rebel lines.
C. Union routes of march.
D. Rebel routes of march.

28. Positions held previous to movement, March 28.
31. Positions held March 31.
1. Positions at battle of Five Forks, April 1.
2. Extension of lines to the Appomattox, April 2.
5. Positions at Jetersville, April 5.
6. Positions at battle of Sailor's Creek, April 6.
7. Positions held evening of April 7.
9. Positions held at the time of Lee's surrender, April 9.

in the amazing calm of Grant's intellect which enabled him to perceive that where he stood, not where the capital stood, was the vital point to be held at any sacrifice of Government favor or Northern territory.

Fortunately, the Rebel commander of the column moving against Washington was without enterprise, and while he stood hesitating before earthworks, manned by a corporal's guard, the re-enforcements arrived, the capital was safe, and Grant was left to pursue his policy. What ensued along the Potomac need not here be further traced, save to add that Grant displayed again his happiness of selection, in giving Philip H. Sheridan charge of all matters in that direction. He was a young man, in years and in experience, for such a place; but the campaign that followed far more than vindicated the choice.

Thenceforward, through the summer and fall of 1864, Grant was left undisturbed, to work out, with ample support of every kind, whatever results against the enemy's position the resources of his skill and daring might accomplish.

First of all came, on the 12th of August, an effort against Richmond, in the way of a surprise, from the north bank of the James. It reached the enemy's works, vainly assailed them, and after four days of fruitless effort to find a weak place, returned, with a loss of fifteen hundred men.

But now Lee had moved considerable re-enforcements to the north side of the James, to meet this attack. Grant, therefore, judged it an opportune time to strike at one of the railroad connections of Petersburg, while the bulk of Lee 's forces were at the extreme opposite end of his extended lines. Warren's corps was accordingly launched from the left upon the Weldon Railroad, which, after a sharp action, it succeeded in seizing. Lee made desperate efforts to regain it, and in one of these some blundering of the subordinate Generals led to false positions of Warren's force, and to the capture of twenty-five hundred of them. Re-enforcements came up in time and the railroad was firmly held. After some further efforts, Lee was forced to submit to lose this important line of communication. But he had again exacted a heavy price. The losses of Warren's corps in these movements amounted to four thousand four hundred and fifty-five.

Hancock, having returned from the north side of the James, was now ordered out on the left, in rear of Warren, to another point on the Weldon Railroad, four miles further south. Here he was engaged in destroying the track, when he was heavily attacked. The assaults were repulsed until nightfall, when Hancock withdrew, not at all satisfied at the failure to re-enforce him. This affair cost twenty-four hundred men, and accomplished only trivial results.

A month's rest for the army followed, varied only by the fierce picket-fighting and artillery practice at such points as that much dreaded one which the soldiers, half in jest half in earnest, named Fort Hell. Late in September, acting on the general theory that by attacking at the extremities he should greatly weaken and harass Lee's thin lines, General Grant began simultaneous movements north of the James, threatening Richmond, and on the extreme left, to the south of Petersburg. Butler's movements on the James were successful, and the position which he gained at Chapin's Farm proved of high value. On the

south two corps of infantry, with a cavalry force, pushed out on the left, sustaining pretty heavy resistance, but securing their positions. No considerable gains, however, resulted, and the cost was over twenty-five hundred men.

Another month of preparation ensued; then another effort on the left was made—the object this time being to seize the South Side Railroad. The operations were complicated and confused; the enemy struck between two corps, shattering the flank of each; and finally the troops returned to the intrenchments, having little or nothing but the losses to show for their fighting. With a few further slight movements to the left, and with some demonstrations by the cavalry, the active work of the army for the season ended.

In this campaign the Army of the Potomac alone had lost eighty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-seven men!* Of the Army of the James we have not as precise returns; but the aggregate losses of the two are known to have been largely above a hundred thousand—more than double the entire strength at the outset of the army they were to annihilate. The movements about Petersburg were always accompanied by heavy losses; they were invariably made in such a way that the enemy was able to strike the exposed flank of the moving column, and their only appreciable gain was the prolonged extension of our lines, not around, but away from, the "besieged" city. Grant's operations here will not compare in boldness with those happier strokes of daring by which he planted himself in the rear of Vicksburg. The terrible punishment he had received on the overland march seemed to have made him timid about cutting loose from his base; and besides he had now the capital to observe, as well as the enemy. Across the mountains, his friend and subordinate, in similar check before a fortified city, had swung far to the southward, planted his army squarely upon the connecting lines of railroad, and thus taken Atlanta. But Grant had grown cautious of positions and lavish of lives.

The time had now come when influences from without were to reach what Grant's own continuous hammering had failed to accomplish. If the campaign to which he had given his personal attention had been less successful than he hoped and the country had a right to expect, those other movements which he had discussed in outline with his subordinates, and which he had intrusted to their execution, began to converge in their influence upon the hapless little body of brave men in the trenches of Petersburg. Sheridan had cleared the valley, put an end to fears for the capital or the North, and swept through the enemy's country, destroying his means of communication and his stores. The last port of the Confederacy had been closed by the capture of Fort Fisher. The power of the rebellion in the West had been annihilated before Nashville. And now, fluttering across half the continent, came the banners of the victorious army of Sherman on Lee's line of retreat.

Against this converging circle of a million soldiers stood the armies of Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, the one numbering barely fifty thousand, the other scarcely half so many. The people of the South had lost faith in the rebellion,

* Grant and his Campaigns, p. 399.

the armies were not re-enforced, desertion depleted them far faster than the "continuous hammering." Their commissariat was so wretchedly managed that the few troops remaining were not half supplied; in fact, seven pounds of flour and a pound and three-quarters of meat formed the week's ration for Lee's own soldiers through the winter. The depression of the people reacted on the army, and completed the work its privations and thinned ranks had begun, so that the effective force of Lee's troops was less than (in the times of their old vigor) their number would have indicated. In silence, not perhaps unmingled with dread, they awaited the movements of the quiet, thoughtful soldier, who sat in his log cabin at City Point, and studied the positions of the forces.

At last that soldier determined upon his course. Sherman must be left to manage Johnston, with whom it was now known that Lee was anxious to form a junction. For himself, he reserved the work he had essayed on the banks of the Rapidan a year ago, that of crushing the Army of Northern Virginia. To that end he once more ordered one of the old movements on the left; this time with larger forces and without the diversion north of the Potomac. The verge of his swinging column was formed by Sheridan's cavalry, which was to cut loose as soon as the movement was developed, and strike for the old goal, the South-Side Railroad. While these preparations were in progress Lee, already striving under an offensive mask to prepare the way for an evacuation, attacked Grant's lines on the right. His troops failed to fight with their old spirit; the attack, after some initial successes, was repulsed, and some two thousand prisoners were lost. Grant followed up this success by precipitating his movement on the left. Moving with the column himself, he became more and more impressed with the signs of Rebel weakness, and at nightfall he dispatched to Sheridan word that he "now felt like ending the matter, if it were possible to do so, before going back." Sheridan's orders to strike for the railroads were accordingly withdrawn, and he was directed to push to the right and rear of the enemy.

To the sorely-beset Rebel commander the only hope was to break this encircling line. He struck first at Warren, then at Sheridan. Each bore up against the fury of the attack; but for Sheridan, who lay isolated at Dinwiddie Court-House, the keenest apprehensions were felt. Grant made every effort to get Warren's corps moved out to him, but the unexpected lack of bridges on the road prevented. Next morning it was found that Sheridan's front was clear again, Lee having drawn back to Five Forks. Thither Sheridan followed, Warren now joining, and coming under his orders. The battle that ensued, brilliantly managed by Sheridan, with happy use of cavalry to aid the operations of the infantry, resulted in the breaking up of the entire force which Lee had here massed on his right—the painful collection of all the available material he could strip from his extended lines of works. Fragments of these troops fled westward, a few rejoined the main body, over five thousand laid down their arms, Lee was left with the thin lines stretched from Hatcher's Run to the Appomattox, "the men scarcely close enough together for sentinels." To such straits was the great Army of Northern Virginia fallen. But it was not yet without sparks of its ancient fire.

The next day,* indeed within a few hours after the issue of Five Forks, Grant ordered an assault of the Rebel intrenchments, preluded by a fierce bombardment through the whole night. The attack swept the weak lines of the enemy from the outer works, and to the eye of the experienced Rebel commander it was plain that the end had come. At eleven o'clock he announced to Mr. Davis his intention of evacuating Richmond and Petersburg. But even yet he was able to maintain stout resistance, and, indeed, to make one last offensive sally This over he drew back his few wearied, half-starved troops, and under cover of the darkness, moved away rapidly to the south-westward. Only twenty-five thousand were left of them; by daybreak, under his skillful management, these were sixteen miles away from Petersburg. He was still hopeful; he looked to a junction with Johnston, to unlimited opportunities for falling upon Grant's detached corps far away from their supplies; to all the myriad chances of war that may come to the General who takes heart of hope even in the gloomiest conditions. But the times of his good fortune were past, and fate now dealt him her unkindest blow. Thirty-eight miles down his road of retreat lay Amelia Court-House, whither he had ordered supplies from Danville. The blundering officials in Richmond ordered the cars forward for their own escape; the stupid train-men never thought that they should first unload the supplies, and so the food for the retreating army was lost at Richmond. The last hope here vanished. The army had to be delayed to forage. Grant was pushing the pursuit with a tremendous energy proportioned to the magnitude of the game he had now in hand. Sheridan soon struck the baggage trains, next he dashed in upon a train bearing painfully collected supplies for the famished troops; at last he planted himself squarely across Lee's path, hurled back his desperate effort to cut through, and was just ready to charge down upon the sorrowful remnants of the great army, when a white flag appeared. Hostilities were ended.

Before this, indeed, Grant had addressed Lee a note asking, to prevent the useless effusion of more blood, the surrender of the Rebel army. Lee had replied, doubting if he were yet forced to this, but hinting a willingness to treat for the surrender of all the troops of the Confederacy, the manifest object being to gain terms for all that could not be demanded for these poor fragments alone, which he was now leading. Grant declined to entertain such propositions, wisely perhaps, and drove on the pursuit. Then came the inevitable, and when next Lee discussed the subject of surrender, it was at a deal-table in an humble dwelling in Appomattox Court-House, with the remorseless Chieftain whose continuous hammering had at last worn him out, seated opposite, to name at pleasure what terms he would. In this supreme moment of his life Grant, cool and quiet as ever, generously sought to break the fall of the antagonist he had such weighty reason for respecting, and his conduct throughout was delicate and magnanimous. The Rebel soldiers were paroled, officers were allowed to retain their side-arms and private horses, all were to return to their homes, "not to be disturbed by United States authorities so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they reside." The last condition was afterward to prove

* Sunday morning, April 2, 1865.

embarrassing to the Government, and it would have been wiser in Grant to have avoided passing beyond the strictest line of his military powers. But in the rejoicings that followed the matter was for a time almost wholly overlooked.

A few days' later Grant's most trusted friend became involved in grave troubles, arising out of efforts to discharge duties never committed to his care. The Government felt outraged, a conspicuous Cabinet officer* went so far as to declare that the least punishment Sherman deserved was dismissal from the army, and there was danger that the hero of the South-West would retire from the service in disgrace with the Administration. Grant stood up stoutly for his friend, and went personally to present the Government's disapproval of his negotiations and ease his fall.

Then came reviews, presentations, felicitations innumerable. Whichever way Grant turned the grateful people overwhelmed him with their honors. Visits to the leading cities he could not escape. Each strove to out-do the other in the warmth of the reception it extended. Banquets, levees, speech-making were forced upon him. He went to his late home at Galena, and the half-wild populace escorted him along the "mended pavement" to his old house, so renovated that he could scarcely recognize it. In the city in which he had been a wood-peddler he was received with such warmth of honors as no President since Washington could have commanded. More substantial tokens of approval followed. An elegant residence in Philadelphia, and another in Washington were presented him. Finally, Congress created the grade of full General—till now unknown in our army—for his benefit; and the tanner's son stood decorated with a rank higher than that bestowed upon the Father of his Country.

At this giddy height we leave him. It is for the future to show whether its glories intoxicate or its perils bewilder.

We close as we began. Such a career laughs at criticism, and defies depreciation. Success succeeds.

But when the philosophic historian comes to analyze the strange features of our great war, no anomaly will be more puzzling than Grant. He will find him guilty of errors and disasters that would have set aside any other General in disgrace. He will follow him through a tale of futile efforts and heroic devisements, of inexcusable slaughter to no purpose, commingled with happy triumphs at little cost. He will marvel at the amazing mental equipose of the man, cast down by no disaster, elated by no success. He will admire his strong good sense, his instinctive reading of men's characters as of an open page, his tremendous unconquerable will. He will find him not brilliant in conception, though sound in judgment; not fertile in expedients, but steadfast in execution; terrible in a determination that was stopped by no question of cost; stolid as to slaughter or famine or fire, so they led to his goal. Yet he will look in vain for such characteristics as should account for his being first in a Nation of soldiers; and will not fail to observe the comparative poverty of his intellect and his acquirements. Seeking still for the causes of his rise, he will record the firm friendships that

*Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury.

were so helpful; will allow for the unexampled profusion in which soldiers and munitions were always furnished at his call; will observe how willingness to fight, while others were fortifying, first gave him power; how remoteness from the Administration long preserved him from interruptions; how he came upon the broader stage only when it was made easier for his tread by the failures of his predecessors and the prestige of his own victories, and how both combined to make him absolute. But after all these considerations he will fail to find the veritable secret of this wonderful success; and will at last be forced to set it down that Fortune—that happy explainer of mysteries inexplicable—did from the outset so attend him, that in spite of popular disapproval and protracted failure, through clouds and rough weather, he was still mysteriously held up and borne forward, so that at the end he was able to rest in the highest professional promotion, "in peace after so many troubles, in honor after so much obloquy."

In private life, Grant's manners are as unpretending as his person. He receives attentions with embarrassment, and is best pleased with simple ways and little ostentation. He would scarcely be held a good conversationalist, and yet, on topics that interest him or have come within the range of his observation, he converses clearly and well. His friendships are strong; so also are his prejudices, though he rarely seems to bear malice. Even after the bitter relations had sprung up between himself and General Butler, he asked Butler to a social party at his house, and seemed a little surprised at the indignant refusal of his invitation. In his military judgments he is generally generous. He is, indeed, rarely willing to acknowledge that he has started on a wrong course; and he rarely forgives those who, in failing to execute impossible plans, have shown their impossibility. But he is singularly free from envy or jealousy. He has himself done the most toward raising those who now come nearest rivaling him in reputation.

On political matters he is ignorant and careless. He has his full share of the regular army feeling, which holds it a matter of professional etiquette to despise the politicians. Before the war his sympathies were strongly Southern. The leading officers of his staff were Illinois Democrats. Since the war his feelings have been intensely loyal, but at the same time conservative. His influence has been effectively given for the preservation of strong military rule at the South. With the advanced positions of the Radical Republican party he has little sympathy He was fervidly hostile to the French effort at Imperialism in Mexico, and he would have hailed armed intervention in behalf of the struggling Juarists.

His passion for fast horses and for billiards survives the war. Smoking he will never give up. From other stimulants he does not always abstain so rigorously as in the days of his poverty in St. Louis.

Through the war he deserved great praise for his entire freedom from all schemes for personal advancement. Wisely or unwisely, on good plans or bad plans, he kept steadily at work for the Cause; if honors came they were gratefully accepted; but the idea seems never to have occurred to him to go out of

the way to seek them. Since the war he has been a focus for the attention of politicians. As early as the middle of 1866, his father had written, in a letter given to the newspapers:*

"The most ultra Radicals, the worst Copperheads, the desperate Rebels, and the true Union men, all say: Give us Grant, we want no other platform than that he has written with his sword. You know enough about Ulysses to know that to accept the Presidency would be to him a sacrifice of feeling and personal interest. He could not well stand the trial of being a candidate for public favor; and his present position is every way a much better one than that of President. But if there should seem to be the same necessity for it two years hence as now, I expect he will yield."

Substantially the same statement has been made by the General himself, in reply to the inquiries of partisans.

* Letter to E. A. Collins (by him published), Covington, Kentucky, 10th of July, 1866.

NOTE.—Since these pages were stereotyped General Grant has become a very prominent candidate for the Presidency—being mainly urged by the conservative wing of the Republican party; and has been made Secretary of War, *ad interim*, succeeding Mr. Stanton, who was removed by the President.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WM. TECUMSEH SHERMAN.

"I AM gratified at your purpose to prepare a record of Ohio's contributions to the war. The work, however, will necessarily be so extended that my own place in it must be very brief. Whatever facts you need about me can be readily gleaned from Colonel Bowman's book." So writes—in a letter now lying before us—the man who conquered Atlanta, and marched down to the sea. We do not agree with him. That would be a very ill-proportioned account of Ohio's contributions to the war which should allow *him* small space. Whatever may be thought of many parts of his varied career there can be no dispute as to the place to which it led. He rightfully divides with Grant the honor of pre-eminence among all the brilliant commanders whom the war educated for the country's service. The State that takes pride in having given birth to both, does well to reckon them foremost on the long roll of her Generals.

Unlike his great associate, General Sherman comes of a family in which culture and social position have been a birthright for many generations. In 1634 three Shermans, two brothers and a cousin, emigrated from Essex County, in England, to the infant colony of Massachusetts Bay One of these, the Honorable Samuel Sherman, settled in Connecticut, where the family remained and prospered, until, in 1815, the death of the great-grandson of the emigrant, a judge of one of the Connecticut courts, compelled his widow to seek a cheaper living and better chances for her boys in the West. Here one of her sons rose in the practice of the law, till, eight years after their arrival,* he became one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. But he married young,† had a family of eleven children, and spent his income in their support. In 1829 he died very suddenly of cholera.

Of two out of the eleven children thus left without support in the house of a bereaved widow at Lancaster, the world has since heard something. The eighth of them, then a lad of six or seven, was John Sherman, since Representative and Senator in Congress, and the sixth, then nine years of age, a bright-eyed, red-haired, play-loving urchin, was William Tecumseh Sherman.

The future General was born in Lancaster, on the 8th of February, 1820. The family names had been pretty well exhausted in furnishing forth the five who had preceded him, and there was great perplexity in seeking a name at

* That is, in 1823. † In his twenty-second year.

once suitable and new, for the infant. The father finally decided it. He wanted one boy trained for the army; he had himself seen and admired Tecumseh, and among military names none was then held in such special esteem about Lancaster as that of this renowned Indian chieftain (slain in battle but a short time before), whose kindness had more than once, within the knowledge of the pioneers of that vicinity, saved the shedding of innocent blood.* Up to the death of his father, Tecumseh Sherman led the pleasant life of an active, mischievous, warm-tempered boy, surrounded by affectionate brothers and sisters, and watched over by a good mother.† He was now to experience the change by which his subsequent life was moulded.

The members of the bar at Lancaster knew very well that Judge Sherman had left no adequate provision for his large family, and it was agreed among them that some of the children should be educated and supported by the legal brethren of the deceased parent. In accordance with this arrangement Hon. Thomas Ewing, then in the prime of his reputation as a great lawyer and statesman, decided to adopt one of the boys. "I must have the smartest of them," so the stories of the times‡ tell us that Mr. Ewing said to the widow; and on the same authority we have it that, after some consultation between the mother and the eldest sister, "Cump," at that important period of his life at play in a neighboring sandbank, was selected.

The next seven years passed in school-boy life in Lancaster. Young Sherman was fairly adopted into the Ewing family, and he soon made his way to all their hearts. He was sent to the English department of the village academy, where he stood well in his classes, and came to be called a promising boy. "There was nothing specially remarkable about him," so writes his foster-father, Mr. Ewing,‖ "excepting that I never knew so young a boy who would do an errand so correctly and promptly as he did." And again: "He was transparently honest, faithful, and reliable. Studious and correct in his habits, his progress in education was steady and substantial."

And so the boy reached his seventeenth year. Mr. Ewing now had a vacancy at West Point in his gift, and he bestowed it upon the child of his old friend. Young Sherman was admitted to the academy in June, 1836, and, with the exception of a two-months' furlough in the summer of 1838, which he spent in a visit to his home at Lancaster, he remained there continuously until his graduation, in June, 1840. Starting with a good preliminary education, he had maintained a fair, though not first-class, standing to the close. Mr Ewing desired that he should graduate in the Engineer Corps. This, as he himself wrote some months before, he was unable to do, but his rank was such as to entitle him to enter the artillery. He was sixth in his class. Six forms below

*This is understood to be the explanation given by Hon. Thomas Ewing. Headley's Sherman, pp. 17, 18.

†Miss Mary Hoyt, to whom Judge Sherman was married in 1810, is spoken of as an intelligent, exemplary woman, a member of the Presbyterian Church, and an affectionate wife and mother.

‡Headley's Sherman, p. 24. ‖Ibid, p. 25.

him stood George H. Thomas; next below Thomas was R. S. Ewell; and among other names borne on the roll of that class of 1840, with which the country has since become familiar, were Stewart Van Vliet, Bushrod R. Johnson, George W Getty, William Hays, and Thomas Jordan.

The pleasantest glimpses we get of these four years of cadet life, are in the letters of the future Lieutenant-General to the fair companion and playmate of his Lancaster home, the daughter of Mr. Ewing, for whom he had already formed a strong attachment. These letters are sprightly, vivacious, and a trifle eccentric—not at all unlike, in style, those graver epistles, which, at a later period, were to draw from the uncomplimentary Secretary of War the compliment that "Sherman wrote as well as he fought." As might readily be suspected, Cadet Sherman was not much of a "society man." "We have two or three dancing parties each week," he writes in one letter, "at which the gray bobtail is a sufficient recommendation for an introduction to any one. You can well conceive how the cadets have always had the reputation, and have still, here in the East, of being great gallants and ladies' men. God only knows how I will sustain that reputation." The army, as he grew ready to enter it, seemed very inviting. About a year before his graduation he wrote of himself in this characteristic vein: "Bill is very much elated at the idea of getting free of West Point next June. He does not intend remaining in the army more than one year, then to resign and study law, probably. No doubt you admire his choice; but to speak plainly and candidly, I would rather be a blacksmith. Indeed, the nearer we come to that dreadful epoch, graduation-day, the higher opinion I conceive of the duties and life of an officer of the United States army, and the more confirmed in the wish of spending my life in the service of my country. Think of that!" Nurtured in the Presbyterian teachings of his mother till his tenth year; then kept under the influence of Mr Ewing's Roman Catholic family, he had grown, after such changes, a little restive under protracted religious exercises: "The church bugle has just blown, and in a moment I must put on my side-arms and march to church, to listen to a two hours' sermon, with its twenty divisions and twenty-one subdivisions; but I believe it is a general fact that what people are compelled to do they dislike."

Then, as in later life, practical matters and details were especially to his taste: "The last encampment, taken all in all, I think was the most pleasant one I have ever spent, even to me, who did not participate in the dances and balls given every week by the different classes; besides the duties were of altogether a different nature from any of the previous ones, such as acting as officers upon guard and at artillery drills, practising at target-firing with long twenty-fours and thirty-twos, mortars, howitzers, etc., as also cavalry exercise, which has been introduced this year." He was not slow in taking to the knack of command: "As to lording it over the plebs, to which you referred, I had only one, whom I made, of course, 'tend to a pleb's duty, such as bringing water, policing the tent, cleaning my gun and accouterments, and the like, and repaid in the usual and cheap coin—advice; and since we have commenced studying, I make him bone, and explain to him the difficult parts of Algebra and the

French Grammar, since he is a good one and fine fellow; but should he not carry himself straight, I should have him found in January, and sent off, that being the usual way in such cases, and then take his bed, table, and chair, to pay for the Christmas spree." Imagine how greedily these details of her heart's hero were devoured by the fair Miss Ellen, in whose eyes West Point, with all its advantages, could scarcely be good enough for the wonderful lad.

He did not fail to show his confiding playmate that he had come to the dignity of doing his own thinking. How amusingly characteristic is it to find this unfledged stripling of West Point rebuking, with the solemn gravity of one who had fathomed the whole case, the course of the Whig party, of which his foster-father was then a conspicuous leader, and the confidence with which he predicts its defeat in the famous Harrison campaign. "You, no doubt, are not only firmly impressed, but absolutely certain that General Harrison will be our next President. For my part, though, of course, but a 'superficial observer,' I do not think there is the least hope of such a change, since his friends have thought proper to envelop his name with log-cabins, gingerbread, hard-cider, and such humbugging, the sole object of which plainly is to deceive and mislead his ignorant and prejudiced, though honest, fellow-citizens; whilst his qualifications, his honesty, his merits, and services, are merely alluded to!" More laughable still is the solemn air with which the precocious youth discusses, and patronizingly, yet with due caution and reserve, approves the qualifications of the Board of Visitors at the annual examination: "There is but little doubt of its being nearly as well selected as circumstances would admit of. Party seems to have had no influence whatever, and, for my part, I am very glad of it. I hope that our army, navy, or the Military Academy, may never be affected by the party rancor which has for some time past, and does now, so materially injure other institutions!" The grammar may be a little halting, but is it not plain that here is a youth little likely to be ever much retarded by any doubts as to the wisdom of his own opinions, or as to his ample facilities for forming correct judgments? Nor was he at all disposed to hide his academic standing under a bushel: "I presume you have seen the register of cadets for the last year," he writes to Miss Ellen, "and remarked that I still maintain a good stand in my class; and if it were not for that column of demerits it would be still better, for they are combined with proficiency in study to make out the standing in general merit. In fact, this year as well as the last, in studies alone, I have been among the stars." And here, to close these extracts, is a glimpse of the young cadet's ideas for his future, as graduation-day approached: "I fear I have a difficult part to act for the next three years, because I am almost confident that your father's wishes and intentions will clash with my inclinations. In the first place, I think he wishes me to strive and graduate in the Engineer Corps. This I can't do. Next to resign and become a civil engineer. . Whilst I propose and intend to go into the infantry, be stationed in the Far West, out of the reach of what is termed civilization, and there remain as long as possible." *

*Sherman and his Campaigns (Bowman and Irwin), pp. 11, 12, 13.

The assignment of the Brevet Second-Lieutenant was not quite in accordance with these anticipations of the Cadet. He was not, indeed, able to enter the engineers, but his standing fully warranted admission to the artillery, and the influence of his guardian was such that, in those days of slow promotion, he rose, in a little over a year, to the rank of First-Lieutenant. Until March, 1842, he served in Florida, mostly on garrison-duty, although he participated in several expeditions against the Seminoles. Even thus early he developed some signs of the theory of war which he has since made so famous. He would have no truces or parleys with the Indians; he would exterminate all who resisted and drive from the country all who submitted; and so would end the war in a single campaign.*

He easily fell, for a little while, into the languid life of the region. Writing from Fort Pierce, in East Florida, in 1841, he says: "Books we have few; but it is no use—we can not read any but the lightest trash; and even the newspapers, which you would suppose we would devour, require a greater effort of mind to search than we possess. We attribute it to the climate, and bring up these lazy native Minorcans as examples, and are satisfied. Yet, of course, we must do something, however little. The Major and I have a parcel of chickens in which we have, by competition, taken enough interest to take up a few minutes of the day; besides, I have a little fawn to play with, and crows, a crane, etc., and if you were to enter my room you would doubt whether it was the abode of man or beasts. In one corner is a hen, setting; in another some crows, roosted on bushes; the other is a little bed of bushes for the little fawn; whilst in the fourth is my bucket, wash-basin, glass, etc. So you see it is three to one." So, again, he gives us this pleasant picture: "I've got more pets now than any bachelor in the country—innumerable chickens, tame pigeons, white rabbits, and a full-blooded Indian pony—rather small matters for a man to deal with, you doubtless think, but it is far better to spend time in trifles, such as these, than in drinking or gambling."

He still clung to his fancy for life on the Western frontier: "We hear that the new Secretary of War intends proposing to the next Congress to raise two rifle regiments for the Western service. As you are at Washington I presume you can learn whether it is so or not, for I should like to go in such a regiment, if stationed in the far West; not that I am in the least displeased with my present berth, but when the regiment goes North it will in all likelihood be stationed in the vicinity of some city, from which God spare me." Already he prided himself on his downright way of saying things. "If you have any regard for my feelings," he exclaims in one of his Florida letters, "don't say the word 'insinuation' again. You may abuse me as much as you please; but I'd prefer, of the two, to be accused of telling a direct falsehood than stating anything evasively or underhand; and if I have ever been guilty of such a thing it was unintentionally."

The Florida life ended in March, 1842, when Lieutenant Sherman's com-

*Sherman and his Campaigns (Bowman and Irwin), p. 14.

pany was removed to Fort Morgan, at the entrance to Mobile Bay. In midsummer of the same year it was brought still nearer the detested "fashionables," being transferred to Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbor, where the time passed in an agreeable round of hunting, fishing, and enjoyment of the hospitalities of the aristocratic Charlestonians, to whose selectest society the uniform of the army or navy was always an *open sesame*. His heart, however, resisted all the fascinations to which it was here exposed; and, true to his early attachment, he procured, in the fall of 1843, a four months' furlough for a visit to the family of his guardian, during which he became formally engaged to Miss Ellen Ewing.

He was next assigned to duty on a board of officers, appointed to examine the claims of Georgia and Alabama militia for horses lost in the Seminole War. Meanwhile the restless young officer was busy studying the country, from a professional stand-point. Nothing could more strikingly exhibit the foundations of that wonderful knowledge of the topography and resources of the South which was afterward to prove so valuable, than this scrap of a letter to Philemon Ewing, written while on duty with the Board of Claims: "Every day I feel more and more the need of an atlas, such as your father has at home; and as the knowledge of geography, in its minutest details, is essential to a true military education, the idle time necessarily spent here might be properly devoted to it. I wish, therefore, you would procure for me the best geography and atlas (not school) extant." Presently we find him reaching out after other matters. "Since my return," he writes from Fort Moultrie, after the adjournment of the Board, "I have not been running about in the city or the island, as heretofore, but have endeavored to interest myself in Blackstone. I have read all four volumes, Starkie on Evidence, and other books, semi-legal and semi-historical, and would be obliged if you would give me a list of such books as you were required to read, not including your local or State law. I intend to read the second and third volumes of Blackstone again; also Kent's Commentaries, which seem, as far as I am capable of judging, to be the basis of the common law practice. This course of study I have adopted from feeling the want of it in the duties to which I was lately assigned. I have no idea of making the law a profession; but as an officer of the army it is my duty and interest to be prepared for any situation that fortune or luck may offer. It is for this alone that I prepare, and not for professional practice."* He was indeed to prove, in his after life, that he was incapable of successful "professional practice."

Then followed the usual routine of army life—detached service for a little time at the Augusta Arsenal, court-martial service at Wilmington, and finally, when the Mexican war broke out, recruiting service at Pittsburg. At last his repeated requests for active service received the attention of the War Department, but it did not appear that the impression he had made upon those controlling the army was strong enough to secure an order to the seat of war. He was, however, sent around the Cape, and up the west coast of South America,

* Sherman and his Campaigns, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

to California, where presently he became aid-de-camp to General Persifer F. Smith, and by-and-by Acting Assistant Adjutant-General to Stephen W Kearney. He saw no active service whatever, but he discharged the clerical duties of his position with such promptness and accuracy as to secure the favorable notice of his superiors.

In 1850 he returned to "the States," and on 1st May his long engagement was closed by his marriage to Miss Ellen Ewing, at the residence of her father, then Secretary of the Interior. Among the guests who graced the wedding were Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and Zachary Taylor. He was soon sent to garrison-duty at Jefferson barracks, Missouri, and shortly afterward, with the brevet of Captain "for meritorious services in California during the war with Mexico," was made Commissary, and sent, first to St. Louis, and then to New Orleans.

Captain Sherman had thus been in the army thirteen years, and in all that time had seen no fighting save some paltry Indian skirmishes in Florida. Promotion seemed slow; he now had a wife to support; his commissary's experience had thrown him among business men, and had given them an idea of his capacity He was offered, by a St. Louis house, a position in San Francisco, to manage a branch bank which they were about to establish there. He at once accepted the offer; on the 6th of September, 1853, resigned his commission, and before the end of the year was established in San Francisco, with the expectation of making his home for life on the Pacific coast.

From 1853 to 1857 our retired artillery captain remained in business in San Francisco, struggling hard to make a success out of his new way of life. He rose into some esteem among the Californians, and attained the empty dignity of a Major-General of the California militia.* He was not esteemed a great financier, and some of his ways of doing things exhibited more strongly the straightforward bluntness of the camps than the *finesse* of a dextrous financier. But his business integrity was unquestioned. At last, however, it became necessary to give up his banking experiment. Toward the close of 1857 he essayed a similar business in New York; but next spring he decided that it was time to try something else. The young Ewings, his brothers-in-law, were now establishing themselves in Kansas, and Sherman was very glad to fall back on his old Fort Moultrie law-reading, and interest himself in their professional practice. For two years he strove to be a lawyer†—with indifferent success, if the reminiscences of the Leavenworth newspapers may be trusted. While the Ewings did the pleadings and the outside work, the restless, nervous, eccentric office-partner did well enough. If he was not particularly valuable, he at least did no harm. Citizens knew little of him, and while his brothers-in-law rapidly rose to stand among the foremost leaders in the law and the politics of the young State, Sherman gained no influence and had no prominence. At last the

*MS. Mem. Military Career, furnished by Sherman to War Dep't, and on file among rolls of Adjutant-General's office. †Ibid.

play came to an end. "It happened one day"—so a Leavenworth newspaper tells us—"that Sherman was compelled to appear before the Probate Judge, Gardner, we believe. The other partners were busy; and so Sherman, with his authorities and his case all mapped out, proceeded to court. He returned in a rage, two hours after. Something had gone wrong. He had been pettifogged out of the case by a sharp, petty attorney opposed to him, in a way which was disgusting to his intellect and his convictions. His *amour propre* was hurt, and he declared that he would have nothing to do with the law in Kansas. That afternoon the business was closed, partnership dissolved, and in a very short time Sherman was on his way to a more congenial clime and occupation."*

Doubtless disgust with the unpleasant details of legal practice in a frontier town had much to do with the sudden abandonment of the law; but it is not improbable that his decision was hastened by a flattering offer which reached him at this opportune season. Louisiana was establishing a "State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy." The professed object of the institution was to train up the youth of the State to the knowledge of arms, so that, in the event of negro insurrections, or of trouble from the Indians on the border, an instructed body of officers might be ready at once to place the community in a position of defense. Sherman had been stationed at New Orleans during a part of his army life, and nearly his whole term of service had been passed in the South. His political opinions were known to be strongly Southern; he was regarded as decidedly pro-slavery; and it was quite natural, therefore, that, in casting about for a Superintendent for their new institution, the authorities should think of him. He was tendered the position of Superintendent, and Professor of Engineering, Architecture, and Drawing, with an annual salary of five thousand dollars. He promptly accepted, and remained at this post through the remainder of 1859 and until 18th January, 1861. A lurking suspicion of insecurity, however, accompanied him. The air was already alive with the portents of civil strife. Strong as were Captain Sherman's sympathies with the slaveholders in their opposition to the abolition excitement, it would seem that from the outset he had foreseen the possibility of their reaching a point to which he would not accompany them. In the midst of this uncertainty he decided it best not to remove his family to Louisiana.

As the excitement increased, every effort was made to win the able Superintendent. He was found strikingly efficient in the duties to which they had called him, and his adhesion to their cause was, therefore, all the more desired. But he met all arguments in favor of armed resistance to any decision of the National authorities with the unwavering *dictum*, that it was the duty of a soldier to fight for, never against, the flag and the government to which he had sworn allegiance.

* Leavenworth Conservative. On the same authority we have this: "Prior to entering upon the practice of law in Leavenworth he lived for some time at Topeka, upon a farm of one hundred and sixty acres, which we believe he still owns. His neighbors tell of his abrupt manner, reserved yet forcible speech and character." And it also tells us that "an outlying part of our city plat is marked on the maps as 'Sherman's Addition.'"

The progress of events cut short the debate. The South rang with preparations to secede from the Union, to the chief executive office of which Abraham Lincoln was about to be admitted. Captain Sherman's course was clear and unshrinking. No patriot—most of all, no Ohioan—can read his letter of resignation without a thrill of honest pride in his sturdy manhood and faithful loyalty:

"*To the Governor of the State of Louisiana:*

"SIR—As I occupy a *quasi* military position under this State, I deem it proper to acquaint you that I accepted such a position when Louisiana was a State in the Union, and when the motto of the Seminary, inserted in marble over the main door, was: 'By the liberality of the General Government of the United States; The Union—*Esto Perpetua.*'

"Recent events foreshadow a great change, and it becomes all men to choose. If Louisiana withdraws from the Federal Union, *I* prefer to maintain my allegiance to the old Constitution as long as a fragment of it survives, and my longer stay here would be wrong in every sense of the word. I beg you to take immediate steps to relieve me as Superintendent the moment the State determines to secede; for on no earthly account will I do any act or think any thought hostile to or in defiance of the old Government of the United States."

Captain Sherman at once returned to St. Louis, and, entering into street-railroad speculations in that city, presently became President of the Fifth-street line. In this position the war found him. He was now in his forty-second year. Thus far his career in life had scarcely been what one who should reckon his original promise, and the special social and political influences that were always combined in his favor, would have expected. His thirteen years of army life had brought no distinction. McClellan, Fremont, Halleck, Hooker, Rosecrans, and a score of the other young retired officers of the army, were remembered as brilliant soldiers, according to the standard of those old army days. Sherman had left no name. The eight years of civil life that followed had added little to his fortune and nothing to his fame. He was a tolerable bank agent and unpractical lawyer. But the heart of the man was sound to the core; and his impulsive abandonment of his position in Louisiana did more than all his life thus far to fix him in men's minds. He was soon to enter a wider career, but the days of his success were still distant, and a severe probation yet awaited him.

About the time of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration the President of the Fifth-street Railroad went to Washington. His younger brother, Hon. John Sherman, had just been elected to represent their native State in the United States Senate, and this, coupled with his prominence in the Speakership contest, some years before, betokened an influence that might be beneficial. Captain Sherman was ready for almost anything. He talked freely, drew largely on his observations in the South, assured the Republicans they would have war, and a bloody war, went to Mr. Lincoln to try and impress him with the danger, and to volunteer his services in any capacity. "We shall not need many men like you," said the hopeful patriot; "the affair will soon blow over." But the Captain's social position, as the son-in-law of so distinguished a statesman and

lawyer as Mr. Ewing, and the brother of a Senator, secured him some consideration. He applied for the chief clerkship in the War Department and his influence, political and military, was such as to secure strong backing; but the place was given to another. Then, when Jos. E. Johnston resigned the Quartermaster-Generalship to enter his career in the Rebel army, Captain Sherman sought this vacancy, but failed again.*

When the call for seventy-five thousand volunteers for three months was issued, our confident Captain at once denounced it as unwise. He was told that if he would go home to Ohio he could probably get the command of one of the regiments; but he would have nothing to do with such folly. "You might as well attempt to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt-gun." "You are sleeping on a volcano." "You want to organize the whole military power of the North at once for a desperate struggle." "You don't know anything about this people. Why, if we should have a reverse beyond the Potomac, the very women of this city would cut the throats of our wounded with case-knives."† Such were the energetic sayings with which he won, for a time, the character of an alarmist. At last, disgusted with his failure to impress his ideas upon the authorities, or to secure a satisfactory position, he went back to his street railroad in St. Louis.

But his thoughtful brother did not neglect his interests. Presently it was decided to add eleven regiments to the regular army. Application was at once made for a position for Captain Sherman in this new force, and so vigorously and influentially was the case presented, that early in June the Senator telegraphed him to return to Washington, and shortly after his arrival he was commissioned Colonel of the Thirteenth (new) Regular Infantry. Officers at all instructed in the minutiæ of military matters were just then greatly needed to aid in reducing the shapeless masses of militia to consistency, and the new Colonel was ordered at once to report for duty at General Scott's head-quarters. A few days later, Scott sent him out to take command of a fort. Here he remained till McDowell's movement on Manassas was organized, when his West Point education secured him the command of a brigade.

The ensuing battle of Bull Run was Colonel Sherman's first engagement. His behavior was cooler than they would have imagined who should judge only from his nervous excitability of character. Coming into the action about half-past twelve, he found the enemy retreating, and advanced for over a mile with his brigade in line of battle. Then, as the fire became severe, he protected them a little along the line of a sunken road, till ordered to move them up to the attack. One regiment after another was then put in by itself, only to be driven back in disorder. The brigade was beaten in detail, but not without considerable loss. Presently the panic began, and Sherman's command yielded to its full force. He himself reported their retreat as "disorderly in the extreme." But his own conduct had been such as to mark him out as one of

*Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 24.

†This last remark was made to Murat Halstead, Esq., the editor of the Cincinnati Commercial.

the raw officers, essaying war for the first time, who might yet come to something. Such was the impression of the Ohio Congressmen; and, at the suggestion of his brother, they united in a request for his appointment to the rank of Brigadier-General. On the 3d of August the commission was issued.* The new General was unpopular. He had curtly and nervously told the truth about the panic in his own command as well as among the rest of the runaways. Never at all bashful about expressing his opinions, the prevailing excitement gave him unusual freedom of utterance; and he now criticised blunders with the absolutism of a professor and the zeal of a novice. But his political influence shielded him from danger.

About the middle of August General Robert Anderson, given command of the Department of Kentucky for his defense of Fort Sumter, asked for Sherman, Burnside, Thomas, and Buell, to serve under him; and toward the last of the month Sherman was sent. According to his testimony to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he "expressed to General Anderson and to the President that he did not wish to be placed in any conspicuous position, but would attempt any amount of work."† Presently, on Anderson's retiring because of ill health, Sherman rose by seniority to the control of the Department—much against his own wishes, if we may trust the same testimony; for he tells us that he "remonstrated against being placed in chief command, and, considering the President pledged not to put him in any prominent command, urged it with earnestness."‡ For a course so unusual in a man so ambitious, General Sherman has assigned no reasons. We may well believe, however, that he realized his limited knowledge of practical war, and sagaciously dreaded becoming prominent before he had time to learn in the school of experience.

"Paint me as I am," was the stern command of a historic Soldier to the artist who sketched his portrait; "put in every scar and wrinkle." The great soldier, whose career we now trace, to be truly great, should emulate the wisdom of the Lord Protector. In that case we should have none of the disingenuous subterfuges with which it has been sought to gloze over Sherman's utter failure in Kentucky.

He was inexperienced in war. He was profoundly alive to the terrible earnestness of the South. In the fervor of his intelligent opposition to the "sixty-days" nonsense, he went, like most incautious men of high nervous organizations, to the opposite extreme.‖ To his excited vision, the South was a giant armed *cap-a-pie;* the North, a stolid mass, trusting to raw militia for the conduct of a gigantic war. No story of Southern resources or reckoning of Rebel armies was too gross for his belief; no depreciation of his personal command could

* Like many others issued about this period, it was dated back to 17th May.

† Report of 1867, Vol. I, p. 4. ‡ Ibid.

‖ And from this, in spite of the lessons of the war, he never recovered. As late as 25th October, 1864, after the fall of Atlanta, after Grant had pushed Lee into Petersburg, and had written that the Rebels were then robbing the cradle and the grave to keep up their armies, and when he himself was about to launch his army through Georgia to the sea, he wrote to the Secretary of War (Final Report Com. Con. War, Vol. I, p. 240) that "the contest was but fairly begun."

come up to his own conviction of its unfitness to cope with the tremendous powers of his antagonist. General Buckner had led into Kentucky a Rebel force numbering barely four thousand, had with this paltry detachment menaced Louisville, and had finally established himself in fortifications at Bowling Green. By the 15th of October he was able to increase his strength to twelve thousand. At this average it remained till months after Sherman's departure from Kentucky.* But long before this, Sherman had at Camp Nevin, facing Buckner, three brigades of four full regiments each, besides a column of nine thousand at Camp Dick Robinson under General Thomas, and scattered forces in Louisville and along the line of the railroad! Yet, with such resources, he declared Louisville itself to be in danger, burdened the telegraph with petitions for re-enforcement to save him from being driven across the Ohio, and at one time actually proposed that the troops facing Buckner should burn their baggage and retreat on Louisville. Excited by these visions of danger, and worn out with the labor of his Department, his nervousness increased upon him. He talked extravagantly, and made little secret of his fears. Eye-witnesses spoke of him as a man haggard with work, and yet so excited that he "scarcely knew what he was about."†

Arrangements were already in progress for raising the force in Kentucky to an army of sixty or seventy thousand strong, but Sherman's exaggerated dispatches had caused some apprehension as to the wisdom of entrusting so great a column to such a commander. Accordingly, when the Secretary of War, in a tour of inspection westward, about this time, reached Louisville, he asked General Sherman what his views really were as to the wants of his Department. "How many men do you need?" "Two hundred thousand!" was the prompt and emphatic reply.‡ To us, contemplating this strange answer in the light of Sid-

*Pollard says: "In spite of the victory at Belmont, our situation in Kentucky was one of extreme weakness, and entirely at the mercy of the enemy, if he had not been imposed upon by false representations of the number of our forces at Bowling Green. About the middle of September General Buckner advanced with a small force of about four thousand men, which was increased by 15th October to twelve thousand; and though other accessions of force were received, it continued at about the same strength till the end of November. The enemy's force was then reported to the War Department at fifty thousand." Sidney Johnston's Letter to Jeff. Davis, after the surrender of Fort Donelson, gives the same figures.

†Mr. F. B. Plympton, one of the editors of the Cincinnati Commercial, had an amusing experience with General Sherman during the height of his alarm about the Rebel strength and purpose. He waited on the General to inform him that he had come down to write what was to be told about the army. The General, who was at a small railroad station near Muldraugh's Hill, broke out into the most violent and extravagant abuse, cursing and swearing like a madman. Presently he commenced charging up and down the platform, his saber rattling along behind him. Every time he passed Mr. Plympton he discharged at him a volley of fresh oaths, each winding up with the renewed order to get back to Louisville on the first train if he had any regard for his personal safety. Plympton bore the matter philosophically. Sherman continued prancing up and down the platform, gesticulating, swearing, and working himself into a very ecstasy of rage. All of a sudden he stopped opposite Plympton: "If you want to get a real good dinner, the very best that can be had anywhere about here, just step over to that house which you see yonder!" This was said in the kindest and most friendly manner possible. Then, with a return to the old tone: "But be d——d sure you take that first train back to Louisville!"

‡In this statement I follow the narrative of Adjutant-General Thomas, who was present at

ney Johnston's declaration that his force at Bowling Green numbered twelve thousand, and of his *naïve* statement to Mr. Davis that he "magnified his forces to the enemy, but disclosed his true strength to the department,"* it is only doubtful whether Sherman's opinion should furnish cause more for amazement or for amusement. But to the Secretary of War and the Adjutant-General it was a very sober subject. Here was an untried commander, nervous, palpably under high excitement, having, according to concurrent testimony, only a small force opposed to him, but declaring that he needed two hundred thousand men straightway, when the entire available force then in camps at the North did not muster half so many. Either those controlling the business of the war were grossly mistaken in their comprehension of the requirements, or General Sherman was. The result was natural. General Sherman was relieved from command and sent to Benton Barracks, Missouri, to drill raw recruits. In this humble sphere he was kept at work until the spring of 1862; while the re-enforcements that had been designed for him were confided to the leadership of his successor. A force at no time so great as two hundred thousand was subsequently found, under such efficient handling as General Sherman himself largely aided to give it, sufficient to drive the enemy to the Gulf.

Meantime, with the rawness of our early essays at the management of a war, Adjutant-General Thomas had rushed into print with his sensationally-written report, embracing, among many other secrets, an account of the strange demand which had preceded Sherman's sudden removal. The country was indignant. Presently a leading journal of Cincinnati,† in solemn seriousness, on authority that it believed to be unquestionable, and with a kindly desire to do justice to Sherman, by enabling the country to understand the causes of his strange action, came to the rescue with an editorial explanation of the mystery. In the light of subsequent history it becomes pleasant reading:

"The painful intelligence reaches us in such form that we are not at liberty to discredit it, that General W. T. Sherman, late commander of the Department of the Cumberland, *is insane!* It appears that he was at times, when commanding in Kentucky, stark mad. We learn that he at one time telegraphed to the War Department three times in one day for permission to evacuate Kentucky and retreat into Indiana. He also, on several occasions, frightened the leading Union men of Louisville almost out of their wits by the most astounding representations of the overwhelming force of Buckner, and the assertion that Louisville could not he defended. The retreat from Cumberland Gap was one of his mad freaks. When relieved from the command in Kentucky he was sent to Missouri and placed at the head of a brigade at Sedalia, where the

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the interview. A biography of General Sherman, prepared under his eye, has since explained that he said: "Sixty thousand to drive the enemy out of Kentucky, two hundred thousand to finish the war in this section." But inasmuch as sixty thousand would have been a very absurd number to insist upon for driving out Buckner's twelve thousand at Bowling Green and the small force under Zollicoffer, which Thomas's little column subsequently defeated so handsomely at Mill Springs, the explanation (which at any rate looks strikingly like an after-thought) does not greatly mend the matter. See *post*, Life of Buell.

* Letter of General Sidney Johnston to President Davis, 18th March, 1862—furnished Confederate Congress, and published in Report Spec. Com. on Causes of Disasters at Forts Henry and Donelson, pp. 171, 172.

† Cincinnati Daily Commercial, December, 1861.

shocking fact that he was a madman was developed, by orders that his subordinates knew to be preposterous, and refused to obey. He has, of course, been relieved altogether from command. The harsh criticisms which have been lavished upon this gentleman, provoked by his strange conduct, will now give way to feelings of the deepest sympathy for him in his great calamity. It seems providential that the country has not to mourn the loss of an army through the loss of the mind of a General into whose hands were committed the vast responsibilities of the command in Kentucky."*

The country at once accepted the explanation; and though General Sherman's relatives promptly contradicted it,† his actual insanity was doubted by few, save the army officers who surrounded him, till, in the spring of 1862, General Halleck decided to try him on more active duty than Benton Barracks afforded. When Grant went up to Fort Donelson it was important that there should be an instructed officer at Paducah to supervise the forwarding of troops and supplies. With this task Sherman was intrusted.‡ All winter he had been restless and chafing; his boundless activity now found scope, and he proved so energetic and useful that Halleck, who had known him in California, and, besides, had a strong *penchant* for West Pointers, determined to try him further. The expedition up the Tennessee was soon on foot, and Sherman was assigned to the command of a division in it. He was boiling over with energy, and his wide theoretical acquaintance with military matters was soon found to be re-enforced by a remarkable capacity for learning from every day's experience. In short, he so handled his troops that in a little time Chas. F. Smith, having no other West Pointer (save Hurlbut, who need scarcely be counted) among his Division Generals, came to rely chiefly on Sherman, and to give him the lead. On

* The facts on which this noted article was based were furnished by Mr. Henri Villard, a well-known and trustworthy journalist, connected with the Eastern press, and also with the Commercial. He considered them of so much importance that he made a trip from Louisville to Cincinnati expressly to communicate them in person. He added that George D. Prentice, Hon. James Guthrie, Hon. James Speed, and other prominent Unionists of Louisville, had been telegraphing to the War Department concerning the danger, before the removal of General Sherman. Mr. Halstead accepted the statement thus fortified by direct and circumstantial testimony as conclusive. It seemed to him a kindness to General Sherman that the country should be enabled to know the real secret of his strange sayings and doings, as well as the enormous danger from which it has just escaped, in having so important a command controlled by a stark, raving madman. When General Sherman first saw the article he was at Lancaster, on a visit to his family. He laid down the paper, and, in his quick, nervous way, exclaimed: "Well, now, I should n't be surprised if they would fasten that on me. It 's the hardest thing in the world for a man to *prove himself sane*, especially when many people think his ideas wild." His family and friends, who were greatly enraged, at once attributed the statement to General McClellan. No amount of reasoning on the part of Mr. Halstead could convince them that the General then at the head of the army had nothing to do with the origin of the Commercial's article. Some other facts (known or suspected, doubtless, by Sherman's family) will serve to show the basis for their suspicions. Colonel Thomas M. Key, the well-known Judge-Advocate and confidential adviser on General McClellan's staff, was actually sent to see Sherman's condition. He returned with the report that, so far as he could judge, Sherman was not sufficiently master of his judgment to be intrusted with the command of an army and a great department. It may not be improper to add that Colonel Key long continued to entertain the same opinion, and that very many gentlemen who had seen much of Sherman during his stay at Louisville agreed with him.

† First contradicted by P. B. Ewing. in Cincinnati Commercial, 12th December, 1861.

‡ February 17, 1862.

Grant's arrival to take command in Smith's place, he found Sherman in the advance at the fateful encampment at Pittsburg Landing. When Grant, a raw, uninformed boy, entered West Point, Sherman was in his last year there, was well known and highly ranked. Subsequent acquaintance had led Grant to keep up the old West Point estimate of his capacity, and so he too came to repose a large share of confidence in the ardent, energetic, hopeful Division General on the front line.

The Rebels advanced, undiscovered, from Corinth on Thursday, 3d April. All day Friday they marched, or floundered, through the rain-storm; all day Saturday they were in motion on Sherman's front. But, though there had been a cavalry skirmish or two, the army lay down to rest on Saturday night without a conception of the enemy that was then lying silent in the woods at its picket-line, and listening to its tattoo. General Sherman was approached by one or two uneasy officers, who reported what they thought signs of an impending attack, but he was incredulous,* and took no special precautions. On Sunday morning the storm burst.

With three of his brigades, Hildebrand's, Buckland's, and McDowell's (posted in the order we have named them, Hildebrand having the left), Sherman held the right of the irregular, ill-defined line. His remaining brigade he had suffered to remain encamped miles away, on the extreme left of the National army, and with this there was no possibility of his holding any communication. At the first sound of attack Sherman was prompt in ordering out his command, sending for aid, and notifying the other division commanders that the enemy was upon him in force. The enemy, however, made that announcement before him. Sherman's left soon broke, in confusion, under the unexpected onset. Waterhouse's battery was lost. The flank was threatened, and presently the whole line fell back to a new position. It was hardly taken till another battery was lost. The flank was again exposed, and the division—now reduced to the fragments of two brigades—again fell back, seeking a position where it could support McClernand's right. Here Sherman held his ground till some time in the afternoon, when he was once more pressed back. This time he selected a line covering the Snake Creek bridge, by which Lew. Wallace was expected to

* Much has been written, *pro* and *con*, on the question whether or not the National army was surprised at Pittsburg Landing. Between Lieutenant-Governor Stanton, of Ohio, and General Sherman, an especially acrimonious discussion sprang up, which General Sherman's father-in-law afterward continued with all his lawyer-like ability. There is no need to add to the dispute, and General Sherman's relatives do him no kindness in keeping it up. I do not cite authorities to sustain the view given in the text, because I should as soon think of citing authorities to prove the fact that General McDowell retreated from the first Bull Run. But, to show that General Sherman himself did not always express the views advanced by and for him in this discussion, I may mention that, after the battle, in conversation with General R. W. Johnston, of Buell's army, whom he was entertaining in his tent, he said: "I had no idea of being attacked—did not believe it was a serious attack even after the firing began, till I saw the masses of their infantry bursting out of those woods down there just in front of us." The Adjutant-General on General Johnston's staff, Lieutenant (Rev.) W. C. Turner (of the N. S. Presbyterian Church), was present with his chief at this conversation, has a distinct recollection of it, and certifies to the accuracy of the above statement.

arrive, and here the shattered remnants of his division bivouacked in line of battle, while Buell's fresh army was marching in to re-form and extend the front. On the next day Sherman gathered together what fragments of his regiments he could, and pressed hard upon the enemy, but his force was reduced to such an extent that it no longer formed a considerable element in the contest.

Throughout the battle, but specially on the first day, General Sherman exposed himself recklessly, and set the example—then much needed—of the closest supervision by officers of their commands in action. His conduct did much to check the unseemly panic, and his unyielding tenacity went largely to prevent an abandonment of the field under the shock of the first disaster, and to brace up the faltering purpose of officers and men through all the misfortunes of that gloomy day. He was slightly wounded in the hand, and before the action ended three horses had been shot under him. So much was his gallant conduct in the field considered to have aided in the final success, that General Halleck reported it to the Government as the unanimous opinion of the officers concerned, that "General Sherman saved the fortunes of the day on the 6th and contributed largely to the glorious victory of the 7th." He accordingly recommended his promotion to a Major-Generalship of Volunteers, and the commission was speedily issued.

For most of the blunders of Pittsburg Landing Sherman could not have been held responsible, had he not chosen to make himself so. He was only a subordinate officer, greatly trusted indeed by his chief, but at no time in command of the camp. He should certainly have kept his division together; and it must ever seem inconceivable to those not actual witnesses to the fact, that an officer, with military education, and professing to understand war and war's conditions, should have lain for weeks in the vicinity of an enemy he believed to outnumber him, without a spadeful of earth thrown up for defense, without even an obstruction of fallen timber, and, finally, without pickets a mile beyond his own tent! These, however, were matters which the commanding General should have enjoined.* But, with that disposition—born of the morbid vanity, which we shall more than once observe in his future career—to accept unnecessary responsibilities, and to deny that he has ever made a blunder, General Sherman has since chosen to vindicate the management of affairs before the battle.† His true friends can not but regret so unwise a step; and no degree of admiration for the brilliant genius which he subsequently displayed, can blind impartial observers to the criminal foolhardiness and blundering which made the first day of Pittsburg Landing a slaughter, and well-nigh an irreparable calamity.

"It was necessary that a combat, fierce and bitter, to test the manhood of the two armies, should come off, and that was as good a place as any. It was not then a question of military skill and strategy, but of courage and pluck." When the military student of another generation comes to read such words from the man who took Atlanta, in apology for neglect of pickets, lack of any regu-

* For a fuller statement of the amazing carelessness and neglect at Pittsburg Landing, prior to the battle, see *ante*, Life of Grant.

† In his letter to U. S. Service Magazine on Pittsburg Landing, and in earlier publications.

lar formation of line, and absence of the slightest defensive works, against a foe supposed to be superior, he will find it as difficult to believe that the Lieutenant-General Sherman of history wrote the excuse as that he was guilty of the blunders.

Under General Halleck's personal management the army now passed from the extreme of rashness and neglect to the extreme of timid overcaution. It advanced upon Corinth at a snail's pace, stopping to construct long lines of fortifications after every trivial movement, till the whole distance between Corinth and the Landing became an interminable succession of redoubts and rifle-pits. General Sherman, fully awakened from the contempt of the enemy which can alone explain the neglect to prepare for him before the fatal Sunday morning of the attack, was now fully ready to second all the cautious devices of the new commander. General Halleck s high opinion of his conduct in the battle naturally led to his giving him an important position, and it so fell out that on the right, to which Sherman was thus assigned, occurred the only skirmishes of importance that marred the peaceful monotony of the methodical advance.* These were two in number. In each General Sherman s dispositions were excellent, and his success complete. The first was to drive the enemy from Russell's House, and the high hill on which it stood, about a mile and a quarter from the outer intrenchments at Corinth. For this purpose Sherman sent General Morgan L. Smith s brigade directly against the position, while, on either hand, another brigade threatened the flank. A few shots from Smith s batteries drove the enemy, and Sherman hastened to fortify the hill thus won. His entire loss was only ten killed and thirty-one wounded. Ten days later Halleck ordered another advance, to drive the Rebels from a ridge on Sherman's new front, and to demonstrate against Corinth. Sherman promptly formed a line of his own division (now reduced to three brigades) and of another brigade summoned from the reserve. The troops advanced silently and with great caution. The artillery demolished a house from which the enemy's sharpshooters had given annoyance; then, at the signal of a single shot, the whole line dashed across the intervening space, carried the ground, and with trifling loss established themselves, under cover of a dense wood, within thirteen hundred yards of the enemy's main fortifications. The Rebels presently rallied and essayed a counter-attack, but they were repulsed by the picket-line—which, thanks to the lessons of Pittsburg Landing, was now amply strong and well-placed. Two days later the enemy evacuated Corinth. By seven o'clock in the morning Sherman was in the town with the bulk of his division. So marked was the improvement already made in the important matter of watching the enemy!

Throughout these siege-operations, as the commanding General chose to style them, General Sherman, though in a purely subordinate position, was active, cautious and energetic, and his services were highly appreciated by

*Of course the reader will understand that General Pope's battle of Farmington, on the extreme left, is not included in this remark. It is swelled far beyond the importance of a mere skirmish.

Halleck. But it is more important to observe that, although Grant was in a state of *quasi* disgrace, Sherman kept up his old cordial relations with him, and was at pains to express his sympathy He was not to wait long for his reward.

But the rawness of our rapidly-learning General was still as apparent as the absolute confidence with which he volunteered opinions outside of his own sphere. One can scarcely read now, without a smile, the language in which he chose to announce the result. "The evacuation of Corinth," he declares, . . "was a clear back-down from the high and arrogant tone heretofore assumed by the Rebels. *It is a victory as brilliant and important as any recorded in history.*" This is not the language of a great General, or even of a military student—it is the bombast of a college sophomore. School-boy exaggeration, indeed, rarely makes itself so absurd as to style such performance as that at Corinth a victory as brilliant as any recorded in history It was a victory without fighting, in which over a hundred thousand men spent two months in driving forty-seven thousand out of works which Sherman himself pronounced "poor and indifferent!* But it may be readily inferred that such extravagancies of laudation were expected to be highly gratifying to the hero of this great victory, the redoubtable General-in-Command, who was soon to rise to still higher rank, to the country's injury.

Sherman was now ordered westward along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad; and after Halleck's transfer as General-in-Chief to Washington, Grant, on resuming command, at once sent him to Memphis to take charge of the district. Here he spent (with unimportant exceptions) the remainder of 1862, engrossed in the civil duties of his command. He adopted vigorous measures of retaliation for guerrilla outrages, and for firing on steamboats; kept a vigilant watch on the spies with whom Memphis swarmed, and did his best to prevent any trade beyond the lines, particularly in cotton. Most of these measures originated with Grant, but Sherman threw great energy into their execution. The Government countermanded his orders about cotton, to his great chagrin. In the fall he aided Grant's advance against the line of the Tallahatchie by co-operative movements on flank and rear, which were well-timed and entirely successful. Then, under Grant's orders, he prepared his expedition "to proceed to Vicksburg and reduce it,"† while Grant himself was advancing upon the enemy's main force *via* Holly Springs.

Most unfortunately Sherman was not advised of the disaster at Holly Springs, which ended Grant's movement; and the very next day he started, in the full confidence that he should find but an easy task before him at the front of Vicksburg, while Grant was thundering on its rear. His fall and winter's campaign upon the traders had greatly embittered him, and his orders, on setting out, were mainly directed against them. No citizens were, on any pre-

* Sherman's Official Report Advance on Corinth. I have followed above the Rebel official statement of their strength. The estimate made by our own officers was some eighteen thousand more.

† The language of Grant's order.

text, or for any purpose, to accompany the expedition. If any cotton was by any body put on board the transports, it was to be confiscated. If any members of the press were found they were to be treated as spies. If any other citizens were found they were to be conscripted into the army, or forced to work without pay as deck-hands on the transports.* The fretful and arbitrary tone of these orders made an unfavorable impression at the time; and after the expedition was over, led to the bitter taunt that as the General had directed his thoughts mainly to warfare upon our own citizens, so he was more successful in that than in his efforts against the enemy. The sneer was unjust, but he had given occasion for it.

On arriving before Vicksburg, on Christmas-Eve, Sherman first proceeded to break up the Vicksburg and Texas Railroad; then moved on transports up the old mouth of the Yazoo, and by noon of the 27th had his whole command of four divisions, and forty-two thousand men,† disembarked on its south side, near the mouth of Chickasaw Bayou, the boggy stream permeating the swamp thence down to Vicksburg, which rendered the approach to the flank of the enemy's works so difficult. Above its eastern bank frowned the Rebel fortifications. It was his first effort at directing more than a single division in action; but Sherman's dispositions soon showed that in the last year he had been rapidly learning his business. He at first decided to move three of his divisions up the bayou by various routes, under cover of the swamp on the side farthest from the enemy, to the points where he proposed to deliver the attack, while a single division should move in the same direction on the enemy's side of the bayou. The heads of columns soon drove in the enemy's pickets, and found ground of the utmost difficulty before them. Steele, who was moving on the enemy's side of the bayou, presently reported that his path led along a corduroy causeway, raked by both enfilading and cross-fire from the enemy's batteries; and Sherman decided to withdraw him to the other side. Meantime, the other three divisions had, with many difficulties, toiled through the swamp till they had reached the points at which it was proposed to cross. In front of them was the uncertain bayou, with its boggy banks; above that rose the high bluffs, marked from base to summit with the enemy's rifle-pits and parapets; while along the base of the bluff ran an excellent road, by which the Rebels could rapidly concentrate at any threatened point. Their force, though considerably increased during the delay in Sherman's movements after his arrival, was still greatly inferior; but it occupied a position well-nigh impregnable.

This position, however, Sherman now decided to assault. Morgan's division, re-enforced by Blair's and Thayer's brigades, was to attack on the left; while A. J. Smith, farther up the bayou, with more difficult ground before him, was to secure a lodgment with two divisions on the steep bluff that here rose from the bank, and prevent the enemy from concentrating on Morgan.

*Sherman and his Campaigns, pp. 80, 81.

†A. J. Smith's, Morgan L. Smith's, and George W. Morgan's divisions, numbered, in the aggregate, thirty thousand and sixty-eight. Frederick Steele's numbered twelve thousand three hundred and ten.

Of Smith's assault the Rebel report briefly tells the story: "When within four hundred yards our infantry opened—the enemy coming to within one hundred and fifty yards of my lines. Here our fire was so terrible that they broke, but in a few minutes rallied again, sending a force to my left, to turn my left flank. This was soon met and handsomely repulsed. The force in my front was also repulsed. Our fire was so severe that the enemy laid down to receive it. Seeing their confusion the Twenty-Sixth Louisiana, and a part of the Seventeenth, were marched on the field, and under their cover, twenty-one commissioned officers and three hundred and eleven privates, with four colors, and five hundred stand of arms, were captured. The enemy left in great confusion, leaving their dead on the field."*

Meantime, on the right, two companies had been sent over in advance to dig away a path in the steep bluff, so that the column could ascend. They rushed gallantly across, and, under cover of the bank, commenced digging—so close to the enemy that the Rebels above reached down their muskets, firing vertically at them from the top of the same bank. But the movement had been too much delayed; Morgan was already repulsed before this column was ready to cross, and Sherman ordered an abandonment of the effort. The brave fellows under the bayou bluff were accordingly withdrawn, at nightfall, under cover of the darkness.

Less than an hour's fighting had settled the matter. General Sherman now realized—at the fruitless cost of nineteen hundred and twenty-nine soldiers (against a Rebel loss of two hundred and nine)—that the position was impregnable. Unwilling, however, to confess the total failure of his expedition, he cast about for some further means of at least planting his army in a position to menace the Rebel fortifications. With this view he proposed to Admiral Porter, commanding the accompanying gunboat fleet, to cover the landing of a force of ten thousand picked troops up the Yazoo, at the point where the extremity of the Rebel line touched that stream. While this body should essay to turn the line here, he would occupy the enemy's attention at the old points. Then, the works being turned, he would hasten up with the rest of his army The troops were sent, but on the first night Admiral Porter found the fog too dense to move; on the second he found the moonlight almost as bright as day, and, therefore, decided the effort too hazardous. Thus baffled again, there was nothing left for Sherman but to withdraw—the ground on which he was encamped being swampy, and liable to overflow after any heavy rain, while behind him there were only more swamps and the rising Mississippi, and in front the triumphant enemy. He accordingly decided to move up the river to Milliken's Bend.

The Administration had not yet fully returned to the confidence in Sherman which he had lost in Kentucky, and at this juncture it decided that for the effort down the Mississippi a more capable commander was required. The President accordingly selected John A. McClernand, by whom Sherman was met as he reached the mouth of the Yazoo again.

*Official Report of Rebel General S. D. Lee.

The failure before Vicksburg was harshly judged by the public, and Sherman remained unpopular and distrusted. Yet it is now evident, as Grant himself soon after cheerfully testified, that Sherman had done all that was possible. His only error—if there was error at all—consisted in making an attack on impregnable positions. Yet his orders, binding him up to the "reduction of Vicksburg," could hardly have been considered satisfied without an effort against the enemy.

On the arrival at Milliken's Bend Sherman issued a farewell order to the army, of which McClernand now assumed command. It was not difficult to see that he was chagrined. "A new commander," he said, "is now here to lead you. He is chosen by the President of the United States, who has the undoubted right to select his own agents."* Sherman was now reduced to the command of two divisions. With these he accompanied the rest of the army which he had lately commanded, on McClernand's expedition up the Arkansas River to Arkansas Post. In the investment he was given the advance. He promptly passed around the rear of the fort, and rested his right on the river above it. As soon as the gunboats opened fire Sherman opened also, and after about fifteen minutes' bombardment, to which he received no reply from the enemy, he gave the signal for assault. The troops dashed forward gallantly, but were speedily entangled in the rough ground and obstructions on the enemy's front. They maintained their position and advanced slowly, till the enemy, overpowered by the gunboat fire, raised the white flag. In this affair Sherman lost seventy-nine killed and four hundred and forty wounded. McClernand officially spoke of him as "exhibiting his usual activity and enterprise."

Grant himself having now gone down the river, that remarkable series of devices was begun, by which it was sought to evade the difficulties of the Vicksburg problem. Sherman had no special share in any of them save the effort to burst into the Yazoo by means of the Sunflower, and the bayous through which that stream has its uncertain connection with the Mississippi. In this he was ordered to accompany the gunboats, and seize some point on the Yazoo from which operations could be directed against Haines's Bluff. He set out at once with a single regiment and a detachment of pioneers, leaving the rest of his troops to follow. They aided the gunboats to open the bayous, followed in transports as long as transports found the route practicable, then changed to coal-barges, and were drawn along by a little steam-tug, marched wherever the boggy roads were not completely overflowed, and finally, the gunboats, being hemmed in by fallen timber, and attacked by the enemy with infantry and artillery, made forced marches through the swamps—in one case even groping their uncertain way by candle-light through a canebrake—and finally got up just in time to save Admiral Porter from being surrounded. The energy with which the troops were pushed forward was admirable; and Porter cheerfully testified that "no other General could have done better or as well as

* He went on, however, to cover up this feeling by urging cheerful obedience to McClernand, and saying there was glory enough in store for all.

Sherman." But the movement was abandoned when almost within sight o the Yazoo.

Meanwhile the puzzled General who directed these various operations wa at his wits' end; and numerous were the discussions as to what could be done t plant the army in striking distance of the long-sought stronghold. In these Admiral Porter and General Sherman were his most frequent and confidentia counselors. Finally General Sherman submitted his written plan, a couple o weeks before Grant's final policy of running the batteries and marching up fron the south was adopted. He regarded the army as already far in advance of th other grand armies, would make sundry movements in Arkansas, and ther would "move the main army back to the Tallahatchie, secure and re-open th road back to Memphis," and adopt "the line of the Yallabusha as the base from which to operate against the points where the Mississippi Central crosses Bi Black above Canton, and lastly where the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad crosses the same river. The capture of Vicksburg would result." And finally he "would leave in this vicinity (*i. e.*, on the river in front of or near Vicksburg) a force not to exceed ten thousand men, with only enough steamboats to transport them to any desired point.* In effect, he would have returned the army to Memphis and started over again on substantially the same route which Grant had attempted before, and from which the Holly Springs disaster had thrown him back. That this was sound strategy can not be doubted; that it was a bold proposition, coming from a General already sufficiently unpopular at the North, and to one already maturing a totally different plan, need hardly be enforced.

All this while the people regarded Sherman with distrust, tempered with dislike. He was looked upon as an unlucky if not an incapable commander; his brusque expressions of enmity to the party that controlled the Government were quoted to his disadvantage;† his talk against anti-slavery men and measures gave deep offense; and in some quarters slanderous doubts were even hinted as to his fidelity to the cause—mainly originating in his warm expressions of regard for old friends then in the Confederate service. His warfare with the newspaper press, into which he had himself at the outset infused a needless bitterness, raised up enemies for him where he should have had the warmest of friends, and led to the most unfavorable constructions of everything in which he was concerned. But the confidence and friendship of Grant were unshaken.

Sherman was now assigned the left of the army in the movements by which Grant finally proposed to vault to the rear of Vicksburg. He was left behind when the rest of the army moved down to Bruinsburg; and when the

* Sherman and his Campaigns, pp. 129, 130.

† One of the strangest of these expressions was made during the advance on Corinth. Sherman and a brother officer of equal rank were being introduced. "I am very glad to meet you," said the other General; "I know Senator Sherman very well, and I believe he is your brother." "Yes," replied Sherman, "I have a brother who is one of the d——d Abolitionists that have been getting up this war." Of course the reader will understand that I print this statement only on the direct personal authority of the General to whom the remark was made.

crossing was to be effected he was ordered to make a feint above Vicksburg (on the batteries at Haines's Bluff), to prevent the enemy from suspecting the real nature of the movement below or concentrating to oppose it. "I hate to ask you to do it," said Grant, "because the fervor of the North will accuse you of being rebellious again."* The time, however, was at last approaching when the fervor of the North was likely to assume a different direction in Sherman's behalf. He ran up to Haines's Bluff, disembarked under cover of a heavy gunboat fire, and so demonstrated as to keep the enemy in momentary anticipation of an attack, till there was reason to suppose that the crisis below was passed. The whole operation was skillfully and handsomely performed. Then hastening after Grant, with his command he crossed the Mississippi below, and caught up with the army on the evening of the 8th of May, just in time to participate in the general advance already ordered. In this, Sherman (with McClernand) hugged close the eastern bank of the Big Black, while McPherson was pushed far out to the eastward, to strike Jackson, forty-seven miles due east from Vicksburg. Then, as McPherson seemed likely to encounter unexpected resistance, Sherman and McClernand were ordered over to his aid. They moved rapidly and in concert; and, with McClernand lying in reserve in the vicinity, Sherman moved forward and attacked the enemy on the Mississippi Springs Road, while McPherson, further to the southward, was engaging the bulk of his forces on the road to Canton. Some sharp skirmishing resulted; then a regiment, sent out to feel one of the enemy's flanks, reported the works there deserted. The troops were at once led into Jackson by that route, and the enemy fled northward. Sherman took two hundred and fifty prisoners, eighteen guns, and much ammunition and public stores.

While now McClernand and the other forces turned their faces westward, and had straight before them their goal, the doomed city of Vicksburg, Sherman was left to destroy railroads, arsenals, and other public property. A church and some private buildings were despoiled in the confusion, but without Sherman's sanction. From the field of Champion Hills Grant sent back a message for Sherman to hasten forward, but the advance swept everything before it, till the Big Black was reached. Here Sherman crossed with a pontoon train, and pushing rapidly forward on the right, interposed between the enemy's posts on the Yazoo and the defenses of Vicksburg. From that moment the whole operation was a success, and the fall of Vicksburg but a question of time. The Haines's Bluff defenses were hastily evacuated, Sherman opened communications with the fleet, and the army was again supplied with rations.

The next day Sherman participated in the assault. Several of his regiments gained the exterior slope of the enemy's works, but they were unable to advance further, and, under cover of the darkness, they were drawn back a little. Two days later another assault along the whole line was ordered. Sherman's corps, with its storming parties marching by the flank, succeeded again in planting colors at various points on the outer slope of the parapet. Word

* Sherman's speech at the St. Louis banquet in his honor.

being brought that McClernand had effected a lodgment within the works opposite his part of the line, Sherman ordered another assault, which only led to the planting of more colors on the outer parapets, and the burrowing beside them of more men in the earth, to protect themselves from the terrific fire of the garrison. Under cover of night they were again withdrawn—Grant having by this time reached the wise conclusion that the works were too strong for direct assault. Sherman then settled down to the prosecution of his share in the siege.

By the 25th June the works were so strengthened that smaller numbers served for the investment, and Sherman was accordingly detached, with somewhat increased command to watch Johnston, who had now gathered together a small force, and was maneuvering for the relief of the beleaguered city. "You must whip Johnston at least fifteen miles from here," wrote Grant. Hardly had Vicksburg surrendered, when, under Grant's orders, Sherman advanced against Johnston, pushing him back toward Jackson. The weather was intensely hot, the roads were very dusty, and the troops were not even permitted before starting on their toilsome march, to enter the stronghold they had aided to conquer. "Though personal curiosity," writes Sherman to his friend, Admiral Porter, "would tempt me to go and see the frowning batteries and sunken pits that have defied us so long, and sent to their silent graves so many of our early comrades in this enterprise, I feel that other tasks lie before me, and time must not be lost. Without casting anchor, and in spite of the heat and dust and the drouth, I must again into the bowels of the land, to make the conquest of Vicksburg fulfill all the conditions it should in the progress of this war."

On 9th July Sherman appeared before Jackson, and by the 12th had all his troops up and in position, and was skirmishing vigorously His ammunition was delayed, and while he was waiting for it Johnston destroyed his stores and retreated. Our loss was about a thousand, Johnston's was about six hundred killed and wounded, and seven hundred and sixty-four prisoners. The retreating force was harassed for some distance, all the railroads centering in Jackson were broken up, and then Sherman, leaving a garrison in the town, drew back to the line of the Big Black.

Grant fitly summed up Sherman's handsome conduct in this campaign: "His demonstration at Haines's Bluff in April, to hold the enemy about Vicksburg, while the army was securing a foothold east of the Mississippi; his rapid marches to join the army afterward; his management at Jackson in the first attack; his almost unequaled march from Jackson to Bridgeport and passage of the Black River, attest his great merit as a soldier."*

The period of comparative leisure that followed enabled General Sherman to attend to some minor duties. A very pleasing evidence of his admiration for spirited behavior, and his sympathy for the friendless, was exhibited in a letter to the Secretary of War: "I take the liberty of asking that something be

* Grant's Official Report, Vicksburg.

done for a young lad named Orion P. Howe, of Waukegan, Illinois. He is too young for West Point, but would be the very thing for a midshipman. When the assault at Vicksburg was at its height, on the 19th of May, and I was on foot, near the road which formed the line of attack, this young lad came up to me, wounded and bleeding, with a good healthy boy's cry: 'General Sherman, send some cartridges to Colonel Walmbourg; the men are all out.' 'What is the matter, my boy?' 'They shot me in the leg, but I can go to the hospital; send the cartridges right away.' Even where we stood the shot fell thick, and I told him to go to the rear at once, I would attend to the cartridges; and off he limped. Just before he disappeared over the hill, he turned and called as loud as he could: 'Caliber fifty-four.' What arrested my attention then was, and what renews my memory of the fact now is, that one so young, carrying a musket-ball wound through his leg, should have found his way to me on that fatal spot, and delivered his message, not forgetting the very important part, even, of the caliber of the musket, which, you know, is an unusual one. I'll warrant that the boy has in him the elements of a man, and I commend him to the Government as one worthy the fostering care of some one of its National institutions."

A few days after this letter was written, General Sherman received a commission as Brigadier-General in the regular army. He was not mistaken in attributing his promotion to the friendly influence of Grant, to whom he wrote: "I value the commission far less than the fact that it will associate my name with yours and McPherson s, in opening the Mississippi. I beg to assure you of my deep personal attachment, and to express the hope that the chances of war will leave me to serve near and under you till the dawn of that peace for which we are contending." It was not unnatural—most "men having a good deal of human nature in them"—that such deferential language to his superior officer should increase the good opinion entertained of Sherman at headquarters.

His restless mind was never satisfied with the mere details of the business pressing upon it. Through the summer he addressed the Governor of Ohio, urging a new plan of recruiting. With rare foresight he struck at the inherent vice of the existing system, in expressing his "earnest hope that the strength of our people will not again be wasted by the organization of new regiments, while we have in the field skeleton regiments, with officers, non-commissioned officers and men, who only need numbers to make a magnificent army. The mass of men called for should all be privates, and sent so as to make every regiment in the field equal to one thousand men. Ohio has in the field one hundred and twenty-six regiments, whose officers *now* are qualified, and the men of which would give tone and character to the new recruits. To fill these regiments will require fifty thousand recruits. I therefore hope and pray that you will use your influence against any more new regiments, and consolidation of old ones, but fill up all the old ones to a full standard." No wiser policy of recruiting was presented to the Government through the war. Fortunate

indeed would it have been for the country had this recommendation of General Sherman's been adopted.

In such discussions of the general war policy, in elaborate letters urging these views, in the miscellaneous work of the corps, and in a visit from his wife and family that was to have a very sad ending, the summer passed away.

At last the Government awoke to the critical position of Rosecrans. While Grant's great army was doing nothing to engage the enemy in the West, while the army of the Potomac was equally inactive at the East, Rosecrans, with inadequate force, was penetrating to the vital and jealously-guarded stronghold of Chattanooga. Unable to make head against Grant, Johnston's forces were at liberty to hasten against Rosecrans; not occupied in Virginia, Lee was at liberty to send Longstreet to help check the perilous advance of the venturesome "Dutch General." Finally, on the 13th of September, orders were sent to Sherman to forward all available forces to Corinth and Tuscumbia, to co-operate with Rosecrans. For some reason that has never been explained, Sherman did nothing.* At last, on the 22d, Grant telegraphed, requiring one division for Rosecrans's aid to be forthwith forwarded to Memphis. Two days later he was ordered to follow with his whole corps. It was not till the 27th that he was able to procure steamboat transportation, and even then the delays were so great that the corps did not all arrive at Memphis until October 4th. Thence the troops were to march eastwardly along the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, which connects Memphis and Chattanooga.

While supervising the preparations for this march, Sherman was bowed down by the burden of a great grief. His own touching words to the commanding officer of his old regiment shall tell the sad story:

"I can not sleep to-night, till I record an expression of the deep feelings of my heart to you, and to the officers and soldiers of the battalion, for their kind behavior to my poor child. Consistent with a sense of duty to my profession and office, I could not leave my post, and so I sent for my family to come to me in that fatal climate, and in that sickly period of the year; and behold the result! The child that bore my name, and in whose future I reposed with more confidence than I did in my own plans of life, now floats a mere corpse, seeking a grave in a distant land, with a weeping mother, brother, and sisters clustered about him. But my poor Willy was, or thought he was, a Sergeant of the Thirteenth. I have seen his eye brighten and his heart beat as he beheld the battalion under arms, and asked me if they were not real soldiers. Child as he was, he had the enthusiasm, the pure love of truth, honor, and love of country, which should animate all soldiers. God only knows why he should die thus young. Please convey to the battalion my heartfelt thanks, and assure each and all that if, in after years, they call on me or mine, and mention that they were of the Thirteenth Regulars when poor Willy was a Sergeant, they will have a key to the affections of my family that will open all it has—that we will share with them our last blanket, our last crust."

Unfortunately General Sherman decided to repair the Memphis and Charleston Railroad as he advanced eastwardly along it, in the direction of Rosecrans's position. It would seem that he still had no adequate conception of the peril at Chattanooga, or that he did not conceive himself bound to

*"For some reason that has never been explained." That is, unless the explanation in General Halleck's Annual Report to the Secretary of War (Ex. Doc., Vol. V, 1863-4) be considered sufficient. He says: "The dispatches of the 13th to Grant and Sherman did not reach them

strenuous efforts for relief. It was the 11th of October before he left Memphis to obey the order first issued, 13th of September. At Collierville his train plunged fairly into a fight raging about the station. The Rebel General Chalmers, with three thousand cavalry, was attacking it. Sherman's body-guard, under his own eye, rushed to the rescue, and the assailants were driven off. The next day he reached Corinth, and pushed on his advance to Iuka. Building railroads instead of marching to the relief of the beleaguered army in Chattanooga, it was not until the 27th of October that he left Iuka, under orders hastily sent by courier across the country from Grant, to drop all railroad work, and hurry his army forward as fast as their legs could carry them. It was now forty-four days since the first issue of the order for the march, and the troops had yet accomplished scarcely one-third of the distance between Memphis and Chattanooga. In eighteen days more General Sherman rode into Chattanooga, and reported to Grant for orders. There had been some sharp skirmishing with the Rebel cavalry that hung upon the front and flanks, and much trouble in crossing streams from the destruction of bridges and lack of pontoons.

The delays in the early part of this march have been sharply criticised in some quarters, and it must be confessed that it did not exhibit the celerity that a full appreciation of the crisis and a cordial desire to relieve Rosecrans would have dictated.* But it is to be remembered that General Sherman's whole career has sufficiently shown that lack of energy was never one of his failings; that the difficulties of the march were considerable; that it was well managed throughout, and that the latter part of it was so rapid and skillful as to merit the highest praise.

General Grant had been on the point of making the attack without Sherman—so great was his anxiety to dislodge the enemy from Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain, and to dispatch a force to raise the siege of Knoxville. He now explained his plans to Sherman, who at once sprang into a skiff, rowed him-

until some days after their dates." "Some days" is a phrase that seems scarcely to cover a delay of nine days; nor does it seem probable that nine days could be spent in forwarding a dispatch from Memphis (to which point Halleck had telegraphic communication) over the short river stretch to Vicksburg. As this matter has given rise to a good deal of dispute, I subjoin Halleck's order:

"HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., 13th September, 1863.

"*Major-General Grant, or Major-General Sherman, Vicksburg:*

"It is quite possible that Bragg and Johnston will move through Northern Alabama to the Tennessee River, to turn General Rosecrans's right, and cut off his communications. All of General Grant's available forces should be sent to Memphis, thence to Corinth and Tuscumbia, to co-operate with Rosecrans, should the Rebels attempt that movement.

"H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief."

*Colonel Bowman, after saying that at Memphis Sherman received Halleck's order to march, and to report to Rosecrans, adds: "He was substantially to follow the railway eastwardly, repairing it as he moved, looking to his own lines for supplies." General Halleck, however, makes no mention of such orders, and the tone of his report indicates great anxiety for haste in the movement. No apprehension about supplies at the end of the march need have been entertained, for the railroad was unobstructed as far as Bridgeport, and, as was afterward proved, was capable of supplying far larger armies than were now dependent upon it.

self down to Bridgeport, where his columns were arriving, and hastened them forward. When they reached the ground the other troops were all in position, the pontoons were ready, and the movement was at once begun. Sherman passed behind Chattanooga on the north side, having been compelled in the haste to leave one division with Hooker, below, moved down to the river secretly on the night of the 23d, by daylight on the 24th had two divisions across, and rifle-pits dug to protect them, and by one o'clock was ready with his whole force for the advance. Moving up in *echelon*, with skirmishers well to the front, they reached the base of the ridge in safety, completely protected from the enemy's observation by the mist and fog. The heads of columns were fairly on the top before the enemy discovered the movement and opened with artillery Nothing, however, but some exchanges of artillery-firing and skirmishing occurred through the afternoon, and during the night the positions were fortified.

In front of Sherman now lay a crest of the Mission Ridge, wooded on the eastern side, partially cleared on the western, and occupied by the enemy. Beyond this was a higher eminence, whence the enemy s artillery played over the whole field in dispute. By daylight Sherman was out, trying to gain an idea of the position, and by sunrise he had his troops in motion. General Corse was to attack from the center, Morgan L. Smith on the left, and Colonel Loomis on the right. Corse met heavy resistance, and made little progress. About ten o'clock he was severely wounded and carried from the field, while Colonel Walcutt succeeded to the command. Smith fared better on the left, and Loomis got far enough on the right to effect a serious diversion in favor of the center column of attack. But the day was clear, and across the heights long columns of the enemy could be seen streaming toward the point of the ridge where Sherman's attack was progressing. Unsuspicious of the danger that lay threatening his center and left, the enemy was concentrating on his right to overpower Sherman. The case looked critical. Re-enforcements were thrown forward to aid Walcutt in the center; but the crest where he fought was narrow, and already thronged with troops. The new arrivals were thus crowded over to the west side of the ridge, which, as has been seen, was cleared of timber. Here they soon became exposed to a terrific fire, and were presently hurled back in much disorder. But the key-point on the crest was held.

At last the white fringe of smoke that rose from Thomas's line, told that the attack on the center had begun. Thenceforward Bragg found enough to do without further concentration on Sherman. Darkness soon closed the carnage; and after nightfall Sherman had the satisfaction of learning that, though he had not gained the objective point of his assault, and had indeed been terribly punished in holding his positions, he had so weakened the enemy s lines on the center that magnificent victory had come with the setting sun. His was not the most brilliant, but it was far from being the least useful part in the great battle. He pushed forward his reserve in the pursuit, captured some stores and artillery, then turned to the eastward to make room for Hooker's column, which contin-

ued the pursuit, while Sherman broke up the communications between Bragg and Longstreet.

Then, Grant having been dissatisfied with the reception by another officer of his order to march to Knoxville to Burnside's relief, fell back on Sherman, on whose zeal and energy he knew he could safely reckon. Wearied as the men were with the hurried march to Chattanooga, and the bloody battle that had immediately followed,* Sherman at once put them in motion, and had them re-enforced by Gordon Granger's command. On the 29th of November, in intensely cold weather, the movement began. By 3d December Sherman communicated with Burnside; by the 5th the heads of columns, after much delay from difficulty in crossing streams, met within striking distance of Knoxville. But here a messenger arrived announcing that Longstreet, warned by their advance, was already in full retreat. The column then turned southward, and in leisurely marches returned to the Hiawassee Valley, Sherman himself keeping on the alert for possibilities of striking Longstreet, and once or twice diverting portions of his force in ineffectual attempts to capture wagon-trains or detachments.

The troops who had now been in constant motion from the time they left their camps on the Big Black, near Vicksburg, required rest. The indefatigable commander, however, seemed to need none, and he at once set out for Memphis and Vicksburg, to inspect the department which had been assigned to him while he was on the march to Chattanooga. Some three weeks were given to this work, and, meanwhile, an important expedition was organizing. Of the spirit in which, through these busy weeks, the General issued instructions as to their civil duties, to his subordinates, this, from his letter to the commanding officer at Huntsville, must serve as an illustration:

"If the people of Huntsville think differently let them persist in war three years longer, and they will not be consulted. Three years ago, by a little reflection and patience, they could have had a hundred years of peace and prosperity, but they preferred war. Very well. Last year they could have saved their slaves, but now it is too late; all the power of earth can not restore to them their slaves any more than their dead grandfathers. Next year their lands will be taken—for in war we can take them, and rightfully, too—and in another year they may beg in vain for their lives. A people who will persevere in war beyond a certain limit ought to know the consequences. Many, many people, with less pertinacity than the South, have been wiped out of national existence."

By the 3d of February Sherman was ready for his new movement. It seemed to him that the free navigation of the Mississippi River could be best guarded by destroying the lines of railroad by which the Rebels were able to approach it at any point, at will, and then by the establishment of small posts in the interior to keep the guerrillas away from the banks. With this view, he proposed to move out with a strong column due east from

*The losses of Sherman's corps in the battle and brief pursuit, were two hundred and fifty-eight killed, twelve hundred and fifty-seven wounded, and two hundred and eleven missing.

Vicksburg across the State of Mississippi to the important railroad center of Meridian, where a cavalry force, moving from Memphis out to and down the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, should meet him. General William Sooy Smith was assigned to this latter duty. Sherman himself took the field with the Vicksburg column, composed of two divisions from McPherson's corps, and two from Hurlbut's, with Colonel Winslow's brigade of cavalry. With this formidable force he plunged into the country, and disappeared from the public eye. The novelty and mystery of the movement piqued curiosity, and great expectations were cherished as to the results at which Sherman was supposed to be aiming. When, after a month's absence, the missing army emerged again, having simply, in the words of its leader, accomplished "a big raid," there was general disappointment. The expedition had, however, cut the enemy's communications at Meridian, destroyed long stretches of the railroads, depots, arsenals, public stores, and spread among the people of Mississippi a general sense of danger, and of the weakness of their cause. More might, perhaps, have been accomplished but for the failure of the Memphis cavalry column to join the expedition at Meridian.* Meanwhile, it was noteworthy that throughout the great march the General had handled his army with as much ease as if it were but a regiment, and had learned the art of subsisting an army in the enemy's country without a base and without a supply-train.

Thus far we have traced the progress of General Sherman, through many checkered scenes, to the point from which his successful career begins. Hitherto he has been mainly in subordinate positions, and his few independent commands have not enlarged his fame. His career in Kentucky was a failure. With the same harsh judgment which the Government repeatedly visited upon others in similar plight, he would never again have been assigned to active service. If to any extent he was responsible for the neglect before the battle of Pittsburg Landing, his conduct there was worse than a failure. His first assault on Vicksburg failed. And his Meridian expedition was not at the time accounted a success. In subordinate positions, and mainly under the command of Grant, he had achieved great credit, and the army and the public alike recognized in him a competent corps General. With the most, this was believed to be the height of his capacity. It is to the rare sagacity of General Grant in judging men that the country owes the brilliant and eventful career we have now to trace.

Between these two the friendship that began almost at the outbreak of the war, cemented as it was in many an hour of danger and on many a hard-fought field, had grown more intimate and confidential. When now, Grant was raised to the Lieutenant-Generalship, in the fullness of his heart he sat down and wrote a letter to "Dear Sherman," giving him the news, and adding: "I want to express my thanks to you and McPherson, as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. How far your advice and

*For the causes of this failure see *post*, Life of William Sooy Smith.

assistance have been of help to me, you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you can not know as well as I." Warm, generous words, honorable alike to the writer and the one addressed! But the reply is something more. It was graceful that General Sherman should say: "You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. You are now Washington's successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue, as heretofore, to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends, and the homage of millions of human beings that will award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability." And it was frank to add: "My only point of doubt was in your knowledge of grand strategy and of books of science and history; but I confess your common sense seems to have supplied all these." So, too, it was natural that he should urge Grant to "come West; take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley. Let us make it dead sure—and I tell you the Atlantic slopes and Pacific shores will follow its destiny Here lies the seat of coming empire, and from the West, when our task is done we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic." But it touched the limits of extravagant admiration, and was hardly free from a suspicion of flattery, to speak of Grant to his face as "Washington s legitimate successor," and to say, "I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just, as the great prototype Washington—as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest, as a man should be."*

Two days after this letter was sent, Sherman was appointed to the chief command between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River!

He was summoned to meet Grant at Nashville, and he traveled as far north with him as Cincinnati. In that visit the plans were first outlined, the completion of which ended the war. Later, General Grant sent him a map, on which were traced the lines the several armies were to take. The bare possibility of some inquisitive postmaster having opened the package in which this was sent, threw Sherman's suspicious mind into a fever of apprehension.† Finally Grant wrote, under date 4th April, disclosing his complete programme. This was Sherman s share: "You I propose to move against Johnston's army, to break it up, and to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources. I do not propose to lay down for you a plan of campaign, but simply to lay down the work it is desirable to have done, and leave you free to execute in your own way. Submit to me, however, as early as you can, your plan of operations." Sherman responded promptly: "I am pushing stores to the front with all possible dispatch. It will take us all of April to get in all our furloughed vet-

* Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, pp. 14, 15.

† Ibid, p. 25. "I will cause inquiries to be made," writes Sherman, "lest the map has been seen by some eye intelligent enough to read the meaning of the blue and red lines. We can not be too careful in these matters."

erans, and to collect provisions and cattle to the line of the Tennessee. At the signal, to be given by you, Schofield will drop down to Hiawassee, and march on Johnston's right. Thomas will aim to have forty-five thousand men of all arms, and move straight on Johnston, wherever he may be, and fighting him continuously, persistently, and to the best advantage. McPherson will have full thirty thousand of the best men in America. He will cross the Tennessee at Decatur, march toward Rome, and feel for Thomas. Should Johnston fall behind the Chattahoochie I would feign to the right, but pass to the left, and act on Atlanta, or on its eastern communications, according to developed facts. This is about as far ahead as I feel disposed to look."*

Such then, was the campaign which our nervous, energetic General, now at last in independent command, and with ample force, proposed to himself. He would act first against Johnston; then against Atlanta, or its communications. For the work he had three armies, numbering, in the aggregate, a hundred thousand men.† He had, moreover, three Generals—a consideration of no less weighty import. If Grant could trace his success to Sherman and McPherson, Sherman might now well fortify his hopes for the campaign by remembering that he was privileged to command George H. Thomas, James B. McPherson, and J. M. Schofield,‡ with the long list of brave officers, educated to war in the war, comprised within the army of each.

* Ibid, pp. 26, 27, 28.

† The exact number was: Thomas's Army of the Cumberland, sixty thousand seven hundred and seventy-three; McPherson's Army of the Tennessee, twenty-four thousand four hundred and sixty-five; Schofield's Army of the Ohio, thirteen thousand five hundred and fifty-nine; total ninety-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven; with the splendid artillery equipment of two hundred and fifty-four guns. The organization of these armies was as follows:

ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND (THOMAS).

Fourth Corps—O. O. Howard,	D. S. Stanley's division. John Newton's division. Thomas J. Woods's division.
Fourteenth Corps—John M. Palmer,	Jeff. C. Davis's division. R. W. Johnson's divison. A. Baird's division.
Twentieth Corps—Joseph Hooker,	A. S. Williams's division. John W. Geary's division. Daniel Butterfield's division.

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE (MCPHERSON).

Fifteenth Corps—John A. Logan,	P. J. Osterhaus's division. Morgan L. Smith's division. John E. Smith's division. —— Harrow's division.
Sixteenth Corps—George M. Dodge,	T. E. G. Ransom's division. John M. Corse's division. T. W Sweeney's division.
Seventeenth Corps—Frank P. Blair, Jr.,	Charles R. Woods's division. M. D. Leggett's division.

ARMY OF THE OHIO (SCHOFIELD).

Twenty-Third Corps,	M. S. Hascall's division. J. D. Cox's division.

‡ The whole force had been reorganized, and from the assignment of corps commanders down, the President had given Sherman his choice in everything.

Against him stood the ablest commander remaining to the Confederacy, an accomplished and experienced soldier. But it was General Johnston's misfortune to be in ill favor at Richmond. He had but forty-five thousand men of all arms, with some possible recruits, in the doubtful shape of Georgia militia, without transportation, and cowed by the successive disasters which (under Bragg) had hurled them back from Nashville to Murfreesboro, to Tullahoma, to Chattanooga, to Mission Ridge, and to Dalton. With this force, Mr. Davis was demanding that he should undertake an offensive campagn against the hundred thousand men that lay clustered about the fastnesses of Chattanooga.

While they debated it, Sherman's last preparations were completed. Grant had first fixed the 25th of April for the simultaneous movement of the several grand armies; then, as he found the Army of the Potomac still unready, the 27th; then 1st May, and finally 5th May. On the 4th he sent the final order; on the 5th the campaign against Johnston and Atlanta opened.

Sherman hoped to force Johnston to speedy and decisive battle;* Johnston, with the cautious wisdom that distinguished him, saw at once that, with his weak forces, his policy was to act on the defensive, draw Sherman away from his base, weaken his army at every step for guards for his attenuated line of supplies, and so finally bring on the decisive battle on something more nearly approaching equal terms. But he was nevertheless prepared to make his defensive campaign an obstinate one. His main defenses, in his present position, were along the Rocky Face Ridge, a short distance north of Dalton; at Tunnel Hill and Buzzard's Roost Gaps. Here the heights were crowned with artillery, the approaches were obstructed with abattis, and, to complete the work, these were finally flooded by the aid of dams on the adjacent streams. Not proposing to sacrifice his soldiers against this impregnable position, General Sherman made it his aim to maneuver Johnston into open ground, and then suddenly bring him to battle. To this end he sent Thomas to make a strong feint directly against the works, while McPherson, marching from his position on the west around Johnston, should silently sieze the Snake Gap, and throw himself upon the railroad below him at Resaca, thus forcing him out of his craggy fastness to fight for his line of supplies. Thomas carried out his part of the plan admirably, and made so formidable a demonstration that he fairly forced himself into the gap on Johnston's front. Meantime McPherson hastened around on his western detour, only to find that Johnston had seen through the whole plan from the outset, and had effectually guarded against it. In ample time he had dispatched troops to Resaca, and McPherson reported that he "found the place too strong to be taken by assault." And besides, so complete were Johnston's preparations, that he had not only fortified Resaca, but had so strengthened his tenure of the line of railway to Dalton, above, that McPherson found it impossible to burst in upon it anywhere. Yet more, he had cut roads through the rough country so as to be able, by a sudden march, to pounce down from Dalton upon the flank of any adventurous force here seeking to molest his rear. Thus

* "I hope the enemy will fight at Dalton," said Sherman in letter of instructions to McPherson, 5th May.—Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866 Vol. I, p. 51.

endangered, McPherson thought it necessary for his own safety to draw back and fortify at Snake Gap; and so the first step in the campaign ended in failure.

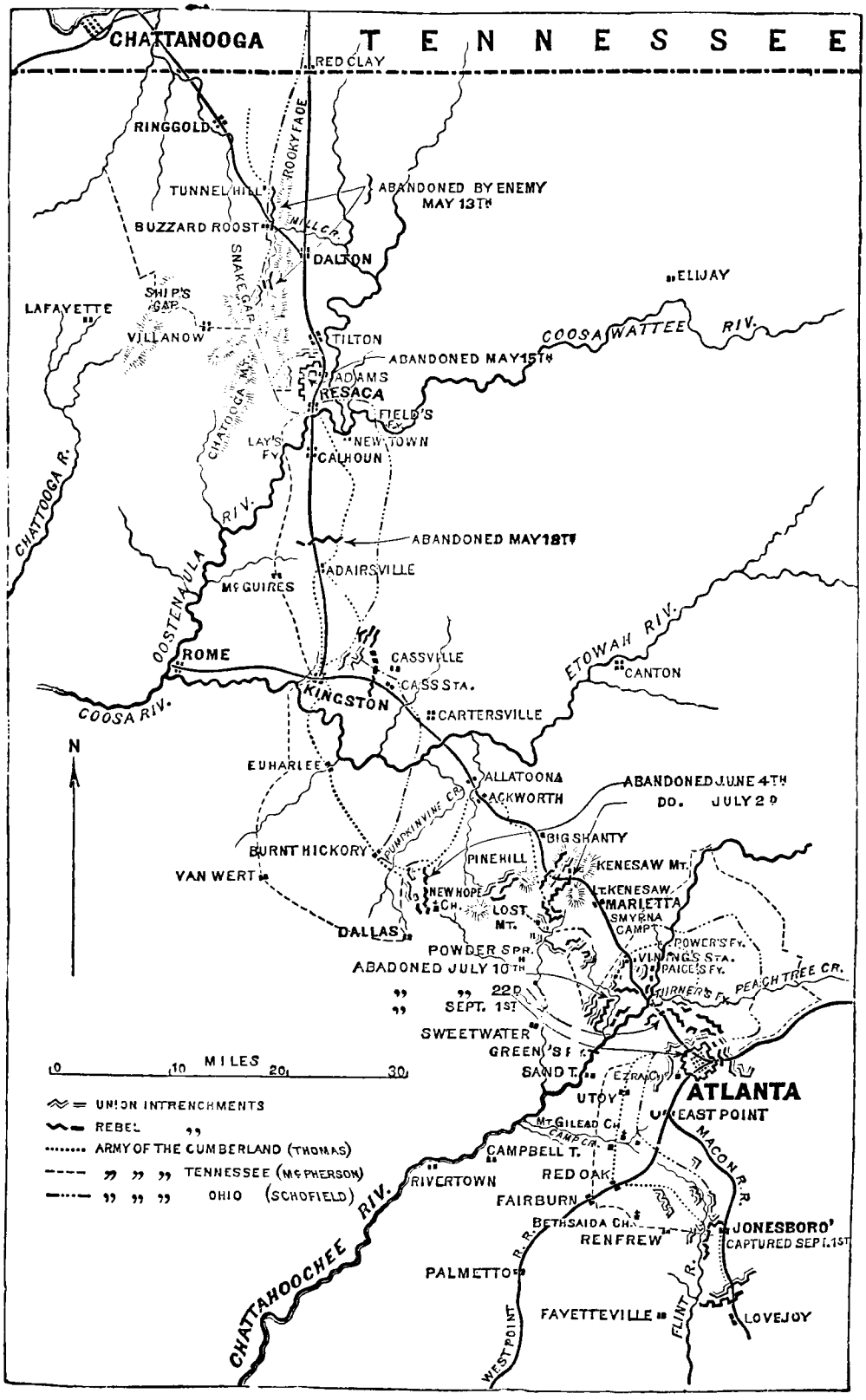
The cause will readily suggest itself to every one. The whole movement turned upon the success at Resaca. The attack at Buzzard's Roost was only a feint. But the feint was committed to Thomas, with an army of sixty thousand; the real movement to McPherson, with an army of twenty-five thousand, which proved, in the judgment of its skillful commander, too weak to attack, or even to hold its ground and run the risk of being attacked. But Sherman, with a fertility of resource that was admirable, was ready at once for the contingency, although, as he said, "somewhat disappointed at the result." He at once prepared to make the attack at Resaca with almost his entire force, leaving only a single corps to keep up the feint at Buzzard's Roost. So ended the first stage of the campaign.

But Johnston was again to offer a skillful parry. No sooner had Sherman's movement commenced than, divining its object, his antagonist began to move to meet it. On the 13th Sherman's army began to arrive before Resaca. On the 13th Johnston abandoned Dalton, and marched down to Resaca, leaving the corps Sherman had left keeping up the feint, to march quietly after him. Next morning when Sherman arrived, he perceived at a glance that he was foiled again.

This time, however, he determined to fight; while, at the same time, he should again essay cutting Johnston s line of supplies. From Resaca southward the Oostenaula interposed its waters between Sherman and the railroad to Atlanta. Laying a pontoon bridge across this stream, a few miles below Resaca, Sherman crossed here a single division. Behind this, and much further down, he sent Garrard's cavalry division to cut the railroad far to the southward. Then, placing Thomas in the center, McPherson on the right, and Schofield on the left, he made a fierce attack upon the intrenchments of Resaca. Thomas and Schofield found the obstructions too great, and gained little or nothing. McPherson fared better, and succeeded in securing ground whence his batteries swept the Rebel positions. Meantime, hearing of the pontoon bridge across the river a little way below him, and of the threat there made on his rear, Johnston dispatched Hood to guard against this new danger. But before he could accomplish anything Sherman was swinging his whole right across the bridge. This settled the matter. Johnston at once evacuated Resaca, and retreated southward, burning the bridges behind him.

Thus ended the second stage of the campaign. It cost between four and five thousand men, while the Rebel less was proportionately far less, on account of their intrenchments, and the result was finally obtained, not by sanguinary fighting, but by the bloodless flanking operations below the town. Sherman was again disappointed in seeking to force Johnston's forty-five thousand to pitched battle with his hundred thousand—he must find his battle-field yet further from his base.

Pursuit was promptly begun. McPherson had a skirmish at Calhoun; there was a brisker little engagement at Adairsville; and finally Johnston was



SHERMAN'S ATLANTA CAMPAIGN.

found intrenched at Cassville, a point on the railroad about midway between Chattanooga and Atlanta. The Rebel army was now re-enforced by a fresh division of Polk's corps, making it a little stronger than at the outset of the campaign; and an attack was ordered on Sherman's advancing columns. But the orders were misunderstood; nothing was done, and Sherman soon had his artillery favorably posted, and playing upon the intrenchments. Hood and Polk, at nightfall, waited upon Johnston and urged a retreat, insisting that the National artillery made their positions untenable. The Rebel commander dissented from their views; but the representations of his two best officers had so strong an influence upon him that, against his better judgment, he finally consented. Next morning Sherman found his antagonist gone. So ended one more stage in the campaign.

Already far down into the enemy's country, beyond what, six months before, had seemed the utmost capacity of the Government to supply the army, Sherman did not hesitate. Thus far he had wonderfully preserved the thread of railroad by which his supplies passed through the hostile regions of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Northern Georgia, to reach him; and, emboldened by his success, and fertile in expedients, he at once resolved on yet more hazardous ventures. He was greatly disappointed in being unable to bring Johnston to decisive battle, and he knew full well the aim of "that astute commander," as he often styled him, in drawing him yet further and further from his base of supplies. But re-enforcements continued to reach him, and with bold hearts his troops once more turned their faces southward.

Sherman's thorough study of the topographical features of the country led him to the belief that Johnston's next stand would be in the strong natural position of Allatoona Pass, a point he had no desire to attack. Loading his wagons, therefore, with food and powder he made a long stride away from his railroad—marching far to the south-westward of Johnston's supposed position, and hoping to sieze Dallas, toward the west and rear of Allatoona Pass. But "the astute commander" saw through Sherman's efforts to mask his real purpose; and when the heads of columns appeared near Dallas they found Johnston behind formidable intrenchments, ready to receive them. Here, in the vicinity of New Hope Church, Hooker, who led the advance of Thomas's army, had a fierce engagement as he came up on the 25th of May; and for the next three days there was skirmishing, sometimes swelling into heavy fighting, all along the lines. On the 27th Sherman ordered an assault, which cost some three thousand men, while the enemy lost only four hundred and fifty, and held his ground. The next day, however, Johnston fell upon McPherson's army, but found it already behind good breastworks, and received an equally bloody repulse. Thus, for ten days, stood the two skillful antagonists, fairly matched, facing each other with thrust and parry. But Sherman was not so to be balked. To flank again to the westward would throw him, as he thought, too far from the railroad, with which it was vital to maintain his connection. He therefore gradually extended his lines to the eastward, Johnston closely watching and following every move. Throwing his cavalry out, he succeeded in siezing Alla-

toona Pass, and Acworth, on the railroad; then, establishing himself there, he began to accumulate supplies and prepare for a desperate grapple with the enemy, who, still resolutely confronting him, now lay a little further down on the railroad at Marietta. Between the hostile armies interposed a mountain spur—henceforth as bloody and ill-omened a name in our history as Fredericksburg—the heights of Kenesaw. They were held by the enemy

Within the next five days Sherman had the railroad repaired to his very camps, had abundant supplies, and was ready for a fresh movement. Weary of perpetual flanking, which seemed only to result in driving the enemy to stronger positions, and knowing very well what his antagonist hoped in thus drawing him on, he now determined to abandon his effort to bring on a battle on equal ground, and to attack Johnston just where Johnston had prepared for attack. Yet the results of his reconnoissances might well have given him pause. Directly in front loomed Kenesaw, bristling with batteries, scarred with intrenchments and abattis. To the west, securely covering the flank, was Lost Mountain; thrust forward between the two was Pine Hill. But, with his quick eye for detecting the salient points of a position, Sherman saw that this line was too much extended for Johnston's weak force, and trusting to the chances that might result from carrying the weaker of the heights, he proceeded to attack.

From the 9th of June, on which the advance was made, till the 3d of July, Sherman lay beating away his strength against those rock-bound barriers. He soon, indeed, forced Johnston off Lost Mountain and Pine Hill; but in so doing he only strengthened his position. Emboldened, however, by these successes, as it would seem, and doubtless remembering the scaling of Mission Ridge, at which all the world wondered, he now brought himself, well knowing the danger, to order an attack on Kenesaw itself. Ample time was given for preparation. Finally, on the 27th, the batteries swept the mountain side with a fearful storm of shell; and at last two armies, Thomas's and McPherson's, rushed to the assault. They were completely and bloodily repulsed; the position was impregnable. "Failure it was, and for it I assume the entire responsibility," said Sherman, manfully.

It would have been better for his fame if he had there rested. But, as has already been seen, it was a characteristic of this gifted commander's mind to be unwilling ever to acknowledge an error;* and so he must needs prove that the failure was advantageous: "I claim that it produced good fruits, as it demonstrated to General Johnston that I would assault, and that boldly." Novel reason for battle—to make the enemy understand his intentions! As a mistake, the first in a brilliant and highly successful campaign,† it would have

* So warm an admirer of General Sherman, and so acute a military critic as Mr. Swinton, has here been forced to substantially the same observation: "The other alternative (from assault), that of flanking," he says, "would, if now adopted, suggest the query why it had not been chosen before, with saving of time and troops. Accordingly, Sherman felt authorized to make one grand assault."—Decisive Battles of the War, p. 403.

† Or, at most, the second, if taking the bulk of the army for a *feint* at Resaca he reckoned the first.

been cordially pardoned. Who ever thought the less for it of that Frederick who wrote, "I have lost a great battle, and solely by my own fault?" But as a wise movement, neither the Government nor the Country was disposed to accept it. Presently, General Sherman thought it necessary to argue the point: "The assault," he writes to the Chief of Staff at Washington, "was no mistake. I had to do it. The enemy and our own army and officers had settled down into the conviction that the assault of lines formed no part of my game, and the moment the enemy was found behind anything like a parapet, why, everybody would deploy, throw up counter-works, and take it easy, leaving it to the 'old man' to turn the position."* There is more of it in this and many other letters, but this is enough. Proud as he was of his army, he was yet ready to slander it in seeking defense for his course. Under his management, forsooth, its discipline had fallen so low that it had to be slaughtered in order to fit it for fighting! And yet, a few days later, we find him apologetically explaining to General Grant that his army had "lost nothing in *morale* in the assault,"†—not because the assault had tended to improve the *morale*, as he has just been arguing, but because he prevented its injurious effects by speedily following it up with other movements.

Here, indeed, was his great merit. Unshaken by misfortune, he rose above it to fresh brilliancy. Instantly recognizing, with that swift perception that had so often stood him in good stead, the utter impossibility of seeking by further efforts to *drive* Johnston out of Kenesaw, he once more launched out his flanking column far to the south-westward. Straightway, in the darkness of a single night, Kenesaw fell without a blow!

Johnston first halted at Smyrna Church, then, as Sherman's quick maneuvers threw him out of this position, fell back beyond the Chattahoochie. Sherman pushed forward, and lo! in sight rose the spires of Atlanta!

But between him and them lay the network of defenses, drawn and held by a skillful General, whose parapets were for many weary days to keep the army at bay. Johnston now considered that the long-awaited favorable moment had come for decisive battle. He had compelled the powerful antagonist, who mustered more than two soldiers to his one, to spend seventy-two days in marching a hundred miles; he had lured him on to attack fortified positions, and, as he believed, had inflicted great loss. As the line lengthened, he knew that the assailant must weaken his forces at the front to protect it, and he reckoned on this as a cause of still greater depletion in the hostile ranks. Meanwhile his own were strengthened. Whereas he had begun the campaign with scarcely forty-five thousand men, yet now, notwithstanding the natural losses of so active a series of operations, his re-enforcements had raised his strength to fifty-one thousand.‡ Believing, therefore, that he at last approached terms of equal-

* Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, p. 114.

† Ibid, p. 122.

‡ Johnston's entire losses in the campaign, thus far, were ten thousand killed and wounded, and four thousand seven hundred from other causes. He had inflicted much greater loss upon Sherman. He estimates it at five times his own.

ity with his antagonist, he prepared such measures as seemed to promise decisive victory. Sherman, remembering his plan for demonstrating on the east side of Atlanta or its communications, as announced to Grant at the outset, had already crossed the Chattahoochie to the eastward of the railroad and city; but between him and Atlanta there still lay the swampy banks of Peachtree Creek.. On the further side of this stream Johnston prepared his first works. He proposed that Sherman should be permitted to cross; that then, sallying from his works, he would fall upon the adventurous army and essay to drive it back in confusion into the stream. Failing in this, his next plan would be to draw off to the South and East, deserting these works, and leaving Sherman to march fair upon Atlanta. Then, issuing from his new positions, he would fall upon the flank of Sherman's passing column, break it if possible, and beat the fragments in detail.

Such was the reception preparing for our army, when the Rebels, themselves dealing the weightiest blows to their own cause, came to our aid. "Such a mysterious blow to the Confederacy," says an able military critic,* "was that by which General Johnston was removed from its Western army, when he was most needful for its salvation; kept from its command till an intervening General had ruined and disintegrated it, and then gravely restored to the leadership of its pitiful fragments."

There was left to oppose Sherman's advance, General J. B. Hood! It was a sorry contrast. The one, warlike by instinct, trained to military methods, and educated by long experience, was now the most brilliant soldier in the armies of his country. The other was a brave, rash, inconsiderate fighter—nothing more. Conscious, as it would seem, of his unfitness for the task to which the blind passions of the Confederate President had assigned him, he appealed to his late chief for assistance. Johnston explained all his plans, and Hood adopting them, at once proceeded to essay their execution.

So it happened that, when Sherman, advancing across the Peachtree Creek, was coming out upon the firm ground, whence he hoped to march on Atlanta, he was suddenly struck with tremendous force at an unfortunate gap between Schofield and Thomas. Pushing his advantage, bravely but not skillfully, General Hood strove to carry out Johnston's plan, and drive the disordered columns into the stream. But a part of the line had been protected by hastily-erected breastworks of rails; here the onset was handsomely resisted, the other corps rallied and were re-enforced, and, in the end, Hood was driven back to his intrenchments, with a loss, as Sherman estimated it, of well-nigh five thousand men. Sherman's own loss was but one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.

Foiled at the outset, Hood next faithfully strove to carry out Johnston's second plan. In the night he abandoned his Peachtree lines and drew down to his fortifications east of Atlanta. Next morning, Sherman was astonished to find that the works whence had flamed forth such fierce attack, were deserted. In the first surprise, and with his natural swiftness of reasoning, he leaped to the conclusion that Atlanta itself must be evacuated; and straightway he put

* Swinton's Decisive Battles of the War, p. 405.

his columns in motion to occupy the city. It was nearly noon* when Hood, lying in wait, conceived the opportune moment to have come. Issuing, then, from his works, far to the rear of Sherman's advance, he fell upon his flank, where McPherson s army was marching. The attack was irresistible; the column, broken and in some disorder, was pushed back, some batteries were captured, McPherson himself—weightiest loss of all—was killed. But Sherman, never long disconcerted by anything, quickly disposed his greatly superior force, hurried up Schofield, and at last, after a terrible struggle, continuing from noon till night, beat Hood back. The battle cost Sherman three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two men; he estimated Hood's loss at eight thousand, which was doubtless something of an exaggeration.

Hood now drew back into the works immediately around the city; Sherman dispatched cavalry to attempt cutting the Rebel communications; then at last,† convinced that there was no hope on the east side of Atlanta, swung over to the west. But Hood, discerning the movement, marched as promptly, and the next day struck the National lines in what Sherman himself called a "magnificent assault." But it was timed a little too late. No sooner had Sherman's troops been halted than their very first moments had been given to throwing up rapid breastworks. Behind these, therefore, they met Hood's onset. It was fiercely made, and for four hours continued, with a final result of six hundred lost to Sherman, and, as he estimated, not less than five thousand to Hood.

The desperate struggles of the army that stood savagely at bay in Atlanta here ended for a little—apparently through sheer exhaustion. Sherman completed his works, planted batteries, shelled the town (frequently setting it on fire), and gradually extended his lines around to the southward, toward the railroad by which Hood drew the bulk of his supplies. Schofield was ordered to attempt breaking through the enemy's southern lines, but the effort failed. There followed a period of bombardments, of skirmishing along the line, of simultaneous extensions of works on either hand.

It was now the middle of August. For a month Sherman had lain baffled in sight of Atlanta. His army was reduced; periods of enlistment were fast expiring; new levies of enormous magnitude began to be contemplated with alarm at the North. To what end, they asked, all this waste of blood and treasure? We gain barren lines of railroad by strategic marches, but the fighting is against us, the Rebel army confronts us, and in the West, as at the East, the fortifications of the city we have spent a whole campaign in trying to reduce still defy us. The old distrust of Sherman was not yet fully allayed, and even his warmest admirers grew uneasy. At last the great convention of the anti-war party assembled at Chicago. In the height of their opposition to the prosecution of hostilities, they pointed to Sherman's foiled armies before Atlanta, and proclaimed that the war for the restoration of the Union was a failure.

But, on the very day before that resolution passed, there began an eventful movement, which, a month afterward, those political managers would have

* On 22d July, 1864. † July 27th.

given untold sums to have foreseen. General Sherman had sent Kilpatrick to make a serious break on the railroads south of Atlanta—taking advantage of the opportune absence of Hood's cavalry on a similar errand northward. But Kilpatrick was not satisfactorily successful. Meantime it would seem that Sherman himself had grown uneasy at the protracted contest, and would willingly have stayed his hand. He cast longing looks to Mobile and its rivers for help. He sent dispatcpes to know if Mobile were likely to fall, and said that if it were he would quietly await the event. He dwelt upon the danger to his communications, the peril of carrying his flanking operations further. Across the mountains, his great friend, the General-in-Chief, lay before another beleaguered city in similar perplexity. *There* no device was practiced save a steady extension of the lines. But at last, having fully counted the cost, Sherman took his resolution. Filling his wagons with supplies, and cutting loose from his base, he swung around to the south-westward with the bulk of his army. He first struck the West Point Railroad, broke and thoroughly destroyed it for many miles; and then, while the Chicago Convention is proclaiming the war a failure, pushes straight eastward, for the only remaining railroad connecting Atlanta with the Confederacy. He strikes it near Jonesboro', finds a considerable portion of Hood's army here, fights and repulses them, interposes between them and Atlanta, and proceeds with a vigorous destruction of the track. Hood now needs no strategist to tell him the effect of that repulse. That night* dull reverberations at the north, in the direction of Atlanta, arouse the sleepers. It is the end of the long campaign. Hood is evacuating the city, out of which he has been maneuvered.

The exultation of the army was tempered by the remembrance of the graves that lined the railroad back to Chattanooga, and of the fresh perils that came with the victory. But the rejoicing of the country knew no bounds. General Grant fired a shotted salute from every battery bearing on the enemy about Richmond in honor of the great achievement of his friend. The President ordered a salute of a hundred guns from each leading city and military post in the country; and in special executive order tendered to General Sherman the thanks of the Nation for "the distinguished ability, perseverance, and courage displayed in the campaign." Bells rang, flags were hung out, bonfires were burnt in the leading cities. From the day that the capture of Atlanta was announced, the party that had resolved that the war was a failure was defeated. The Presidential contest was settled when Sherman cut loose from his base. The name and praise of Sherman were in every mouth. From positive unpopularity, or cold and questioning respect, he suddenly found himself burdened by the heartfelt homage of an impulsive and grateful people.

The popular verdict indeed made amends to Sherman for previous coldness by fervid excess of praise. Of the remarkable campaign thus happily ended, it must be said that its main object was, after all, unattained. General Sherman had sought to bring the Rebel army to decisive battle at Dalton; he had

* September 1, 1864. The campaign began 5th May, and thus lasted about four months.

sought it at every stage of his advance; but the army had at last escaped him, shattered, indeed, but still an effective organization, with all its trains and war *materiel* intact. He had neither crushed it nor signally defeated it. But, viewed simply as an operation for conquering territory, the entire campaign was masterly. Each feature, its tactics, its logistics, its strategy, was equally admirable. Blunders there undoubtedly were. Need we recall again that wise saying of Marshal Turenne's, "Whoever has committed no faults has not made war." But, as a whole, the campaign will long be studied as a brilliant exemplification of sound military principles skillfully put in practice. Two features in it will always attract special attention: the marvelous manner in which, by judicious accumulations of supplies at various secondary bases along the route, thoroughly protected by strong garrisons and fortifications, the army was kept constantly supplied, in spite of raids to the rear, the hostility of the inhabitants, and the inevitable exposure of so unprecedentedly long a line; and the no less marvelous manner in which, moving great armies over great spaces, in the face of a wary antagonist, General Sherman handled them as deftly and as precisely as he might the pieces on a chess-board.

But the fall of Atlanta brought to General Sherman new perplexities. He had advanced beyond it a little, had found the enemy opposing a strong front in well-chosen defensive positions, and had felt unable to attack. He dared not prolong his line another score of miles; already he was sure that Hood's forces, if reasonably well-handled, were strong enough to break it and throw him back upon Chattanooga; at the farthest he could only hope, by the vigorous use of his army, to defend the railroad which supplied him, and maintain himself at the end of it. To what purpose? He perplexedly considered the question, as he lay listening to the thunders of Northern applause, sending home the thousands of troops whose time of service had expired, and refitting the remainder.

Meantime it was easy to see how success had elated the man, and increased the natural absolutism of all his mental processes. Before Atlanta, indeed, there had thus been bred a habit of command that did not always stop within legitimate limits. Opposed from the outset to the enlistment of negro troops, he had chosen, in a letter to the head-quarters of the army, to denounce the law of Congress for sending recruiting-agents for them into the Rebel States as the height of folly, and to declare that he would not permit its enforcement within his command.* Even less objectionable services were barely tolerated: "The Sanitary and Christian Commissions," he declared, "are enough to eradicate all trace of Christianity from our minds, much less a set of unscrupulous State agents in search of recruits." When the agent of Massachusetts applied for a pass to the army, in accordance with the law, he gave him one instead into

* The exact language was: "I must express my opinion that it is the height of folly. I can not permit it here. I will not have a set of fellows hanging about on any such pretences." Report Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, p. 123.

† Ibid.

the Rebel lines, and pleasantly advised him to open recruiting-offices in Mobile, Montgomery, Savannah, and similar Rebel posts; while to help the matter he added that "civilian agents about an army were a nuisance,"—a proposition of more palpable truth than politeness, and not exactly sufficient to overturn a law of Congress.* The Governor of Minnesota wished to send a military commissioner to look after the sick and wounded from his State—a species of generous care for their soldiers practiced by the Governments of most of the States throughout the war, and often attended with the happiest results. General Sherman peremptorily refused to give him a pass, on the ground that it would be loading down the cars with passengers, and excluding provisions for the soldiers!† To such lengths had his imperious temper, and his hostility to State or civilian agencies, carried him. On another point his views were more alarming. Expressing his regret that Governor Bramlette, of Kentucky, had not felt warranted by law to carry out his extraordinary recommendation for "arresting every fellow hanging about the towns, villages, and cross-roads, who had no honest calling," he declared that, "in our country personal liberty has been so well secured that public safety is lost sight of in our laws and constitutions; and the fact is we are thrown back a hundred years in civilization, law, and everything else, and will go right straight to anarchy and the devil if somebody doesn't arrest our downward progress. We, the military, must do it, and we have right and law on our side."‡ This, in a letter of instructions to a military commander, as late as June, 1864, in defense of the policy of arresting by wholesale, without warrant or process, unaccused persons throughout an entire State, not openly in rebellion, because their occupations did not seem satisfactory to the petty officers in command at the various posts! It will not now seem wonderful that after still other brilliant successes in the field had still further elated our General, he should carry his disposition to absorb all power into his own hands to an extent that, for a little time, proved alarming alike to the Government and to the whole country

He was not, indeed, backward at any time in traveling to the verge of his own sphere, to volunteer opinions, advice, or protest. The promotion by the President of General Osterhaus to a Major-Generalship displeased him, and he straightway telegraphed the Department: "I wish to put on record this, my emphatic opinion, that it is an act of injustice to officers who stand by their posts in the day of danger to neglect them and advance such as General Hovey and General Osterhaus, who left us in the midst of bullets to go to the rear in

* Sherman and his Campaigns, pp. 236, 237.

† Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, pp. 146, 147. The language is: "It seems that Dr. Luke Miller, a commissioner of your State, has been denied a pass on the military railroad below Nashville, for the purpose of ministering to the wants of the sick and wounded soldiers of your State here at the front. You will be amazed when on this simple statement I must accuse you of heartless cruelty to your constituents, but such is the fact. You would take the very bread and meat out of your soldiers' mouths, would load down our cars with travelers, and limit our ability to feed our horses, and transport the powder and ball necessary to carry on this war."

‡ Letter of instructions to General Burbridge. Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 233.

search of personal advancement." In the midst of his perplexity before Atlanta, just after his failures on the eastern side, and while he was hesitating about swinging to the south-westward, he found time to volunteer General Canby advice as to the best way of taking Mobile,* and Admiral Farragut suggestions as to the stationing of his fleet, but they do not seem to have been followed. While at bay before Dallas, he telegraphed that he thought Grant, by the move on Hanover C. H., which he regarded specially admirable, could force Lee to attack him in position or to move away toward Gordonsville or Lynchburg,† but Lee failed to perceive the necessity.

In the same temper we now find him sending messages through his lines to Governor Brown, of Georgia, and to Alexander H. Stephens, telling them on what terms they could have peace, and how Georgia might escape being ravaged by his army. The Government had little fault to find with the substance of these communications; but it was a startling symptom that a military officer, having certain specific military duties to perform, should, without authority, enter into peace negotiations with prominent civil officials of the Rebel Government; and even trustful Mr. Lincoln—a little alarmed as it would seem—proposed to himself a visit to General Sherman's head-quarters to look into the matter.‡ Yet it is noteworthy that in all this the intention seems always good. The General gradually assumed more and more authority to interfere in all sorts of matters, but a word from the Government was always sufficient to check him, and he generally made full and frank reports of his exceptional doings.

Meanwhile he had grown to be the idol of his troops. Their faith in Sherman was boundless; their zeal for him flaming. Like McClellan, he had skillfully cultivated this feeling, though he displayed far more art in concealing his arts of popularity. He was always jealous of their privileges. He took great pains to keep them abundantly supplied. The whistle of the provision-train's locomotive in their works, almost before they had finished the skirmish that secured them, was a perpetual reminder of the care of their General. He was never laggard in extolling their exploits. Even when, in congratulatory orders, he said, "The crossing of the Chattahoochee was most handsomely executed by us, and will be studied as an example in the art of war,"‖ the troops, overlooking the egotism for the sake of the praise, were in raptures over the eulogium which the fortunate "us" enabled them to share.

Nor was he less careful of his officers. To the shirks he was remorselessly severe; and sometimes he took an inexplicable dislike to a good officer, as when, preferring the mediocre Howard to Hooker for the command of a force less than twenty-five thousand strong, he said of the latter that he "was not qualified for or suited to it," and that he might leave if he wanted to—he was "not indis-

* "I would advise that a single gunboat lie above Pilot Cove, and prevent supplies going to Fort Morgan. To reduce Mobile, I would pass a force up the Tensas and across to Old Fort Stoddard." Dispatch of 17th August to Canby. Rep. Com. Con. War, *ubi supra*, p. 175.

† Ibid, p. 77.

‡ Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, p. 197. Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 512.

‖ Order on fall of Atlanta.

pensable to success."* But, save in a very few such instances, he was kind and almost paternal in his regard for the welfare of the officers who deserved well. In mentioning to one of his army commanders, that in a division just sent him was a certain brigade, he took pains to say that it was commanded "by Charles R. Woods, whom you will find a magnificent officer." His letter on the death of McPherson was as touching and tender as a woman s. When Palmer became involved in a question of rank with Schofield, Sherman decided against him. Subsequently he heard that Palmer felt aggrieved and was about to resign. Writing at length to him at once he begged him to reconsider this determination: "Your future is too valuable to be staked on a mistake. If you want to resign, wait a few days and allege some other reason—one that will stand the test of time. Do not disregard the friendly advice of such men as General Thomas and myself, for you can not misconstrue our friendly feelings toward you."† He feared that a corps general was prejudiced against one of his division commanders; and, in the midst of the fighting, he stopped to write a letter to General Logan about it. "I have noticed for some time a growing dissatisfaction on the part of General Dodge with General Sweeney It may be personal. See that General Dodge prefers specific charges and specifications; and you, as the army commander, must be the judge of the sufficiency of the charges. You can see how cruel it would be to a brave and sensitive gentleman and officer to be arrested and sent to the rear at this time. I fear that General Sweeney will feel that even I am influenced against him but it is not so."‡ By such kindness, care, and watchful justice, was it that personal bickerings and jealousies were wonderfully removed, so that the army with which General Sherman was now to essay undertakings not less remarkable than his late ones, became the most brotherly, the most soldierly, the most harmonious that ever marched on the continent.

When Sherman was forecasting the hazards of the movements by which Atlanta fell, he dwelt especially on the danger of being permanently cut off from the base which he was temporarily to abandon. "If I should be," he telegraphs to the Chief-of-Staff at Washington, "look out for me about St. Marks, Florida, or Savannah, Georgia."‖ To the authorities at Washington, this doubtless seemed chimerical enough, but Sherman kept revolving the idea. He was not yet, however, cut off from his base. Then came the dangers to his line, and the uncertainty about Mobile, to which, as we have seen, he had often longingly looked. Under these new impulses, before he had entered Atlanta, he had telegraphed to Washington his plans for the next campaign: "Canby should now proceed with all energy to get Montgomery, and the reach of the Alabama River above Selma; that, when I know he can move on Columbus, Georgia, I move on La Grange and West Point, keeping to the east of the Chattahoochie; that we form a junction, repair roads to Montgomery, open up the Appalachicola

*Rep. Com. Con. War, *ubi supra*, p. 142. †Ibid, p. 155.

‡Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, pp. 139, 140.

‖Ibid, p. 167. Dispatch of date 13th August, 1864.

and Chattahoochie Rivers to Columbus, and move from it as a base, straight on Macon. This campaign can be made in the winter."* And, in the same dispatch, he added, as if it were an element of this plan: "I propose to move all the inhabitants of Atlanta, sending those committed to our cause to the rear, and the Rebel families to the front, so that we will have the entire use of the railroad back, and also such corn and forage as may be reached by our troops. If the people raise a howl against my barbarity and cruelty, I will answer that war is war, and not popularity seeking."

This last determination he executed to the letter. A small portion of the inhabitants were sent northward. Four hundred and forty-six families, embracing over two thousand souls, were sent south—being permitted to take an average of not three hundred and fifty pounds of personal effects of all kinds to each person.

We have told this story in few and simple words; but the sufferings it entailed could scarcely be described in a volume. The Mayor of Atlanta in one touching paragraph, gave a faint shadowing of the story: "It involves in the aggregate consequences appalling and heart-rending. Many poor women are in an advanced state of pregnancy; others now have young children, and their husbands are either in the army, prisoners, or dead. Some say, 'I have such an one sick at home; who will wait on them when I am gone?' Others say, 'What are we to do? We have no houses to go to and no means to buy, build, or rent any—no parents, friends, or relatives to go to.' The country south of this is already crowded with refugees, and without houses to accommodate the people; and many are now starving in churches and other out-buildings. This being so, how is it possible for the people here (mostly women and children) to find any shelter? and how can they live through the winter in the woods—no shelter nor subsistence, in the midst of strangers who know them not, and without the power to assist them if they were willing to do so?"

General Sherman s reply to this touching appeal was one of the happiest and most convincing specimens of the *ad captandum* argument that has ever been offered: "I give full credit," he said, "to your statements of the distress that will be occasioned, and yet shall not revoke my order, simply because my orders are not designed to meet the humanities of the case, but to prepare for the future struggles in which millions, yea, hundreds of millions of good people outside of Atlanta have a deep interest. The use of Atlanta for warlike purposes is inconsistent with its character as a home for families. I can not discuss this subject with you fairly, because I can not impart to you what I propose to do, but I assert that my military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away. You can not qualify war in harsher terms than I will. War is cruelty, and you can not refine it; and those who brought war on our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out. . You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against these terrible hardships of war. But when peace comes you may call upon me

* Report Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, p. 190. Dispatch of date 4th September, from Lovejoy's, sent in cipher.

for anything. Then will I share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your home and families against danger from every quarter. Now you must go and take with you the old and feeble; feed and nurse them, and build for them in more quiet places proper habitations to shield them against the weather, until the mad passions of men cool down, and allow the Union and peace once more to settle on your old homes at Atlanta."

The trenchant statement, of which we have here condensed the outlines, was at once accepted as ample excuse for the sufferings inflicted on the people of Atlanta. It was accepted, indeed, for far more. The Administration party reprinted it as a campaign document, considered to condense and elucidate the heart and substance of the struggle; the Secretary of War brought himself to unaccustomed words of eulogy after its perusal; the newspaper press reproduced it with rapturous comments, and the people considered it at once the end of argument, and the evidence of a breadth of ability they had never before suspected in its author. Now that the passions of the war have cooled down, we can scarcely contemplate it with the same feelings. General Sherman could not explain to the Mayor of Atlanta his reasons for the measure, and therefore his declaration that his plans made it necessary was sufficient. But we now have (in the dispatch above quoted) his own statement of what made it necessary. It was that he might "have the entire use of the railroad back, as also such corn and forage as might be reached by the troops." General Sherman was at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men. Here was a community of women and children, the "feeble folk" who could not follow or precede Hood's retreat, two thousand in number, with, as the Mayor assured him, a "respectable number" who could subsist for several months without assistance, and another "respectable number" who would not need assistance at any time. General Sherman had already contemplated cutting loose from this base altogether; his present plan was to unite with another force, with Mobile as a base; and it will scarcely be thought that the selling of supplies for a month or two to such portion of these two thousand women and children as might need them, would have interfered with either of these plans. Furthermore, with that looseness of expression which may often be noticed in General Sherman's resort to the pen as a weapon, he committed himself to a barbarism which no officer in the army would be quicker to repel than himself. The cruelty of war *can* be refined, and the army holds no greater stickler for its refinements than General Sherman. How long was it till he was declaring (substantially) that if the truce which he had made with General Johnston, though disapproved, and to be void in a few hours, should be violated by one hour by United States troops, he himself would unite with the Rebel General to punish the violators?

It was presently to appear that neither Atlanta nor the railroad that supplied it were longer of any importance in the great game that Sherman played. Finding that Mobile was not to be counted on, he cast about for some new plan of campaign, and presently fell again upon his old idea of "turning up" "at St. Marks, Florida, or Savannah, Georgia." As early as September 20th he had his plans somewhat elaborated. Not yet, however, had he reached the pitch of

audacious daring that the subsequent march down to the sea required. He still looked to co-operating movements for assistance. If Grant would take Wilmington, and then "fix a day to be in Savannah," he "would not hesitate to cross the State of Georgia with sixty thousand men," assured that "where a million of people find subsistence my (his) army won't starve." Till Savannah fell, he thought it would be enough for him "to keep Hood employed, and put the army in fine order for a march on Augusta, Columbus, and Charleston."*

But now an unexpected counselor was to aid in the decision. This was none other than Hood himself; who, under the spur of Mr. Davis's visit to the West to inspire new life into the drooping affairs of the Confederacy, determined upon an aggressive campaign, which, cutting Sherman's line of supplies, should throw him back to the Tennessee, only to find his antagonist ahead of him, once more in possession of the fertile country about Murfreesboro' and Nashville. The moment this project was fairly disclosed, Sherman's inspiration came to him. "If Hood will go to Tennessee," he exclaimed, "I will furnish him rations for the trip." He at once decided on detaching Thomas to take care of Hood, and marching through to the Atlantic with the rest of the army. He understood precisely what he was doing. "The movement," he writes, "is not purely military or strategic, but it will illustrate the vulnerability of the South."

And now ensued a month of measureless activity Hood threw himself upon the railroad, was repulsed, then moved off in directions for a time uncertain and to the highest degree mystifying. Troops were marched hither and thither to guard against him. Sherman himself flew back and forth; the telegraph was burdened with messages to his Generals; couriers were kept constantly on the run. Hood might venture to the Tennessee, so Sherman finally assured Thomas, but he did not believe he would cross it. As soon as he found the army sweeping southward from Atlanta, he would be compelled to turn and follow it.† But "having alternatives, I can take so eccentric a course that no General can guess at my objective."‡

Every preparation was accordingly hastened for marching southward as fast as Hood was going northward. Thomas was strengthened and fully instructed; supplies were accumulated; the army was re-organized and re-enforced till, without Thomas, it numbered sixty-six thousand; Atlanta and the railroad back to Dalton were destroyed; last messages were sent and instructions received; the telegraph connecting the head-quarters with the North was cut; and on the 12th of November the army, to which all eyes had so long turned, disappeared from the Northern gaze.‖

The Government and the public alike resorted to the Richmond newspapers for accounts of Sherman. The people of the North were as much puzzled as the Rebels themselves, to decide where he was going. Charleston, Mobile,

*Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. 1, p. 200. Letter to Grant of date 20th September, 1864.

†Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1866, Vol. I, pp. 213, 226.

‡Ibid, p. 235.

‖Instead of the rather stilted designation of "armies," the two organizations remaining in

Savannah, St. Marks, were all canvassed; while others, remembering the Meridian raid, predicted that before long he would be heard of again at Atlanta. For a time it was believed that his cavalry must be almost destroyed. Every day's issue of the Richmond papers contained fresh accounts of how Wheeler

Sherman's force after the withdrawal of Thomas were now entitled respectively the right and left wings. The following was their organization:

RIGHT WING—MAJOR-GENERAL HOWARD.

Fifteenth Corps—Major-General Osterhaus.	Divisions of Brigadier-General Charles R. Wood. Brigadier-General William B. Hazen. Brigadier-General John E. Smith. Brigadier-General John M. Corse.
Seventeenth Corps—Major-Gen'al Frank P. Blair, jr.	Divisions of Major-General John A. Mower. Brigadier-General M. D. Leggett. Brigadier-General Giles A. Smith.

LEFT WING—MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. SLOCUM.

Fourteenth Corps—Brevet Major-General Jeff. C. Davis.	Divisions of Brigadier-General William P. Carlin. Brigadier-General James D. Morgan. Brigadier-General A. Baird.
Twentieth Corps—Brigadier-General A. S. Williams.	Divisions of Brigadier-General Norman J. Jackson. Brigadier-General John W. Geary. Brigadier-General William T. Ward.

Besides, there were two brigades of cavalry under General Kilpatrick.

A popular biographer of Sherman preserves the following fugitive sketch of his appearance at the outset of the Atlanta and Savannah campaign: "While I was watching to-day the endless line of troops shifting by, an officer with a modest escort rode up to the fence near which I was standing, and dismounted. He was rather tall and slender, and his quick movements denoted good muscle added to absolute leanness—not thinness. His uniform was neither new nor old, but bordering on a hazy mellowness of gloss, while the elbows and knees were a little accented from the continuous agitation of those joints.

"The face was one I should never rest upon in a crowd, simply because, to my eye, there was nothing remarkable in it save the nose, which organ was high, thin, and planted with a curve as vehement as the curl of a Malay cutlass. The face and neck were rough and covered with reddish hair, the eye light in color and animated; but, though restless and bounding like a ball from one object to another, neither piercing nor brilliant; the mouth well-closed but common, the ears large, the hands and feet long and thin, the gait a little rolling, but firm and active. In dress and manner there was not the slightest trace of pretension. He spoke rapidly, and generally with an inquisitive smile. To this *ensemble* I must add a hat which was the reverse of dignified or distinguished—a simple felt affair, with a round crown and drooping brim—and you have as fair a description of General Sherman's externals as I can pen.

"Seating himself on a stick of cordwood hard by the fence, he drew a bit of pencil from his pocket, and spreading a piece of note paper on his knee, he wrote with great rapidity. Long columns of troops lined the road a few yards in his front, and beyond the road, massed in a series of spreading green fields, a whole division of infantry was waiting to take up the line of march, the blue ranks clear cut against the verdant background. Those who were near their General looked at him curiously; for in so vast an army the soldier sees his Commander-in-Chief but seldom. Page after page was filled by the General's nimble pencil, and dispatched.

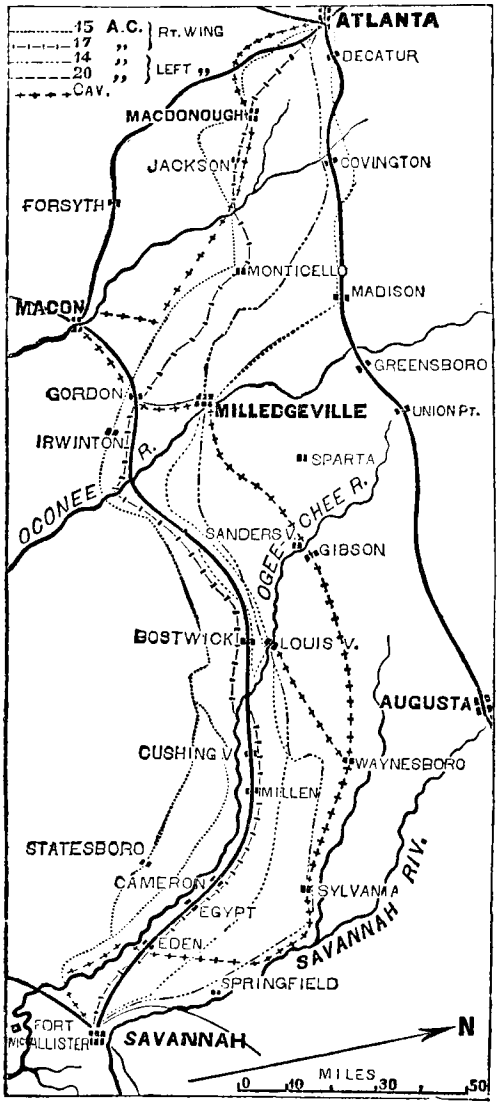
"For half an hour I watched him, and, though I looked for and expected to find them, no symptoms could I detect that the mind of the great leader was taxed by the infinite cares of a terribly hazardous military *coup de main*. Apparently it did not lay upon his mind the weight of a feather. A mail arrived. He tore open the papers and glanced over them hastily, then chatted with some general officers near him, then rode off with characteristic suddenness, but with fresh and smiling countenance, filing down the road beside many thousand men, whose lives were in his keeping.

had cut Kilpatrick to pieces. But presently it was observed that after each annihilation, Kilpatrick kept getting into new fights on advanced positions, and the apprehensions were dispelled. Of the great bulk of the army nothing could be heard. At first, the Rebel papers predicted that it could not cross the Ocmulgee without hard fighting. Then for weeks they told of its being baffled at every point in attempting to cross the Oconee. Finally, they admitted that it had crossed the Oconee, but were perfectly sure that the success would be fatal, since now it was securely shut up between the Oconee and the Ogeechee. As to its ultimate destination, their notions were vague and contradictory. But their accounts were absolutely all that the country could get from the lost army, and were eagerly sought. Energetic agents were kept in the works before Richmond to get papers through the lines; and whatever they contained about Sherman was forthwith telegraphed bodily East and West.

In this uncertainty with which General Sherman wonderfully shrouded his movements, even from the Rebel cavalry that hung upon his flanks, and which the confusion of the Richmond newspapers fairly represented, lay his safety. He had only sixty-five thousand men. Had they but known, or been able to form, from his course, any reasonable guess as to his destination, the Rebels might have concentrated thirty thousand to oppose him. With an enemy thirty thousand strong on his front, he could not have spread out his columns over a breadth of thirty miles, to gather in the supplies of the country; and as he was forced to concentrate, he would have found it impossible to feed. The march through Georgia was possible, only because General Sherman so bewildered his antagonists that they were looking for him at once at Augusta, and Macon, and Milledgeville, at Charleston and Savannah; and the force that should have been consolidated to resist his march was scattered in garrisons for each threatened town, and utterly paralyzed.

And so it came about that, moving out from the smoking ruins of Atlanta, General Sherman marched over three hundred miles in twenty-four days, and deployed his forces before Savannah without having had a battle by the way, or even a vigorous skirmish (save with the cavalry), with a loss (including the storming of a fort at the end of his march) of only five hundred and sixty-seven all told, of whom but sixty-three were killed and two hundred and forty-five wounded. Marching his columns first on Milledgeville, he nevertheless kept the garrison of Macon in daily expectation of attack, sending the cavalry far to his right to threaten it, and actually bringing on a cavalry fight at its outer defenses. Thus Milledgeville fell. Then, marching for Millen, where he hoped to liberate large numbers of Union prisoners, he yet kept Augusta in a panic, sending the cavalry to threaten in that direction. In this Kilpatrick had a slight misadventure, and the prisoners were removed from Millen before Sherman could arrive. But the success of the march was now assured; the last river was passed, and before the army lay the easy slope down to Savannah and the sea. To the very last, the mystification was kept up, and demonstrations at Sister's Ferry kept the Charlestonians uneasy till the troops were actually deploying before Savannah.

The army fared superbly. Sherman, indeed, had declared, months before, that where a million of inhabitants found subsistence, his army could not starve; but even he had no conception of the ease with which the question of supplies would adjust itself. The foraging parties provided hams, chickens, turkeys, sweet-potatoes, sorghum, and the like, in abundance; and in some of the corps the rations with which the scanty wagon-trains were loaded at Atlanta were hauled through to the sea almost unbroken. The collection of these supplies was not always performed without excess. Pillage and spoliation follow naturally in the path of loose impressments by irresponsible parties, and no effort seems to have been made to repress irregularities. But the worst did not come till the Georgia campaign was over. One other stain rests upon the fair record of the march. Thousands of negroes accompanied the column, by the express permission of General Sherman. Once or twice great crowds of these unfortunate creatures were driven back from the bridges, when the army was crossing rivers, and, the bridges being taken up as soon as the army had crossed, were left to the cruelty of the Rebel cavalry and of the enraged masters whom they had been encouraged to desert. General Jeff. C. Davis seems to have been prominent in this barbarism, but it called forth no rebuke from General Sherman himself.



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.

Throughout the march, Sherman was in constant communication, with all the corps, and with the cavalry. He generally accompanied the corps engaged in destroying the railroads, and he personally saw to it that this destruction was accomplished in the most thorough manner. When Savannah was reached, he sought instantly to open communication with the fleet. Fort McAllister stood in the way It was nearly sunset; but a vessel was seen in the distance; and just as she began signalling to know if McAllister had fallen, so that she could safely approach, Sherman gave the order to Hazen to storm. In less than half an hour the flags of Hazen's command were floating from the fort; and Sherman, after hasty congratulations on the gallant deed, was in a skiff, recklessly pulling over the torpedoes toward the vessel.

He soon had Savannah almost entirely invested. One road of exit to Hardee's garrison of fifteen thousand men was left, for reasons never fully explained. It was considered unsafe to isolate a force to guard it; and yet Sherman thought he "could command it." He began preparing for a siege, and about the time his heavy guns were in position Hardee evacuated, leaving all his artillery and about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton; but carrying off his army safe. It was on the morning of 21st of December. Sherman himself was absent, but two days later he returned, and telegraphed to Mr. Lincoln, "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns, and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton."

Once more the North rekindled its bonfires. In this steady-marching success of Confederate disasters, in this "tramp, tramp, tramp," that winter or rough weather could not delay, of the sixty thousand that had bisected the Confederacy, they read the approaching doom of the Rebel cause. Grant still lay baffled by the skill of the wise soldier who defended Richmond; but already in imagination, "while the doomed Confederate army, compassed in fatal toils, looked southerly for an outlet of escape," the people heard—to use the words of an elegant writer—"rolling across the plains of the Carolinas, beating nearer and nearer, the drums of Champion Hills and Pittsburg Landing."*

Other plans for this still victorious army engrossed for a time the mind of the Lieutenant-General. He congratulated its leader most heartily, wanted his views, and subscribed himself "more than ever, if possible, Your Friend."† But still he wanted the army transferred at once by water to Richmond. "Unless you see objections to this plan, which I can not see," he wrote as early as 6th December, "use every vessel going to you for the purpose of transportation."‡ General Sherman promptly began preparations to obey this order; at the same time expressing some doubts as to whether it would not be better to "punish South Carolina as she deserves." "I do sincerely believe," he wrote, a few days later, "that the whole United States, North and South, would rejoice to have this army turned loose on South Carolina, to devastate that State in the manner we have done in Georgia."‖ General Grant presently fell in with this view, and before transportation had been accumulated for removing the army by sea, General Sherman was ordered to march northward through the interior, all details being left to his own judgment. This decision reached him a day or two after his entry into Savannah. Three weeks were spent in preparation; on 15th of January, 1865, the movement began.

Meantime, the restless temper of the General on whom the cares of this still more dangerous movement might be supposed to press with sufficient weight, kept him busy with essays in fresh fields of responsibility. Some citizen wrote, asking his advice on the question of reorganization. He had the wis-

* Swinton's Twelve Decisive Battles of the War.

† Grant's letter to Sherman 18th Dec., 1864, Rep. Com Con. War, *ubi supra*, p. 287.

‡ Ibid, p. 279. ‖ Ibid, p. 284.

dom to say that he had nothing to do with it, but not the wisdom to stop with that. Instead, he went on at length to elaborate his views on a subject already engaging the full powers of the best statesmen of the country, trained to political problems, and not otherwise employed: "Georgia is not out of the Union," he declared with some emphasis. "My opinion is that no negotiations are necessary, nor commissioners, nor conventions, nor anything of the kind. Whenever the people of Georgia quit rebelling against their Government, and elect members of Congress and Senators, and these go and take their seats, then the State of Georgia will have resumed her functions in the Union." Light, indeed, must the crime of the rebellion have seemed in the eyes of the man who could in such haste propose to restore Rebels to the balance of power in Congress. Abundant must have been the confidence in his own judgment, on any and all subjects, that could induce the general of a great army, on the eve of most dangerous movements, to obtrude an opinion—tossed off in a leisure half hour like a family letter—on the gravest of political problems—unfamiliar to him, but already being studied in the minutest details by the first jurists and statesmen of the nation.*

He next essayed a solution of the negro problem—setting apart for the exclusive use of the negroes in the vicinity, the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and the rice swamps of the adjacent mainland, each family to have a forty-acre tract, to which a military officer was to give a possessory title! It was the most remarkable assumption of power outside his sphere which General Sherman had yet attempted; and the fact that the order was shown to the Secretary of War before its issue constitutes no excuse for the interminable difficulties to which it led,—difficulties alike for the poor blacks whom it proposed to befriend, and for the Government whose functions it usurped.

The operations of the Treasury Department did not suit him. He thought it "ought not to bother itself with the captures of war,"†—in effect that whatever Government property the military captured it should retain under its exclusive control. An English Consul sought to protect the cotton claims of some English subjects. The General astonished him by the notification that in no event would he "treat an English subject with more favor than one of our own deluded citizens," and that "it would afford him great pleasure to conduct his army to Nassau and wipe out that nest of pirates."‡ He reverted once more to his chronic *rabies*, the newspaper subject, solemnly adjudicated that two newspapers were enough for Savannah, and no more should be published; ordered that these be held to the strictest accountability "for any libellous publication, mischievous matter, premature news, exaggerated statements, or any comment whatever upon the acts of the constituted authorities—even for such articles, though copied from other papers." ‖

It is with pleasure that we turn from these performances, in which much

* This letter was shown to Secretary Stanton, who was then on a visit to Savannah. His only reply was that, like all the General's letters, it was sufficiently emphatic and not likely to be misunderstood. Sherman and his campaigns, pp. 324, 325.

† Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 326. ‡ Ibid, p. 326. ‖ Ibid, p. 321.

good sense is so mingled with eccentric extravagances and ill-considered judgments, to the brighter story of the march through the Carolinas.*

When, gathering in hand his various divisions from Savannah and Beaufort, the Sea Islands, the ferries, and the important roads in the interior, General

* A pen-picture of General Sherman at Savannah, by Rev. Mr. Alvord, has been much admired by his friends, and may prove interesting to those who would study his characteristics more in detail. The following extracts embrace its substance:

"Tall, lithe, almost delicately formed. If at ease stoops slightly; when excited, erect and commanding. Face stern, savage almost; yet smiling as a boy's when pleased. Every movement, both of mind and body, quick and nervous. A brilliant talker, announcing his plans, but concealing his real intention. A graceful easy rider. When leading a column looking as if born only to command. Approachable at times, almost to a fault, again not to be approached at all.

"I saw him in a grand review at Savannah. His position was in front of the Exchange on Bay street. The Twelfth Corps was to pass before him; he rode rapidly to the spot, almost alone, leaped from his horse, stepped to the bit and examined it a moment, patted the animal on the cheek, then adjusted his glove, looked around with an uneasy air as if in want of something to do; catching in his eye the group of officers on the balcony he bowed, and commenced a familiar conversation, quite unconscious of observation by the surrounding and excited crowds. Presently music sounded at the head of the approaching corps. Quick as thought he vaulted to the saddle and was in position. There was peculiar grace in the gesture of arm and head which did not weary, as for an hour he returned the salutes of every grade of officers. Reverence was added as the regimental flags were lowered before him. The more blackened and torn and riddled with shot they were, the higher the General's hat was raised and the lower his head was bent in recognition of the honored colors. Every soldier, as he marched past, showed that he loved his commander. He evidently loved his soldiers.

"I saw him in his princely head-quarters at Charles Green's on New Year's Day. Many were congratulating him. He was easy, affable, magnificent. Presently an officer with hurried step entered the circle and handed him a sealed packet. He tore it open instantly, but did not cease talking. Read it, still talking as he read. Commodore Porter had dispatched a steamer, announcing the defeat at Fort Fisher.

"'Butler's defeated!' he exclaimed, his eye gleaming as it lifted from the paper. '*Fizzle—great fizzle!*' nervously, 'knew 'twould be so. I shall have to go up there and do that job—eat 'em up as I go and take 'em back side.' Thus the fiery heart exploded, true to loyalty and country.

"I entered the rear parlor and sat down at the glowing grate. He came, and leaning his elbow upon the marble mantel, said: 'My army, sir, is not demoralized—has improved on the march—Christian army I've got—soldiers are Christians, if anybody is—noble fellows—God will take care of them—war improves character. My army, sir, is growing better all the while.'

"I expressed satisfaction at having such testimony, and the group of officers who stood around could not suppress a smile at the General's earnest Christian eulogium.

"Such is W. T. Sherman. A genius, with greatness grim and terrible, yet simple and unaffected as a child. The thunderbolt or sunbeam, as circumstances call him out.

"On the march from Atlanta his order was 'No plunder by the individual soldier;' but his daily inquiry as he rode among them would be, 'Well, boys, how do you get along? like to see soldiers enterprising; ought to live well, boys; you know I don't carry any thing in my haversack, so don't fail to have a chicken leg for me when I come along; must live well, boys, on such a march as this.' The boys always took the hint. The chicken leg was ready for the General, and there were very few courts-martial between Atlanta and Savannah to punish men for living as best they could.

"When McAllister fell, he stood with his staff and Howard by his side, awaiting the assaulting column. 'They are repulsed,' he exclaimed, as the smoke of bursting torpedoes enveloped the troops; 'must try something else.' It was a moment of agony. The strong heart did not quail! A distant shout was heard. Again raising his glass the colors of each of the three

Sherman now launched his columns northward, the strategic problem presented to himself and to that "astute Rebel commander"* who (soon to be restored to the fragments of the army he had been forced to leave before Atlanta), strove to withstand him, was the same. General Sherman sought to secure a junction with Grant and to prevent Johnston's junction with Lee. General Johnston sought to secure a junction with Lee and to prevent Sherman's junction with Grant. Neither sought decisive battle with his immediate antagonist, for the eyes of each were fixed upon what might befall after the desired junction should be secured. But the game was an unequal one, and it needed no far-seeing vision to perceive the end. Sherman had sixty thousand. Johnston had twenty-five thousand.† Or, if we look beyond these single combatants, Lee had but fifty thousand; and Lee and Johnston stood for the Confederacy. Against and around

brigades were seen planting themselves simultaneously on the parapet. 'The fort is ours,' said he, calmly. He could not restrain his tears. 'It's my old division,' he added, 'I knew they'd do it.'

"'How long, General,' said a Southron, 'do you think this war will last, we hear the Northern people are nearly exhausted?' 'Well, well,' said he, 'about six or seven years of this kind of war, then twenty or twenty-five of guerrilla, until you are all killed off, then we will begin anew.'

"A wealthy planter appealing to his pity, 'Yes, yes,' said he, 'war is a bad thing *very* bad, cruel institution—very cruel; but you brought it on yourselves, and you are only getting a taste of it.'

"The English ex-consul asked him for protection and a pass on the ground of his neutrality and that of his country. 'Don't talk to me,' said Sherman, 'of your neutrality, my soldiers have seen on a hundred battle-fields the shot and shell of England with your Queen's mark upon them all, and they *never* can forget it. Don't tell me you couldn't leave before I came; you could send out your cotton to pay Confederate bonds and bring cannon in return—don't tell me you couldn't get away *yourself*.'

"The consul stood abashed, and awkwardly bowed himself from his presence.

"Such is his treatment of Rebels. He receives no apology nor has any circumlocution. He strikes with his battalions; he strikes with every word he utters, whether from pen or lips. The secessionists of Georgia and South Carolina believe he'll do what he threatens.

"Said the Rebel Colonel who had placed the torpedoes in the Savannah River when ordered to take them up, 'No! I'll be d—d if I do any such drudgery.'

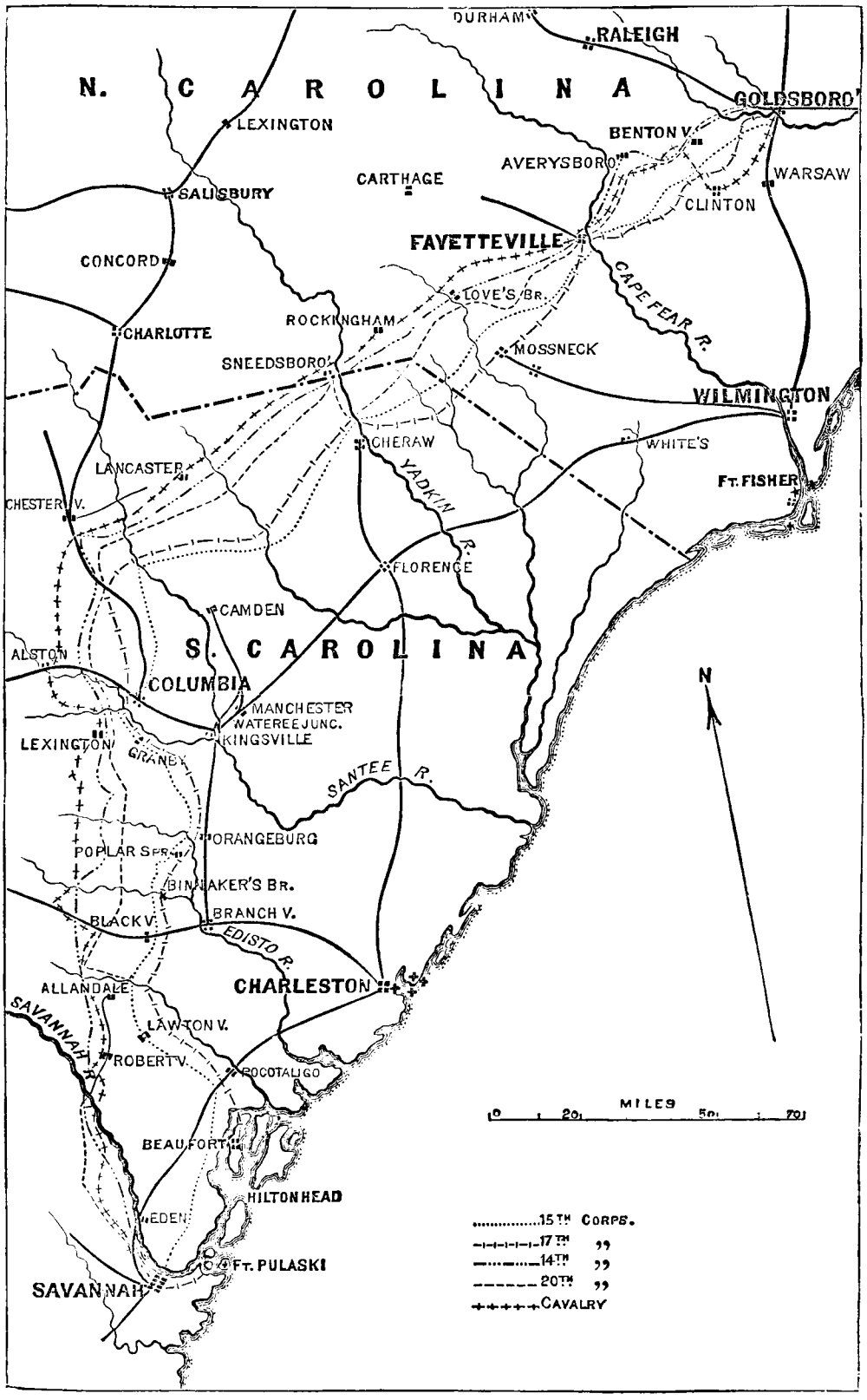
"'*Then you'll hang to-morrow morning;* leave me,' said the stern commander. The torpedoes were removed.

"In this way, by his words, his manner, his personal presence, his threats with their literal execution, and the swift and utter destruction in the track of his army on their late march, he has struck terror to all hearts. Though thoroughly secretive, he is strangely frank.

"'Give me your pass, General?' said I, 'I'll meet you again on your march.' 'You don't know where I'm going,' said he, with emphasis. 'I think I do, General, if I can catch you.' '*Where?*' 'At Charleston.' 'I'm not going to Charleston.' 'Then, at Wilmington.' 'I'm not going to Wilmington.' 'I'll see you, I think, in Richmond.' 'I'm not going to Richmond. You don't know where I'm going. Howard don't know.' But he gave me the pass; I, at least, know where he was not going."

*Sherman's own phrase in describing Johnston.

†Sherman, indeed, estimated the force opposed to him at a much higher figure,—at one time reckoning it at not less than "forty-five thousand effectives." (Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867. Vol. I, p. 346.) But the honesty of General Johnston's official statements has never been questioned, and he says that he had (besides militia and other dead-weights who deserted him long before he had any chance to use them) not over twenty-five thousand effective strength. See, also, Swinton, Hist. Army Potomac, p. 567.



CAMPAIGN OF THE CAROLINAS.

them rose, with fateful gleam, the bayonets of the converging ranks of a million soldiers.

At the outset of his movement, Sherman experienced no difficulty save that from the roads. The remnants of Hood's army—making their way eastward, over the route of the march from Atlanta to the sea, that region where now, as the expressive phrase of the soldiers had it, a crow could not make the journey without carrying a haversack,—experienced fatal delays. Meantime, the other Rebel forces were scattered, guarding points supposed to be in danger. Johnston had not yet assumed command, and there was no unity of action. Sherman made feints toward Charleston, on his right, and Hardee lay waiting for him; and sent his cavalry toward Augusta, on his left, and the Georgia militia stayed there. On his front were left only Wheeler's and Wade Hampton's cavalry,—a force to be brushed aside by his army like house-flies. Presently, his columns appeared, unresisted, before Columbia. The capital fell without a blow, while the bulk of the army that should have defended it had been solemnly guarding the ruins of Charleston. Suddenly, Hardee discovered that while he was thus lying idle at the useless sea-port, the State was being ravaged from end to end, his own flank was turned, and, unless he made haste to rescue himself from his false position, his army would be as effectually eliminated from the campaign as if it were thrown beyond the Alleghanies. Already, Sherman's position barred his march toward the point of danger—he was forced to retreat on a line far to the eastward. Even there he was too late to be secure, and he was soon to find the destroyer on his track, and to lose more than two score pieces of the artillery he had brought with infinite pains from abandoned Charleston.

When Sherman rode into Columbia, piles of cotton which Wade Hampton had fired, lay smouldering through the streets. As the wind rose, locks of lint from the bales which the fire had already burned open, drifted about in every direction. Soldiers extinguished the fires, as they supposed, but at nightfall they broke out again—doubtless in one or two places from the burning cotton. But, as if by concert, there suddenly came cries of alarm from a dozen different quarters. The city was on fire in as many places. General Sherman ordered out a force to attempt checking the conflagration, but the effort was vain. Before morning a large portion of the city was in ruins; thousands of helpless women and children were suddenly made homeless—in an hour—in the night—in the winter. It was the most monstrous barbarity of the barbarous march. There is no reason to think that General Sherman knew any thing of the purpose to burn the city, which had been freely talked about among the soldiers through the afternoon. But there is reason to think that he knew well enough who did it, that he never rebuked it, and made no effort to punish it. Instead, he sought indeed to show that the enemy himself had burned his own city, "not with malicious intent, but from folly and want of sense." Yet in the same paragraph he admits everything except the original starting of the first fire: "Officers and men not on duty, including the officers who had long been imprisoned there, may have assisted in spreading the fire after it had once begun, and may

have indulged in unconcealed joy to see the ruin of the capital of South Carolina."*

Thus far, feinting eastward and westward and so keeping the enemy scattered, Sherman had in truth marched almost due northward, till now, with scarcely a skirmish, he stood, a hundred and thirty miles from Savannah, in the heart of South Carolina. To prolong the same course would speedily bring him to Charlotte, North Carolina. Thither went Johnston to prepare for him. There also were gathering the fragments of armies, the pitiful remnants of garrisons, and militia, and home-guards, wherewith to eke out his column. But Sherman stood now at the dividing of ways. Straight before him, through Charlotte, stretched a road by which he might reach the James. To his right led a route, equally practicable, by which he might reach the sea-coast. And already, on leaving Savannah, he had ordered his quartermasters around the coast to "Morehead City, there to stand ready to forward supplies to the army at Goldsboro', about the 15th of March."† It only remained to convince Johnston that he was going to Charlotte.

Moving, therefore, straight northward from Columbia, he swept up with his wide-spread columns almost half way to Charlotte—then turning sharp to the right, made all haste for Fayetteville and Goldsboro', while his cavalry, covering his left as with an impenetrable screen, kept Johnston in doubt, and concealed the sudden change. There were difficulties in the march; floods in the streams, quicksands, swamps. But there was nothing but marching to do; the enemy did not even discover that Charlotte was not menaced till the army was

* General Wade Hampton has made a very inconsiderate attempt to fasten the guilt ("guilt' certainly in the eyes of every civilized being) of the burning of Columbia upon General Sherman himself. This is idle. He did personally what he could to save the city after the conflagration had begun—labored, indeed, with his own hands through almost the entire night, and the next day strove to mitigate the calamity of the sufferers. (Story of the Great March, p. 165.) But he did not seek to ferret out and punish the offending parties. He did not make his army understand that he regarded this barbarity as a crime. He did not seek to repress their lawless course. On the contrary, they came to understand that the leader, whom they idolized, regarded their actions as a good joke, chuckled over them in secret, and winked at them in public. Here was General Hampton's true cause of complaint. Here, too, is the cause for complaint which every friend of humanity throughout the civilized world must cherish against General Sherman. But General Hampton is not the man to throw stones in this matter. His action in firing the cotton, in the heart of the city, on a windy day, was criminally reckless.

Of the real origin of the conflagration there can be no reasonable doubt. Whoever has seen fire flash through a lock of lint cotton can understand it. Old cotton planters—particularly those who passed through the cotton-burning scenes on the Mississippi River—say that a rope-bound bale of cotton, once fired, can never be extinguished. I have heard them tell of throwing such bales into the river, and hours afterward taking them out, only to find them still smouldering. The soldiers thought they had extinguished the fire in the heaps of cotton at the street corners. Toward evening some of them blazed out again. The wind was high; the ropes that bound the bales were burnt off, and the cotton was loose; some single lock, carried by the wind to a house-top, began the ruin of the city. That the soldiers not on duty had before this threatened to burn the city, seems established. That they rejoiced at and aided the conflagration when they found it already begun, is admitted by Sherman himself, in the extract from his official report given in the text, by the author of "The Story of the Great March," and by nearly every other reputable eye-witness.

† Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 335.

fairly across the Yadkin, two-thirds of the way to Fayetteville, and with an open path before it. Then, indeed, Johnston, in spite of his limited forces, and unnumbered embarrassments, vindicated his reputation. It was too late to stop Sherman's entry of Fayetteville and communication with the sea-coast, *via* the river to Wilmington; but he succeeded in giving the cavalry a sharp blow that had nearly proven disastrous, and in so planting his forces as to arouse in Sherman's mind the liveliest apprehensions as to the short remainder of his march. "Every day now," he wrote, "is worth a million dollars. I can whip Joe Johnston, provided he doesn't catch one of my corps in flank, and I will see that my army marches hence to Goldsboro' in compact form."*

"Provided he doesn't catch one of my corps in flank." There was, indeed, the rub.

A few days were spent at Fayetteville, destroying the arsenal and costly machinery. "The United States should never again confide such valuable property to a people who have betrayed a trust;" wrote the General.† The sentiment was unexceptionable—it would have been better, indeed, for Sherman if he had called it to mind a few weeks later, when he came to sit at a little writing table with his antagonists—but the delay was dangerous. It was now the 15th of March—the very day on which he had directed his Quartermasters to be ready for him at Goldsboro' Johnston was improving every hour in concentrating upon his front. Schofield was on the other side of Goldsboro', coming up; Johnston could yet interpose between them. True, either army outnumbered him; but in case of such overwhelming superiority (eighty-five thousand at the very least against Johnston's paltry twenty-five thousand) the exposure of isolated wings to battles, successful or unsuccessful, became butchery.

On the 15th Sherman started from Fayetteville. The very next day his left was checked at Averysboro' The outer lines of the Rebel force was easily driven in, but there the success stopped. All further assault only succeeded in keeping the enemy close within his main intrenchments. Seventy-seven were killed, four hundred and seventy-seven wounded, and a day lost. Next morning the enemy had withdrawn. It would seem that he had accomplished his purpose.

For now, while Sherman deflecting his columns to the right to move straight on Bentonville and Goldsboro', felt sure that no further interruption was intended, and went off to open communication with Schofield's column from the sea-coast, Johnston had improved the day's delay, had gathered his troops together, had selected with all his old skill, formidable positions of defense, and had fortified them, as Sherman afterward ruefully confessed, "with the old sort of parapets," which he "didn't like to assail."‡ Suddenly the left wing, marching in all the confidence of Sherman's belief that he was now past any danger of attack, came fairly upon Johnston's skirmishers. A fierce assault speedily followed, driving in the Union advance, with loss of guns and provisions. Slocum

* Sherman to Terry, Rep. Com. Con War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 343.
† Ibid, p. 344. ‡ Ibid, p. 362.

hurriedly sent word to Sherman that he was confronted by Johnston's whole army, and then hastened to make such preparations for defense as the instant emergency would permit. Johnston's entire force was probably about equal to this wing. His hope had been to crush it by a sudden onset, or, failing in that, to secure himself behind his fortifications. The attack was skillfully delivered, and the Union column was clearly caught at fault; but Johnston's army was no longer the disciplined body of men that, step by step, had resisted every advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta. It was weakened by desertion, dispirited by an Iliad of woes, deteriorated by the infusion of raw and unwilling recruits. The assault placed Slocum in great peril; but after recovering from the first sudden onslaught, he lost no more ground. It was hard to persuade Sherman that anything serious was going on,* but at last he got over from the other wing, brought up re-enforcements, pushed Johnston into his works, and then lay skirmishing and feeling his flanks. Meanwhile Schofield hurried up and entered Goldsboro' almost unopposed. Johnston found one flank seriously compromised, and retreated in the night to a point midway between Goldsboro' and Raleigh.† And thus, with his army once more in communication with the sea-coast, and the enemy brushed away from his flanks, Sherman ended the Campaign of the Carolinas.

In boldness of conception and skill of execution, it was scarcely less wonderful than the great campaign which preceded it and furnished its model. In neither was there any considerable enemy to oppose till at the very ending. In both, the forces which the Rebels did have were paralyzed by their uncertainty as to the points of attack. In both, great bodies of men were moved over States and groups of States with the accuracy and precision of mechanism. In neither was any effort to preserve discipline apparent, save only so far as was needful for keeping up the march.

Here, indeed, is the single stain on the brilliant record. Before his movement began, General Sherman begged permission to turn his army loose in South Carolina and devastate it.‡ He used this permission to the full. He protested that he did not wage war on women and children. But, under the operation of his orders, the last morsel of food was taken from hundreds of destitute families, that his soldiers might feast in needless and riotous abundance. Before his eyes rose, day after day, the mournful clouds of smoke on every side, that told of old people and their grandchildren driven, in mid-winter, from the only roofs there were to shelter them, by the flames which the wantonness of his soldiers had kindled. With his full knowledge and tacit approval, too great a

* Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, pp. 357, 358.

† The aggregate loss in this battle was one thousand six hundred and forty-six, of which one thousand two hundred and forty-seven came from Slocum's left wing; while two hundred and sixty-seven Rebel dead were left on the field, and one thousand six hundred and twenty-five prisoners were taken. The Rebel loss was doubtless somewhat greater than Sherman's, since it made the assault; but not enough to warrant his glowing statement in his official dispatch to Grant that he "had driven off Joe Johnston with fearful loss."

‡ Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 284.

portion of his advance resolved itself into bands of jewelry-thieves and plate-closet burglars.* Yet, if a single soldier was punished for a single outrage or theft during that entire movement, we have found no mention of it in all the voluminous records of the march. He did indeed say that he "would not *protect*" them in stealing "women's apparel or jewelry."† But even this, with no whisper of punishment attached, he said, not in general orders, nor in approval of the findings of some righteously-severe court-martial, but incidentally—in a letter to one of his officers, which never saw the light till two years after the close of the war. He rebuked no one for such outrages; the soldiers understood that they pleased him. Was not South Carolina to be properly punished?

This was not war. It was not even the revenge of a wrathful soldiery, for it was practiced, not upon the enemy, but upon the defenseless "feeble folk" he had left at home. There was indeed one excuse for it—an excuse which chivalric soldiers might be slow to plead. It injured the enemy—not by open fight, where a million would have been thought full match for less than a hundred thousand, but by frightening his men about the situation of their wives and children!

At last prudential considerations suggested themselves. On the borders

*The fact stated above is so notorious that authorities seem needless. Yet the following *naïve* testimony from that enthusiastic friend of General Sherman, the author of the Story of the Great March (p. 207) has an interest of its own: "It was not unusual to hear among the soldiers such conversations as this: 'Where did you get that splendid meerschaum?' or 'Did you bring that handsome cane along with you?' 'Oh,' was the reply, 'that was presented me by a lady in Columbia for saving her house from burning.' This style of answer, which was very satisfactory, soon became the common explanation of the possession of all sorts of property. An officer taking his punch from an elegantly-chased silver cup, was saluted thus: 'Halloa, Captain, that's a gem of a cup! No mark on it; why, where did you get it?' 'Ye-e-es! that cup? Oh, that was given me by a lady in Columbia for saving her household goods from destruction.'

After a while this joke came to be repeated so often that it was dangerous for any one to exhibit a gold watch, a tobacco-box, any uncommon utensil of kitchen ware, a new pipe, a guard-chain, or a ring, without being asked if 'a lady at Columbia had presented that article to him for saving her house from burning?' This was one of the humors of the camp." Vastly humorous, no doubt, but ——! Take from the same work (p. 112) another statement: "As rumors of the approach of our army reached the frightened inhabitants, frantic efforts were made to conceal valuable personal effects—plate, jewelry, and other rich goods. The favorite method of concealment was the burial of the treasures in the pathways and gardens adjoining the dwelling-houses. With untiring zeal the soldiers hunted for concealed treasures. Wherever the army halted, almost every inch of ground in the vicinity of the dwellings was poked by ramrods, pierced by sabers, or upturned with spades. The universal digging was good for the garden land, but its results were distressing to the Rebel owners of exhumed property, who saw it rapidly and irretrievably confiscated." Mr. Greeley, in his cautious and singularly accurate history, has been forced to say (Vol. II, p. 704): "Though a good many watches and pieces of plate which were claimed to have been 'found hidden in a swamp, a mile from any house,' were in fact drawn from less occult sources, it would have been difficult to hide a watch or goblet where it would not have been discovered and appropriated. And the business of foraging had been gradually assumed as a specialty by the least scrupulous of the soldiers, . . often many miles in advance, gathering as provisions for the army anything inviting and portable for themselves, but fonder on the whole of rifling a house than of fighting its owner, and constantly intent on the main chance."

†Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 330.

of North Carolina we find General Sherman writing: "It might be well to instruct your brigade commanders that we are now out of South Carolina, and that a little moderation may be of political consequence to us."* And he furthermore advised that "they try to keep foragers from—insulting families!" That was all. Here, as elsewhere, the not unusual inconsistency may be observed. Now we see him suffering his soldiers to rob Southern school-girls of their finger-rings, and Southern old women of their family silver. A month hence we shall find him eager to surrender to the enemy, rather than accept their surrender to him, in order that he may soothe the excitable Southern people and promote harmony and good feeling.

But this is an aspect of the pillage and license in Georgia and the Carolinas not then familiar to the public. All rejoiced that the war was at last brought home to its authors. The more cruel the severities of its coming the more was the fitness of the retribution enhanced. If the women and children of South Carolina suffered, that hot-bed of treason was only experiencing the horrors of the war it had provoked. The enormities of the march were thus, for the time, either lightly forgiven or actually enjoyed; its success and its brilliancy were rapturously applauded. The popularity of Sherman rose even higher than when he reached Savannah. His appearance then in the remotest hamlet at the North would have been the signal for an ovation. History was ransacked for parallels to his greatness and his genius. None thought of comparing him with Grant; he was immeasurably superior to the dull soldier, who, after untold slaughter, still lay baffled before Petersburg, waiting for the army and the General that had made him all he was to march up from Goldsboro' and save him now

The excitable and susceptible nature of Sherman could not fail to absorb this intoxication of the hour. There was indeed no shadow of disloyalty in it to his old friendship for the Lieutenant-General. But he glowed with unconcealed pleasure at the praise which the Government and the public heaped upon him; he came to believe that to him and his army nothing was impossible; he conceived yet more exalted ideas of his importance to the Nation, and the right this gave him to decide for himself the gravest and most uncertain questions.

In this frame of mind he returned from a hasty visit to Grant, where he had met and received the thanks of the President. He prepared at once for his new march, to place his army in communication with Grant's, north of the Roanoke, with Norfolk as its base of supplies. In the midst of his beginnings came the news of Lee's retreat. Then he pushed straight for Johnston's army. Johnston retreated through Raleigh; Sherman followed hard upon the rear-guard. His activity was boundless; his plans seemed perfect. In the midst of them came the news of Lee's surrender; then, before the delirium of enthusiasm into which this threw him had subsided, propositions of surrender from Johnston. That wary strategist knew his man, and skillfully prepared his bait.

*Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 339.

Would not General Sherman prefer, instead of capturing a paltry army of twenty thousand, here in North Carolina, to accept the surrender of all the armies of the Confederacy, and be the author of peace from the Atlantic to the Rio Grande?

Nothing could more admirably have hit the exact temper of the man's mind. He was thrilling with exultation over his performances. Here was something that might well flatter his vanity He was panting for more achievements that should win fresh laurels. What could now give the conqueror of Atlanta and the author of the subsequent marches higher praise, unless it were his being thus chosen to receive the final surrender of the entire Confederacy, and to wipe out with his single hand the gigantic rebellion? Was there question of terms? Who so competent to decide them as he who was conquering the peace? Was there doubt as to his power? What officer of the Government was likely to claim precedence of the Soldier who could approach his President with the surrender of the insurgent half of the Nation in his hands?

We may well believe that such considerations left not a doubt as to his course in the mind of the rightfully exultant victor. We may even question whether, under similar circumstances, they would not have seemed equally conclusive to many another man less excited and less tempted. General Sherman unhesitatingly entered into a discussion of the terms for a general peace. He now came in contact with another wary bargainer. The new diplomatist appeared indeed under a military guise; but none should have known better than Sherman that it was not the subordinate and inconspicuous Major-General Breckinridge with whom he was conferring, but the Confederate Secretary of War, speaking for the Cabinet of the Confederate Government, and pleading for terms which he would never dare to ask from the Cabinet at Washington.* In the hands of this adroit, plausible, and polished publicist, our poor General, wild with pride in his successes, and already clutching, in imagination, at the laurels of "peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande," became as wax. At the very outset they talked—not of the surrender of the army—("in the first five minutes of our conversation indeed," Sherman tells us,† "Johnston said any further resistance on his part would be an act of folly,")—but as to what form of government they were to have at the South!‡ Presently dispatches arrive from absent members of the Rebel Cabinet. Sherman sits aside while the Rebel General and the Rebel Secretary of War discuss them. At last one is handed to him—a formal preamble and general terms of peace, submitted by the Postmaster-General of the Confederacy. This Sherman rejects. Then they "discuss matters; talk about slavery; talk about everything."‖ The Rebels humor the bent of the hero they are capturing. They agree with him about

*The appearance, in the negotiations between the two Generals, of the Secretary of War of one of them, was made presentable to the public eye by General Johnston's taking his own chief as a subordinate on his personal staff! This was the explanation given by Sherman to Committee on the Conduct of the War.—Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 494.

† Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1865, Vol. III, p. 15. ‡ Ibid, p. 4. ‖ Ibid.

slavery; laugh with him at the folly of raising negro troops. Sherman tells them he does not know what the views of the Administration are on the general subject of reconstruction. At last he thinks he can bring them to adopt his own. And so he seats himself at the table and writes them down. The Rebels hastily agree to them; they are formally signed by both parties, each pledging himself promptly to obtain authority therefor; and Sherman makes haste to dispatch them to Washington. To his honor, be it remembered, even in this height of his delirious ambition, he does not forget that everything depends upon the Executive assent. But that such terms as he should agree to would be rejected seems now never to occur to him, so nearly has he reached the dangerous verge of mistaking his will for the finality! "The moment my action is approved," he says, "I can spare five corps, . to be paid and mustered out. I would like to be able to begin the march north by May 1st. I urge on the part of the President speedy action."* And, a few days later, remembering the importance of the slavery question, which he had wholly omitted to notice in his basis of peace, we find him writing to General Johnston, to propose that they should settle this subject also. "I am honestly convinced," he says, "that our simple declaration of a result will be accepted as good law everywhere."†

Let us see what the action is which he thus confidently, and, as it were, by authority, volunteers to present to the Government and the people, who have for four years waged a bloody war to put down an unprovoked rebellion, who have, not by generalship, but by the mere force of overwhelming numbers, in default of prevailing generalship, subdued it, and who now have a million men under arms, against the enemy's twenty thousand, to exact what terms they choose:

"Memorandum, or basis of agreement, made this, the 18th day of April, A. D. 1865, near Durham's Station, in the State of North Carolina, by and between General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate army, and Major-General W T. Sherman, commanding the army of the United States, both present.

"I. The contending armies now in the field to maintain the *status quo* until notice is given by the Commanding General of any one to his opponent, and reasonable time, say forty-eight hours, allowed.

"II. The Confederate armies now in existence to be disbanded and conducted to their several State capitals, there to deposit their arms and public property in the State arsenal; and each officer and man to execute and file an agreement to cease from acts of war, and to abide the action of both State and Federal authorities. The number of arms and munitions of war to be reported to the Chief of Ordnance at Washington City, subject to the future action of the Congress of the United States, and in the meantime to be used solely to maintain peace and order within the borders of the States respectively.

"III. The recognition by the Executive of the United States of the several State Governments, on their officers and Legislatures taking the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States; and where conflicting State Governments have resulted from the war, the legitimacy of all shall be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"IV The re-establishment of all Federal courts in the several States, with powers as defined by the Constitution and laws of Congress.

"V The people and inhabitants of all States to be guaranteed, so far as the Executive can,

* Letter to Grant and Halleck.—Sherman and his Campaigns, pp. 398, 399. † Ibid, p. 429.

their political rights and franchise, as well as their rights of person and property, as defined by the Constitution of the United States and of the States respectively.

"VI. The executive authority or Government of the United States not to disturb any of the people by reason of the late war, so long as they live in peace and quiet, and abstain from acts of armed hostility, and obey the laws in existence at the place of their residence.

"VII. In general terms, it is announced that the war is to cease; a general amnesty, so far as the Executive of the United States can command, on condition of the disbandment of the Confederate armies, the distribution of arms, and the resumption of peaceful pursuits by officers and men hitherto composing said armies.

"Not being fully empowered by our respective principals to fulfill these terms, we individually and officially pledge ourselves to promptly obtain authority, and will endeavor to carry out the above programme."

To this hour we read these terms with fresh amazement. Every member of the Cabinet instantly disapproved them. General Grant heartily concurred in this action. President Johnson, fresh in the chair which the mysterious assassination had made vacant for him, was more emphatic than any of his subordinates. This dispatch, recently written by the hand of the martyred President himself, was brought forward by the Secretary of War:

"WASHINGTON, March 3, 1865—12:30 P. M.

"*Lieutenant-General Grant:*

"The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's army, or some minor and purely military matters. He instructs me to say you are not to decide or confer upon any political questions. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conference or conditions. Meantime you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

These words seemed to rise from the fresh grave of the last victim of the rebellion. They were unanimously adopted as the fit response to General Sherman. In announcing to the public the action of the Cabinet, Mr. Stanton appended a lucid condensation of the more striking and obvious objections to the extraordinary "basis of peace:"

"First.—It was an exercise of authority not vested in General Sherman, and on its face shows that both he and Johnston knew that General Sherman had no authority to enter into any such arrangement.

"Second.—It was an acknowledgment of the Rebel Government.

"Third.—It is understood to re-establish Rebel State Governments that had been overthrown at the sacrifice of many thousands of loyal lives and immense treasure, and placed arms and munitions of war in the hands of Rebels, at their respective capitals, which might be used as soon as the armies of the United States were disbanded, and used to conquer and subdue loyal States.

"Fourth.—By the restoration of the Rebel authority in their respective States they would be enabled to re-establish slavery.

"Fifth.—It might furnish a ground of responsibility, by the Federal Government, to pay the Rebel debt, and certainly subjects loyal citizens of the Rebel States to debts contracted by Rebels in the name of the States.

"Sixth.—It put in dispute the existence of loyal State Governments and the new State of West Virginia, which had been recognized by every department of the United States Government.

"Seventh.—It practically abolished the confiscation laws, and relieved Rebels of every degree who had slaughtered our people from all pains and penalties for their crimes.

"Eighth.—It gave terms that had been deliberately, repeatedly, and solemnly rejected by President Lincoln, and better terms than the Rebels had ever asked in their most prosperous condition.

"Ninth.—It formed no basis of true and lasting peace, but relieved the Rebels from the pressure of our victories, and left them in condition to renew their effort to overthrow the United States Government, and subdue the loyal States, whenever their strength was recruited and any opportunity should offer."*

The publicity thus given to General Sherman's effort at diplomacy was understood to originate in the fear with which his strange effort had inspired the Government as to his future course. The times were revolutionary; the President had just been assassinated; ramifications of the plot were suspected; the complicity of the Rebel leaders was openly proclaimed. It was but one step further to suspicion of ambitious or disloyal designs on the part of General Sherman; but such designs could only succeed by secrecy. The exposure at first simply amazed the Nation. At the capital, men went to Cabinet officers in alarm for explanations. "I have no patience to talk about the disgraceful subject," said one; "if I had my way he should be cashiered." And meanwhile, in alarm lest Sherman might make trouble in the army, on learning of the disapproval of his treaty, General Grant was hastily dispatched to Raleigh "to direct future operations against Johnston's army;" General Halleck was instructed to push forward a column from Richmond, in the fear that, under Sherman's management, his troops might not obey the new orders; and similar instructions were transmitted to Generals Thomas and Wilson. As all these facts came to the knowledge of the public, the first amazement deepened into alarm and anger. Some did not hesitate to denounce Sherman as a traitor. Many expressed the greatest apprehension as to his ambitious personal projects. The indignation against him was almost universal. In the early part of his career he had been simply unpopular. He was now fast becoming odious.

But the people were as unjust now in their wholesale censure as recently in their wholesale praise. Sincere patriotism (coupled indeed with and obscured by his vanity, his excitement, and his ambition for fresh laurels) had led Gen-

* That the reader may see not only General Sherman's original position, but his defense of it against Mr. Stanton's reasoning, I copy the following from General Sherman's official report of Johnston's surrender. It immediately follows his statement of his treaty with Johnston: "The President's (Lincoln's) message of 1864; his amnesty proclamation; General Grant's terms to General Lee, substantially extending the benefit of that proclamation to all officers above the rank of Colonel; the invitation to the Virginia Legislature to reassemble in Richmond by General Weitzel, with the supposed approval of Mr. Lincoln and General Grant, then on the spot; a firm belief that I had been fighting to re-establish the Constitution of the United States; and last, but not least, the general and univeral desire to close a war any longer without organized resistance, were the leading facts that induced me to pen the memorandum of April 15th, signed by myself and General Johnston. It was designed to be, and so expressed on its face, as a mere basis for reference to the President of the United States, and Constitutional Commander-in-Chief, to enable him, if he chose, at one blow, to dissipate the military power of the Confederacy, which had threatened the National safety for years. It admitted of modification, alteration, and change. It had no appearance of an ultimatum, and by no false reasoning can it be construed into a usurpation of power on my part. I have my opinion on the questions involved, and will stand by the memorandum."

eral Sherman to his great folly.* He had persuaded himself that, unless such concessions to the Rebels were made, they would break up their remaining forces into guerrilla bands and devastate the country for years to come. Events have proved his judgment utterly worthless; but this furnishes no ground for impugning his fidelity to his oath and to his soldierly honor. His dispositions for pushing Johnston to extremities were perfect. The moment his peace arrangement was disapproved he was able to move irresistibly. He betrayed all the petulance of disappointed vanity at his great miscarriage, but not one symptom of insubordination. Johnston immediately surrendered. Sherman hastened to put his army in condition for muster out; hurried down to Savannah to make some final dispositions in that part of his captured department, and finally turned toward Washington to participate in the "Grand Review."

Then, for the first time, coming here upon one evidence of it and then upon another, he began to comprehend the extent to which he had displeased the Government and the people, and to see to what suspicions he had been subjected. The thought inflamed and maddened him. All his just pride as a soldier was aroused; all the morbid vanity that had grown with his growth was outraged. He turned from Mr. Stanton's condensation of the blunders in his treaty to the less guarded comments of the public press; from Halleck's orders for Sheridan and Meade to push forward against Johnston, regardless of any orders but Grant's, to his recommendation for instructing Thomas, Stoneman, and Wilson not to obey Sherman's commands. Each seemed to his excited vision a fresh insult. Whichever way he turned he was stung again into new fury. In his frantic rage he flew to letters and reports to give it vent. He wrote to General Grant, denouncing Mr. Stanton's publication concerning his truce, and demanding the publication of his incoherent reply—which, on the contrary, Grant prudently suppressed. He plunged into the subject at great length in his official report of the surrender, which reads like the disjointed speech of a baffled lawyer, enraged at finding that he can not bully the court into agreeing with him. Instead of reporting he argued, complained, sneered, threatened. That he had not been rebuked for his Savannah letter to a private person, giving his individual notions of reconstruction, he adduced as proof that he was warranted in treating for "peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande." That his truce had been published he considered proof that it would not be safe for him to tell the Secretary of War what measures he had or had not taken for the capture of Jeff. Davis! That his superior should choose to give instructions to officers whom he had once directed to receive their instructions from General Sherman, he described as "the Secretary of War's taking it upon himself to order my subordinate Generals to disobey me!" But General Halleck's performance was "still more dangerous and offensive" than that of the Secretary of War! He (Halleck) should have gone himself when he sent columns to push against Johnston, "for he knew I was bound in honor to defend and maintain my own truce, even at the cost of many lives!"

* "I admit my folly in embracing, in a military convention, any civil matter."—Sherman to Stanton, 25th April, 1865: Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 506.

All previous charges of insubordination against Sherman had been groundless; but matter like this in official reports, to be finally submitted to his chief, the very Secretary of War whom he abused, was monstrous. The last threat was too much even for the friendship and stolid calm of Grant, who directed Sherman's attention to be called to it, with the notification that in a case like that of which complaint was made, where independent Generals acted against a common foe, each must be the judge of his own duty Sherman replied, hotly arguing the point, and maintaining that had Halleck attacked Johnston, it would have been his duty to turn against his flag, by uniting with Johnston to repulse Halleck!

In such temper he entered Washington. His testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War was less violent, but its tone was the same; and its special pleading and disingenuous misrepresentation are so glaring that we may well blush to find such matter on record, from our most brilliant General. A single example must suffice. Under all the solemnities of his oath he held out to the committee that his object in agreeing upon the treaty had been merely to throw out some glittering generalities, which would at once delay Johnston and draw out from his own Government, for his guidance, its wishes and intentions. To such inconsequential proportions had shrunk this great basis of peace for a continent, the instant adoption of which he practically assumed when he forwarded it, in his accompanying letter, and indeed pledged his word, in the document itself, to procure!

But the mercurial people had suffered their anger to die out before Sherman had discovered its existence. With them, in that great pentecostal outpouring of joy, all was well that ended well. Johnston had surrendered, the whole insurrection had gone down, Sherman's army had done its duty without insubordination, the new President was abundantly bloodthirsty in his talk against traitors—it was all ending well. And so they abandoned themselves to the enjoyment of the grand review. As Sherman rode slowly up the avenue, at the head of his troops, he was amazed to find himself receiving the most enthusiastic of welcomes. He reached the stand where the President and Cabinet were stationed. All rose to greet and congratulate him. He shook hands cordially with the President, with Dennison, Speed, and Harlan, of the Cabinet. His own immediate superior, the Secretary of War, approached, smiling and holding out his hand. General Sherman refused to touch it, and, without sign of recognition, turned his back!

Even this, after a time, the people forgave. With peace came a series of ovations to the Generals. Wherever Sherman appeared men ceased to talk of his vagaries, and remembered only the proud roll of his achievements. Serenades, dinners, receptions, were showered upon him. An elegant residence in St. Louis was presented him, Grant heading the subscription list for that purpose, and a long list of his civic admirers following with generous contributions.*

* When a similar testimonial was tendered to Geo. H. Thomas, the best type of Soldier the war produced, he declined it, on the ground that to accept it would be to seem to say that the Country had not already sufficiently rewarded him for his services; and that, if the generosity

His elastic temper rose again to the highest pitch of nervous exaltation. He plunged into the speech-making as he might into a campaign; told stories, recalled reminiscences, recited to curious listeners the story of his deeds, gave graphic accounts of the origin of campaigns and the strategy of the war. Men once more talked of him for the Presidency; by common consent he was adjudged to share the honors of the war with Grant; and without question or rivalry he succeeded to the vacant Lieutenant-Generalship on the occasion of Grant's final promotion.

General Sherman was assigned to the frontier in the new arrangement of military districts. For a time he had little to do—so little that he was sent out with the United States Minister to Mexico on a vague mission to Juarez, which made much noise at the starting, and came to an untimely end, accomplishing nothing. Presently Indian difficulties broke out. General Sherman was not slow to repeat the opinions of his boyhood, as expressed when a Second-Lieutenant in the Seminole war. Now, as then, his plan for keeping the Indians quiet was, in brief, to exterminate them.* But, as has been frequently observed throughout his career, his practice was not so bloody as his talk.

Perhaps the briefest expression of General Sherman's professional character may be found in the reversal of a well-known apothegm by Kinglake. He is too warlike to be military Yet, like most applications of such sayings, this is only partially just. He is indeed warlike by nature, and his ardor often carries him beyond mere military rules—sometimes to evil, as at Kenesaw, sometimes to great glory, as in the march to the sea. Yet in many things he is devoted to the severest military methods. In moving, supplying, and maneuvering great armies,—undertakings in which rigid adherence to method is vital—he is without a rival or an equal. In the whole branch of the logistics of war he is the foremost General of the Country, and worthy to be named beside the foremost of the Century.

As a strategist he has displayed inferior but still brilliant powers. He can not here be declared without a rival. He is indeed to be named after one or two Generals who have achieved a much smaller measure of success. But the single campaign in which he was enabled to make a worthy display of his strategy against a worthy antagonist, will long be studied as a happy exemplification of the art of war. In the campaigns through Georgia and the Carolinas, he was unworthily opposed, and his superiority of force was for the most part overwhelming; but he still carried the same skill into the management of his

and gratitude of the people to their defenders needed an outlet, it could be better found among the private soldiers, or the families whom their death had left desolate, rather than among Generals already abundantly rewarded in money, place, power, and fame.

* Letter to General Grant, December, 1866. "We must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux, even to their extermination—men, women, and children. Nothing else will reach the root of the case." Before this he had proposed to take possession of a large part of the Indian territory, restricting certain tribes within certain limits, while "any Indians found outside these limits, without a written pass from a military officer, should be dealt with summarily."

columns, and drew an impenetrable veil of mystery over his movements. His topographical knowledge was wonderful; and it is to be observed that he never seemed burdened with the manifold details which he accumulated, but rising above them, took in their import with a *coup d'œil* as comprehensive as it was minute.

In his plans there was often a happy mingling of audacity with system; of defiance of military methods in the conception with a skillful use of them in the execution. It was unmilitary, as he himself said, to turn his back on Hood and set out for Savannah; but there was no unmilitary looseness in the order of march, or the handling of the cavalry It was audacious to project his army into the heart of Georgia, along a thread of railroad that for hundreds of miles was vulnerable at almost every point; but there was no unmilitary audacity in the care which established secondary depots along the route, or in the system which pervaded the whole railroad management and made it a marvel forever. Into all these details too he personally entered. He turned from a study of Joseph E. Johnston's latest move to specify the kinds of return-freight the railroad might carry; from the problem of what to do with Atlanta after he got it, to the status of news agents, and the issue of a decree that the newspapers might be transported but not the newsboys.* Through such minute matters his wonderful energy carried him; and when he turned to the larger problems before him, not one trace of fatigue from the labor or confusion from the details blurred the clearness of vision which he brought to the determination of Hood's purposes, or to the estimate of the difficulties between him and Savannah.

There was an excess of unconscious egotism in his beginning a long letter to Grant about his plans with the phrase: "I still have some thoughts in my busy brain that should be confided to you."† But it expressed the embodied energy and force of the man. His brain was a busy one—always seeking something new, always revolving a thousand chances that might never occur, always roving over the whole field that he filled, and into many an obscure quarter besides. Physically and mentally he was the most uniformly restless man in the army.

Out of this, combined with the intense vanity that had grown with his growth till his mind became absolutely diseased with it, sprang many of those hasty opinions—dashed off on the spur of the moment, and expressed with his usual looseness of language and habit of exaggerating for the sake of emphasis—to which, in their literal meanings it would be so hard to hold him. No man at the close of the war was probably more opposed at heart to the policy of confiscation; but, in the heat of an argument with the people of Huntsville, in the first days of 1864, he declared himself in favor of confiscation if the war should last another year.‡ No man probably knew better than he how

* Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 153.

† Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 259.

‡ Sherman and His Campaigns, p. 156. "Next year their lands will be taken, for in war we can take them, and *rightfully* too, and in another year they may beg in vain for their lives."

hollow was the shell of the Confederacy, and how near its collapse; but in the heat of an argument with the Secretary of War against negro recruiting he declared, late in the fall of 1864, that the war was but fairly begun.* No man was more committed to the theory of overwhelmingly large armies, and for himself he demanded at least a hundred thousand on starting for Atlanta; but in arguing with Halleck against a concentration with Grant, he declared that no General could handle more than sixty thousand men in battle.†

Truth is many-sided; but so vehement was the intensity of this man's nature that he was, in fact, incapable of seeing more than the one side. He would have fought to the last gasp on the silver side of the shield, before admitting that by possibility there might be another side that was golden. He could see very clearly that ignorant plantation negroes were not so good recruits as the average product of New England common schools. There were other sides to the question of negro recruiting, but to these he resolutely shut his eyes—rather, these he was constitutionally incapable of taking in with his piercing but contracted vision—and he fought negro recruiting to the end.

He was liable, too, to amazing twists of logic in defense of positions to which he had once committed himself. Before the Committee on the Conduct of the War he solemnly swore to his knowledge that if President Lincoln had lived he would have sanctioned the treaty with Johnston.‡ Yet when he took this oath he had seen Mr. Lincoln's dispatch to Grant peremptorily forbidding him to meddle in civil affairs. He considered himself fully authorized by the President to undertake civil negotiations.‖ Yet when he was asked to produce his authority, the most tangible thing he could show was this: "I feel great interest in the subjects of your dispatch mentioning corn and sorghum, and contemplate a visit to you.—A. LINCOLN." And the only feature in the dispatch to which this cautious and non-committal reply was sent, that referred to civil negotiations was as follows: "Governor Brown has disbanded his militia to gather the corn and sorghum of the State. I have reason to believe that he and Stephens want to visit me, and I have sent them a hearty invitation."§ Such, on the oath of General Sherman, was complete authority for making peace with General Johnston and the Rebel Secretary of War, "from the Potomac to the Rio Grande." Nay, it was even more. It was a ground for the arraignment of the new administration because of the neglect to explain its civil policy to him. "It is not fair," he exclaimed, "to withhold plans and policy from me (if any there be) and expect me to guess at them."**

*Rep. Com. Con. War. Series 1867, Vol. I, p. 240. "Those who hold the swords and muskets at the end of this war (which is but fairly begun) will have something to say." Letter from Gaylesville, Alabama, 25th October, 1864.

†Ibid, p. 290. "I don't believe that any one General can handle over sixty thousand men in battle."

‡Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1865, Vol. III, p. 6. "Had President Lincoln lived I know he would have sustained me."

‖Ibid, p. 15. "Q. By Mr. Loan. In your examination by the chair, you stated that you were acting in pursuance of intructions from Mr. Lincoln, derived from his letters and telegrams at different times? A. Yes, sir."

§Sherman and His Campaigns, p. 512.

**Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1865, Vol. III, p. 19.

Surpassing Grant in almost all the more brilliant intellectual qualities, he was still inferior to him in the capacity for judging men. Yet even here he was rarely deceived a second time. He was suspicious rather than penetrating in his personal estimates. Let his suspicions be once aroused, and there was no end to any danger of his being overreached. Sometimes he was unjust to officers—particularly to those against whom he might happen to have a dislike. But there is no doubt that he strove with himself to be just, and that to the most he was also generous. To his soldiers he was uniformly kind. Indeed he sought popularity with them at any cost—sacrificed discipline for it, gave extravagant praises for it, tolerated pillage for it. As to popularity with the public he professed himself reckless. In reality he was very fond of it, and stung and soured whenever he failed to secure it.

But his keen perceptions taught him that it was good standing with his superiors that it behooved him most to cultivate. If he maintained himself with these, the applause of the crowd would come. To these, therefore, he paid assiduous court. He was as diplomatic and as skillful as a veteran office-hunter in keeping on the good side of the powers that be. He ingratiated himself with Grant at Pittsburg Landing, and defended his course. When Halleck reversed the policy, he ingratiated himself with him and defended his course. When Grant was restored to power, he was in as high favor as ever. When his savage complaints about the promotion of Osterhaus and Hovey, and his declaration that it looked as if the army had better change front on Washington, provoked a gentle rebuke from Mr. Lincoln, he hastened to apologize. He did not suppose that his dispatch would go outside of the War Department. He begged not to be regarded as fault-finding, declared that he had been well sustained in every respect, assured the President of his admiration for the marked skill displayed in his military appointments.* When his declaration that he would not permit the enforcement of the negro recruiting law in his command† provoked another gentle admonition, he hastened to telegraph to the President his retraction: "I have the highest veneration for the law, and will respect it always."‡ When Grant became Lieutenant-General he told him he was the legitimate successor of Washington;‖ and at a later period of the indecisive operations against Richmond, as if resolved to flatter to the top of his bent, declared: "Lee has lost in one day the reputation of three years; and you have established a reputation that would make Wellington jump out of his coffin."§

We have spoken of his vanity. Toward the close it was skillfully fed by adroit staff officers, who learned to begin the orders, "The *General-in-Chief* directs."** Its culmination was reached when, at the close of his treaty with Johnston, his conviction of his own importance had become so absolute

* Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 143.

† Ibid, p 123. ‡ Ibid, p. 131. ‖ Ibid, p. 15. § Ibid, p. 378. This, it is to be noted, was not said about any great success of Grant's, but about the beginning of those tedious and costly movements by the left that kept the army almost a year before Petersburg.

** Ibid, Georgia and Carolina campaigns, *passim*.

that he believed "our simple declaration of a result will be accepted as good law everywhere."* The question concerning which he thus imagined that the simple declaration of two Major-Generals of dissolving armies would prove a settlement and a finality, was the question of American Slavery.

Extreme in all things, he asserted the military power to the denial of civil rights;† he threatened confiscation if the war lasted through 1864, and the lives of the Rebels if it extended into 1865;‡ he declared that Sanitary and Christian Commissions were enough to eradicate all trace of Christianity;‖ he attacked the Governors of States, for wanting to rob the bread from his soldiers' mouths and for displaying heartless cruelty, when they sought to send down their agents with supplies for the wounded;§ he pronounced the bloodless occupation of Corinth, when Beauregard got ready to leave it, after the two months of siege approaches, "a victory as brilliant and important as any recorded in history;" he demanded two hundred thousand men to face Buckner's twelve thousand at Bowling Green;** he spoke of the brother to whom he owed promotion as "one of the d——d Abolitionists who have been getting up this war."†† Reckless of money where economy stood in his way, he told Dahlgren that ships were made to be lost;‡‡ and Wheeler, that whatever cotton the Rebel army spared from the torch his own would burn.‖‖ Less excusably reckless in his greed for destruction, he told Gillmore that he would not hesitate to burn Savannah, or Charleston, or Wilmington, if the garrisons were needed;§§ he gloated over the prospects for further ravages, and told Terry that if Sheridan only reached him he would make all North Carolina howl—would make him a deed of gift of every horse in the State, and let him settle at the day of judgment.***

Inconsistent as these extravagancies necessarily made him, he was still always right in his own eyes. He was right when he depreciated defensive works before Pittsburg Landing. He was right when he eulogized Halleck's refusal to move without defensive works every half mile of his advance upon Corinth. He was right when he assaulted Kenesaw. He was right when he paused before "the old style of parapets," which he "didn't like to assault," at Bentonville. He was right when he pronounced Hooker unfit for a command of scarcely twenty-five thousand†††—Hooker, of whom Horace Walpole's saying might well be repeated, that nothing but such parts could buoy up such a character, and that nothing but such a character could drag down such parts. He was right when he eulogized and advanced Frank Blair. He was right when he declared that war was a cruelty which could not be refined. He was right when he threatened to fight against his flag rather than suffer the violation of one of its refinements. He was right when he burnt valuable arsenals which he might have preserved, declaring that "the United States should never again

*Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 429.

†Ibid, p. 233. Letter of instructions to General Burbridge in Kentucky.

‡Sherman and his Campaigns. ‖Rep. Com. Con. War, *ubi supra*, p. 123.

§Ibid, p. 146. **See note *ante*, p. 428. ††See note *ante*, p. 438. ‡‡Ibid, p. 309.

‖‖Ibid, p. 323. §§Ibid, p. 352. ***Ibid, p. 354. †††Ibid, p. 171.

confide such valuable property to a people who have betrayed a trust."* He was right when he sought to confer upon the people, who had betrayed a trust through the confines of every Rebel State, the privilege of retaining all their arms, artillery, and munitions of war.

He said nothing about slavery in his treaty with Johnston, because the question was settled, and he had no control over it.† He proposed to Johnston that they should unite in settling the slavery question by a simple declaration which would be accepted as good law everywhere.‡ He held everything, save the maintenance of the Union, as beneath a soldier's notice, and enjoined his subordinates to leave details to the lawyers.‖ He was presently negotiating on such details himself—striving to settle questions of the legality of new State Governments, of political rights, of amnesty, of rights of person and property. He scorned the press, and asked it to publish his letters and particularize his whereabouts; he loathed flattery, and paid the most assiduous court to whoever was in power; he denied responsibility to the public, and rushed into explanations to the public of his grievances against Secretary Stanton, and into discussions before the public of the management of such battles as Pittsburg Landing.§

Like Rosecrans, he was an intellectual absolutist. In his logical processes there was no stopping-place between absolute disbelief or absolute conviction. By consequence he was sure to be either vehemently right or vehemently wrong—in any event, vehement in all things. If he agreed with the Government, well. If he disagreed with it, the Government was wrong! That this dangerous quality did not lead to irreparable mischief was due partly to fortunate circumstances, but largely also to that instinctive loyalty that led the pro-slavery principal of the Louisiana Military Institute to abandon his congenial position rather than "raise a hand against the Union of these States."

He was himself a signal example of the little purpose to which a mere West Point education may serve one in the trials of real war. He professed himself a soldier; stood published to the world as one by his criticisms and assumptions; and yet in 1862 the Army of the Tennessee held no General, who, joined to equal opportunities, rawness in war equal to his own. He was guilty of conduct of which his orderly sergeants, four years later, would have been ashamed. But he was as prompt to learn from his mistakes as he was to deny that he had made mistakes. He learned indeed with a rapidity that showed not only the extent of his theoretical knowledge, but his remarkable natural capacity for war. He made many mistakes after Pittsburg Landing, but he rarely repeated old ones. With every campaign he learned and rose. When Grant, turning eastward, left him the Valley of the Mississippi for his Department he was equal to it. When, before Savannah, he turned northward to bear his part in the colossal campaign that ended the war, he was not indeed the safest, but beyond question the most brilliant General in the army. Incom-

* Ibid, p. 344. †Ibid. Series of 1865, Vol. III, p. 14.

‡ Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 429. ‖Rep. Com. Con. War, Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 340.

§ As, *inter alia*, his vigorous pamphlet warfare with Lieutenant-Governor Ben. Stanton.

parably more than Grant, more, perhaps, than any of the less noted Generals who might be named beside him, he had displayed not merely military talent but military genius.* It would be an evil day for the Country when the talent, the staid common sense, and phlegm of Grant should be replaced at the head of the army by the erratic genius of Sherman. But where he is he rightfully belongs. What others might have done had Sherman's opportunities been theirs, it is useless to inquire. It is enough that the brilliancy he displayed, and the success he won, abundantly entitle him to the rank next to the first in the armies of his Country.

General Sherman is above the middle height, spare, thin, and (especially in the field) a trifle rough in dress and appearance. His head is long, and the forehead capacious. In repose there is little about him to attract attention. In conversation he brightens up, and appears (as he has been well described) "the embodiment of nervous and intellectual force." He talks well—always fluently and often brilliantly Unlike most of our leading Generals, he has no hesitation about speech-making, but he will never be mistaken for a popular orator.

He was born a Presbyterian and educated a Roman Catholic; and he seems to regard the creeds of both with impartial charity. His wife is a Roman Catholic, and his children are nurtured in that faith. His political views are decided and very conservative. Before the war he was a pro-slavery Whig. During the war he committed himself to the theory of reorganization, which President Johnson has since adopted. He was at first very doubtful about emancipation; and he never gave up his hostility to negro troops. In 1864 he objected to changing the status of the free negroes, and declared that he much preferred to keep them for some time to come in a subordinate state.† At the close of the war he insisted "that the United States can not make negroes vote in the South, any more than they can in the North, without revolution."‡ And to Chief-Justice Chase he wrote about the same time: "The assertion openly of your ideas of universal negro suffrage, as a fixed policy of our General Government, will produce new war, sooner or later, more bloody and destructive than the last."‖ He believes in a strong Government and a strong standing army; and would rather limit than extend the suffrage.

*"Talent," says James Russell Lowell pithily, "is that which is in a man's power; genius is that in whose power a man is." North American Review, No. CCXVI. Rousseau and the Sentimentalists.

† Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 240. Letter to Secretary Stanton.

‡ Sherman and his Campaigns, p. 463.

‖ Ibid, p. 461.

Ohio Generals in the War.

'61 to '65.

MAJOR-GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

IT would seem to have been fated that Ohio should be prominent as well for the variety as for the value of the services her sons were to render throughout the trials of the Great Rebellion. In the Cabinet and in Congress we have seen how they filled the foremost places. It was not less singular that in the field, almost every branch of the service should have as its acknowledged chief an Ohio General. At the head of the army stood Grant, whom success, the absolute test in war, pronounced our greatest Soldier. Beyond a doubt Sherman was the most perfect master of marching and of the logistics of war the Continent has ever seen. Competent critics, after surveying the whole field, have placed Rosecrans at the head of our strategists. In Gillmore we had the Artillerist of the war, and there are few to dispute his further claim to the laurels as Engineer. We have now to see how perfect is the title of another son of Ohio to the rank of the first of living Generals of Cavalry

Philip H. Sheridan was born on the 6th of March, 1831, in the village of Somerset, Perry County, Ohio—scarcely more than a dozen miles from the next county seat, westward, where, eleven years earlier, William Tecumseh Sherman first saw the light.* Sheridan's parents were recent emigrants from County Cavan, in the North of Ireland. Unlike a majority, however, of the residents of that portion of Ireland, they were not descendants of the Scotch emigrants with whom Cromwell had undertaken to repeople the island, and they were unshaken in their adhesion to the Roman Catholic Church, in the faith of which their boy was scrupulously reared. About Somerset, there had long been gathering a Roman Catholic community, and the village "Church of St. Joseph" was noted as the oldest house of public worship in the State.

The boyhood of the future General was like that of other pugnacious and vigorous Irish lads. The biographers, with all their searching, have been unable to gather from the Somerset gossips any of those "youthful foreshadowings of greatness" wherein their kind do so much rejoice. It seems, indeed, that he was fond of horses, and the Rev. Mr. Headley gives us a wonderful picture of the cavalry General that was to be, at the early age of five years, mounted

* It has been widely believed that Sheridan was born in Massachusetts, a few months before the removal of his parents to Ohio. The statement has been made in several biographies of the General, and it is confirmed by the Army Register. The account in the text, however, is given on the authority of General Sheridan himself—who probably has authentic information concerning the event.

upon an untamed racer, barebacked and bridleless, astonishing the mischievous youngsters who had induced him to mount, by leaping fences, and dashing off at break-neck pace for a dozen miles—to be sought after the next day by the alarmed neighborhood, and coddled over, and much lionized.* There are stories, too, about the young Irish boy who led in all the dare-devil exploits of his comrades, and who, in those callow days, had never heard of the excellent Polonios, with his grey-beard advice to beware of entrance to a quarrel.

More authentic and characteristic is this bit of genuine history of the lad, for which we are indebted to the friendly pen of one of his schoolmates,† who insists that it must be called "Phil Sheridan's first victory:"

"Phil used to go to school at Somerset to an Irish school teacher of the Irishest sort, named Patrick McNanly, who believed that the intelligence, morality, and happiness of scholars depended upon a liberal use of birch, and this deponent can verily testify that in *that* he was truly scientific.

"One terribly cold morning of 1842 or 1843, two of Patrick's scholars got there a little ahead of time. They crawled in through the window to get warmed, and once in, the chief enemy of mankind and school-boys, as well as the discovery of a bucket full of ice water, tempted them to trick the teacher. They fastened it over the door in such a manner that the opening of the door

* The following is Mr. Headley's story, which may or may not be true:

"At five years of age he was playing near his home, when some lads came along and amused themselves with the wide-awake boy. A horse was feeding quietly in an adjoining lot.

"'Phil, would you like a ride?' they said to him.

"'Yes, give me one.'

"In a few moments the boy was on the animal's back. The sudden and unceremonious mounting of the young rider started the steed and away he ran.

"'Whoa! whoa!' sung out the mischievous lads, but in vain. Over the fence he sprang and once on the highway it was a Gilpin ride. 'Phil' clung to the mane, while the sobered authors of the race turned pale with the apprehension of a tragical end to it, expecting to see him dashed to the earth and killed. But out of sight horse and rider vanished, miles soon lay between the two parties, when the horse suddenly turned into the shed of a tavern where its owner had frequently stopped in his travel. Men came out, and recognizing the horse, questioned the boy. One of the curious company, after securing the foaming animal, without saddle or bridle, and the unterrified 'Phil,' inquired:

"'Who taught you to ride?'

"'Nobody,' answered the boy.

"'Did no one teach you how to sit on a horse?' asked another.

"'Oh yes! Bill Seymour told me to hold on with my knees, and I did.'

"'Wasn't you frightened?'

"'Nary a bit; I wanted to go farther, but the horse wouldn't go.'

"'Ain't you sore, boy?'

"'Kinder, but I'll be better to-morrow, and then I'll ride back home.'

"'That boy,' said the questioner, 'has pluck enough to be an Indian hunter.'

"The following morning 'Phil' *was* lame and sore, still he wanted to go home. The surprised and interested people kept the little fellow to nurse him before he undertook the return trip. Meanwhile, the owner of the horse, on his own account and in behalf of the family, made his appearance. He had learned along the way the course of the young Gilpin. He expressed astonishment that he was not thrown, as the horse was vicious, and had unsaddled excellent horsemen. This was 'Phil's' first cavalry experience."

† Major Lyman J. Jackson, of New Lexington, formerly of Eleventh Ohio Infantry.

would tilt it upon the head of any one entering, and retired to watch the result from a neighboring haymow.

"Patrick soon came trotting along, rubbing his hands vigorously to keep them warm, hurriedly turned the key, and bolted in just as the bucket turned over his head. It is not a 'bull' to say that his Celtic blood was heated by the chilling douse. His situation was a bad one. There wasn't a boy to beat anywhere about. He looked all around, inside and out, and there wasn't a soul to be seen. So he armed himself with a six-foot hickory twig, built on a rousing fire and sat down to dry, fully determined to flog the first boy that entered.

"An unfortunate little fellow soon came, and almost at the instant his hand was on the latch, Patrick seized him by the collar and shook him fiercely, 'to shake the truth out of him,' he said. The astonished looks and astonishing yells convinced Patrick that that boy knew nothing of the outrage. Setting him down by the fire, he again placed himself in the position of attack.

"The next, and the next, and the next went through the same operation, and finally, when nearly all the school had been throttled and shaken into their seats, our two youngsters climbed down the haymow, entered the school-room, got their shaking, and went to work. It happened that Phil Sheridan was late that morning, and as each one proved his innocence, the presumption became the stronger against the few there were left to suspect. Finally Phil came—the last, and, of course, the guilty one, if every body else was innocent.

"Just as he opened the door Patrick made a dive for him. Phil dodged and commenced a retreat. Patrick thought *that* a proof of his guilt, and pursued. Away went Phil up the street, and away went the teacher after him, bareheaded, stick in hand, the whole school bringing up the rear, all on the run. Phil lost a little on the home stretch, and by the time Mr. Sheridan's house was reached, his pursuer was too close to let him shut the gate, and on he broke into the back yard. There he got re-enforcements in the shape of a huge Newfoundland pet dog, which instantly made an attack on Patrick's flank and rear.

"Patrick mounted the fence—so did Phil. The dog snapped at Patrick's heels, and he discovered it necessary to climb an apple-tree, where he found himself out of breath, out of patience, and very completely outflanked.

"'Take away your divilish dog, Phil,' says he, 'or I'll bate the life of ye.'

"'Like to see you,' says Phil, 'watch him, Rover,' and with that he got an old piece of carpet and laid it under the tree for the dog to watch over.

"The dog laid down on it, and Phil mounted the fence, where he sat, contemplative, with his chin in his hands and his elbows on his knees. 'What do you want to lick me for?' asked Phil.

"'What did you throw the wather on me for?' was the answer.

"'I didn't throw any water on you.'

"You did, though, bekase none of the other boys did, and I'll polish you to death intirely, if you don't let me down.'

"He started down, but Rover went for his foot before it was nearly in reach and the teacher retreated up the tree, calling loudly for Phil's father. The noise soon brought Mr Sheridan out. The teacher up the tree, the dog growling at

him, Phil on the fence, and the whole school around, was too funny a scene to be closed without explanation.

"'What are you doing up that apple-tree, McNanly?' asked Mr. Sheridan.

"'Ah, that divilish boy of yours, Misther Sheridan, will be the death of me yet. It's all his doin's, sir. He poored a whole bucket of wather on me this mornin', and whin I wanted to give him a dacent riprimand, he ran away, and for the sake of the discipline of the school, I went to catch him, and he got that big baste of a dog of yours afther me, and I had to climb the tree to defind myself.'

"'I didn't throw any water at all,' says Phil, 'all I know about it is that he went to whipping me this morning before I got in.'

"The old gentleman, probably enjoying the fun, and not being very certain whether his boy ought to be whipped without reason, suggested to let the case await further inquiry.

"'Let him go without a floggin', Misther Sheridan? Shure it'll ruin the school to do that now; just luck at them, will you, how the're laughing at me.' The old gentleman commenced calling the dog; it looked at Phil and wouldn't stir. 'Take away that divilish dog or I'll bate the life out of ye's both intirely,' says Patrick.

"'Better come down first,' Phil suggested; 'watch him, Rover. But I'll tell you what I'll do,' he added after a pause, 'if you won't whip me I'll call him off. He won't go if father calls all day—besides he sees you're imposing on me.'

"Patrick argued, and protested, and threatened, but it wouldn't do—the terms were unconditional. The hot race and the cold water had got him into a terrible chill. The longer he talked in the air of a frosty January morning, the colder he got, and the more hopeless his case became, especially when Phil intimated his intention to demand exemption from all future floggings.

"'I'll tell you what, Phil,' said he finally, 'if you'll just call off that baste, I'll not bate you this time, indade I won't.'

"'Why didn't you say so at first,' said Phil. 'Come away Rover.' And away Rover did come; and away came the teacher almost too badly chilled to climb down.

"And this was the first surrender to Sheridan. Phil says the teacher kept his word in that affair, but put two floggings into every one that he afterward administered for new offenses."

Through such tribulations our jolly lad forced his way into a fair common-school education. Then it was time that he should do something to help support the family He was bright enough to become more than a mere laborer; and in those days when a village lad was thought to be fit for something better than his father's or his schoolmates' lot, the first thought would be to make a store-keeper of him. So Mr. Talbot, a small hardware dealer, came to have Philip H. Sheridan for "clerk." He did well by it, too. The boy was active, intelligent, and faithful. Mr. Talbot began to take a special interest in him, and, by-and-by, to teach him mathematics, select works of history for him to

read, and encourage him to improve himself. After a time an opportunity to do better offered, and so another storekeeper, a Mr. Henry Detton, shares with Mr. Talbot the honor of having had the greatest American Cavalry General for a store boy.

Meantime the studies in mathematics and history were bearing fruit. Our young clerk began to aspire to something better than selling goods in a village store for a livelihood. There was quite a pressure upon General Thomas Ritchey, the district Congressman, for the vacant appointment to West Point. "At last," said the old General, "there came a letter, accompanied by no testimonials, no influential recommendations, or appeals from wealthy parents. It simply asked that the place might be given to the writer, and was signed 'Phil. Sheridan.' The boy needed no recommendation," continued the old man, "for I knew him and his father before him, and I appointed him at once."

Sheridan was seventeen years old when, after his independent boy-fashion (and in a manner strikingly similar to that of his subsequent friend and chief, General Rosecrans), he thus turned his back on the old Somerset life and became an inmate of West Point. He found another young Ohioan in his class, of whom the world was yet to hear something; it was the lamented James B. McPherson. Among the fifty other classmates were Schofield, Terrill, Sill, and Tyler, and the Rebel General Hood.

His career at West Point was characteristic. He was not ranked brilliant in the recitations, but he was far above mediocrity, in spite of the fact that his general standing was constantly kept down by "that odious column of demerits." The animal spirits of the boy were forever running over into trivial infractions of the rules. Everybody liked him; even the staid Professors, as they scored down the demerits, would readily have voted him "the best fellow in the class." But one day he went too far. One of the cadets, as he fancied, insulted him. Irish fashion, he proceeded to redress his own grievances. The flogging he administered was perfect but it was unmilitary, and it cost him just an extra year at West Point. And this is the reason that though he entered as cadet in 1848, the Army Register marks the date of his admission to the service in 1853. His suspension had thrown him over into the class following the one in which he should have graduated.

At last, in his twenty-third year, he finished the West Point course and was assigned to the First Infantry as Brevet Second-Lieutenant. His first service was on the Texas frontier against the Indians. Here a promotion to a full Second-Lieutenancy in the Fourth Infantry soon found him.* From 1853 to

*Some of the popular biographers have another story of possible authenticity concerning this promotion. Here is one version of it:

"Lieutenant Sheridan had ere long to try his prowess with the Apache warriors. One day he was outside the fort with two others, when a band of those savages suddenly sprang upon them. The chief, not dreaming of resistance from three men amid several times their number, leaped from his 'fiery mustang' to seize his prisoners. In an instant Sheridan was on the back of the wild charger and galloping away to Fort Duncan. He summoned the troops to arms, seized his pistols without dismounting, and hastened back like a flying warrior to the aid of the two companions who were heroically fighting for life. Dashing up to the enraged chief he levelled

1861 he continued on the frontier, first in Texas, then in Oregon, with only brief interval of recruiting duty in New York.

In 1855 he commanded the escort for Lieutenant Williamson's exploring expedition through Oregon, for a branch of the Pacific Railroad. In 1856 we find him in a fight with the Yokimas near Fort Vancouver, behaving so gallantly as to elicit mention in general orders. In 1857 he had command in the Yakima reservation, and Lieutenant-General Scott thought his conduct in keeping this turbulent tribe in order worthy of special mention. Next he establishes a new military post at Yamhill, and concludes an advantageous treaty with the Coquillos. And so in reckless Indian fighting, in prudent efforts to preserve the peace as long as the Indians would let him, in successful efforts to master the Indian dialects, in sport and adventure and all the variety of hardy frontier life the years went by The young Somerset boy, risen to be a First-Lieutenant was become an experienced backwoodsman and bushwhacker; he was now to enter upon another part of his varied preparation for the great career he was yet to run.

A Captain's commission in the Thirteenth Infantry reached him, and with it news of the impending war. Seated there among the Oregon Indians at his post of Yamhill, he had no difficulty in perceiving his duty, and his combative nature longed for the time when the angry words of the secession leaders might give way to something more substantial. "If they *will* fight us," he wrote to a friend in "the States," "let them know we accept the challenge." He added, with a modest ambition that now may well provoke a smile: "Who knows? Perhaps I may have a chance to earn a major's commission."

At last the uneasy waiting in Oregon came to an end, and Sheridan's chance to "try for a major's commission" in the great civil war came to him. He was ordered to report at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. He arrived in the midst of the confusion that followed the removal of Fremont from command. Nothing could be a more droll illustration of the frequent governmental faculty for getting the wrong men in the right places than the assignment that awaited the young Indian fighter. He was made president of a board to audit claims under the Fremont administration. He did the work satisfactorily however; and pre

a pistol at his head—'crack!' went the little weapon, and, with a mad leap into the air, the Indian fell dead at the feet of the Lieutenant's horse. The soldiers that followed him then came up, and the just now exulting band was ridden down and most of the number killed. The valian deed, however, won no commendation from the commandant of the fort, who seemed to have a Southern prejudice against the *Western boy*. The irritated, jealous officer charged his Lieutenan with breach of discipline because he was away from his command. That commander was a Rebel general in the late civil war.

"For two years Sheridan was thus employed in the defense of the Southern frontier; at one time leading a company of soldiers to a threatened settlement, and at another cautiously making explorations, not knowing where the stealthy savage would rise from ambush, or fire his weapon from its unknown seclusion. But the unfortunate displeasure of his superior officer, and the collisions attending, induced Sheridan to seek a different post of duty. Accordingly the War Department, in the spring of 1855, created him a full Lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry, then in Oregon."

sently the Government, fully satisfied now that here was a good man for routine and clerical duties, made him Quartermaster and Commissary for Curtis, at the outset of the Pea Ridge campaign.

All this seemed rapid promotion to Captain Sheridan, and he went to work heartily and earnestly to make a Quartermaster of himself. He was sixty-fourth Captain on the list—so one of the staff officers tells of his reasoning in those days—and with the chances of war in his favor, it needn't be a very great while before he might hope to be a Major! With such modest aspirations he worked away at the wagon-trains; cut down regimental transportation, gave fewer wagons for camp furniture and more for hard bread and fixed ammunition, established secondary depots for supplies, and with all his labor found that he had not fully estimated the wants of the army.* Some orders from General

*Here is some staff-officer's gossip about Sheridan during this portion of his opening career:

"A modest, quiet little man was our Quartermaster; yet nobody could deny the vitalizing energy and masterly force of his presence when he had occasion to exert himself. Neat in person, courteous in demeanor, exact in the transaction of business, and most accurate in all matters appertaining to the regulations, orders, and general military customs, it was no wonder that our acting Chief Quartermaster should have been universally liked. Especially was he in favor socially, for it soon became known that he was, off duty, a most genial companion, answering the most mythical requirement of that vaguest of comprehensive terms—'a good fellow.'

"The enlisted men on duty at head-quarters, or in his own bureau, remember him kindly. Not a clerk or orderly but treasures some act of kindness done by Captain Sheridan. Never forgetting, or allowing others to forget, the respect due to him and his position, he was yet the most approachable officer at head-quarters. His knowledge of the regulations and customs of the army, and of all professional minutiæ, were ever at the disposal of any proper inquirer. Private soldiers are seldom allowed to carry away as pleasant and kindly associations of a superior as those with which Captain Sheridan endowed us. When the army was ready to move he gave his personal attention in seeing that all attached to head-quarters were properly equipped for service in the field, issuing the necessary stores, animals, etc., without difficulty or discussion. Many a man received information about the preparation of papers and other matters which has since been of invaluable assistance. Nor was his kindness confined to subordinates alone. It is easy for some men to be genial and kind to those under them, while it seems impossible to behave with the proper courtesy due to those whose position entitles them to consideration as gentlemen. We have served with a Major-General since then who to his soldiers was always forbearing, kindly, and humane, while to his officers, especially those on the staff, he was almost invariably rude, rough, blunt, and inconsiderate. This could not be said of Sheridan. He had that proper pride of military life which not alone demands, but accords to all, the courtesy due among gentlemen. It is fair to say that no man has risen more rapidly with less jealousy, if the feelings entertained by his old associates of the army of the South-west are any criterion.

"Sheridan's modesty amounted to bashfulness, especially in the presence of the gentler sex. His life having been passed on the frontier among Indians, or at some solitary post, it was not at all surprising that our Quartermaster should hesitate when urged to go where ladies might be expected. If by chance he found himself in such a gathering he was sure to shrink into an obscure corner and keep silent. We remember an amusing incident of this bashfulness.

"He became attracted toward a young lady at Springfield, where he was engaged in forwarding supplies to the army. Desirous of showing her some attention, he was altogether too modest to venture on such a step. Finally he hit upon an expedient. He had a gay young clerk, Eddy, in his office, whom he induced to take the young lady out riding, while he (Sheridan) furnished the carriage and horses. The modest little Captain could often be seen looking with pleasure on this arrangement. Courting by proxy seemed to please him much (as it certainly was less embarrassing) as if it had been done by himself. There are but few men whose modesty would carry them so far. What the result was we never learnt. We think it most probable Eddy carried off the prize."

Curtis about this time seemed to him inconsistent with the West Point system of managing quartermaster's matters, and he said so officially with considerable freedom of utterance. The matter was passed over for a few days, but as soon as Pea Ridge was fought General Curtis found time to attend to smaller affairs. The first was to dispense with the further services of his Quartermaster, and send him back to St. Louis in arrest.

But just then educated officers were too rare in Missouri to be long kept out of service on punctilios. Presently the affair with Curtis was adjusted, and then the Government had some fresh work for this young man of routine and business. It sent him over into Wisconsin to buy horses! The weeping philosopher himself might have been embarrassed to refrain from laughter! McClellan was at the head of the army; Halleck had chief command in the West; men like McClernand and Banks, Crittenden, and McCook, were commanding divisions or corps; and for Cavalry Sheridan the best work the Government could find was—buying horses in Wisconsin! Then came Pittsburg Landing, and Halleck's hurried departure for the field. Wishing a body of instructed regular officers about him, he thought, among others, of Curtis's old Quartermaster, and ordered him up to the army before Corinth. There followed a little staff service, and at last, in May, 1862, the future head of the Cavalry got started on his proper career. Watching wagon trains, disputing with the lawyers about doubtful contractor's claims, or with the jockeys about the worth of horses—all this seems now very unworthy of Sheridan, but it was a part of his education for the place he was to fill; and we shall see that the familiarity thus acquired with the details of supplying an army were to prove of service to one whose business was to be to command armies, and to tax the energies of those who supplied them to the utmost.

The cavalry was inefficient—mostly for lack of officers who knew the difference between a horse and a machine. The Second Michigan wanted a Colonel. Sheridan happened to be at hand and was thought of. In a few days he was off toward Booneville on his first raid. The railroad track and depot were destroyed, provisions captured, and a safe retreat secured. A few days later followed a reconnoissance to Donaldson's Cross Roads, and a sharp skirmish with Forrest. Two days later a second regiment was added to Sheridan's command, and he was sent on a brief pursuit of Forrest, which he managed so well that in four days more he was formally made commander of a cavalry brigade, and sent to Booneville, twenty miles in front of the army. Here on the 1st July, 1862, General Chalmers, with a force numbering between four and five thousand men, attacked Sheridan's little band of two regiments. He retreated slowly toward his camp, where, with his back to a swamp, he kept up the unequal fight. The day, however, must in the end go against him. Sheridan saw and prepared for it. Selecting a body of picked men, scarcely a hundred in all, he sent them by a circuitous route to the rear of the enemy. Meantime he sturdily held his ground on the front. Suddenly the assailants were startled by the crack of carbines in their rear. Volley after volley poured in from the revolv-

ing weapons of the little party till the roar seemed to betoken the attack of at least a brigade. Then charging recklessly into the rear, they penetrated almost to the heart of the command, and for a little time had possession of Chalmers himself. This was the signal for Sheridan. At the head of his two regiments he led an impetuous onset upon the confused enemy, who, thinking himself surrounded, hastily fled, leaving dead and wounded on the field.* For twenty miles Sheridan kept up with his two thousand this pursuit of five thousand. On his return he found that the gallant deed had carried him far beyond the wildest ambition of his quartermaster days. He was appointed a Brigadier-General of Volunteers, to date from July 1st, in honor of this brilliant little battle of Booneville.

In the comparative independence of command which he had here enjoyed, he had displayed qualities of vigor, enterprise, and sound judgment, that might have recommended him for similar positions in the future. But it was Sheridan's lot to be long kept back from the fields for which he was peculiarly fitted, and to be subjected to severe and unusual tests. In a modest little letter now lying before us, he shows his own appreciation of this singularity of his fortune. "It has been said," he writes, "that I was 'lucky' during the Rebellion in the success which attended me, but whether I was or not, I believe there was no general officer in the service who was subjected to harder tests. I was not only changed from one arm of the service to another, but was constantly being changed from one line of operations to another, each involving new geographical and topographical study, the necessity of overcoming the local prejudices of soldiers of different armies, and the old and bitter prejudices between infantry and cavalry." So now, precisely as the General says, after he had just shown his special fitness for dashing cavalry exploits, he was changed to another arm of the service and another line of operations, being sent to take command of a division of infantry in Kentucky Still this was high promotion. The "little Quartermaster" who thought that, as he was only sixty-fourth Captain on the list, the chances of war might yet enable him to win a Major's commission, was now, within less than a year from the date of that modest aspiration, a Brigadier-General, in command of three brigades and a dozen regiments.

At the time of our new General's arrival in Kentucky, Bragg was moving rapidly upon Louisville, and Buell was hastening back with his army to confront him. For a little time Louisville was thought to be in danger. Sheridan was energetic in his efforts to place the city in a position for defense. Then joining Buell's army on its arrival, he moved out with his division in that pursuit of Bragg, which, pressed by some subordinates too incautiously, suddenly brought him savagely to bay at Perryville.

Whatever was thought of the general conduct of this battle, or of the policy of bringing it on, there was no doubt at head-quarters of the praise to which General Sheridan's conduct in it entitled him. He kept the position to

*The fighting at Booneville lasted nearly seven hours. The number of Rebel dead left on the field was reported to be sixty-five. Sheridan's entire loss was forty-one.

which he was assigned (the left of Gilbert's corps, protecting McCook's right), with obstinate vigor, sustained a fierce attack, which he repelled, and directed the fire of his batteries so as to do what he could against the assault that was cutting McCook's command to pieces. "He held the key of our position with tenacity," said his Corps General in the official report, "and used the point to its utmost advantage. I commend him to notice as an officer of much gallantry and of high professional ability"* Thenceforward the position of the new General was secure in the army His soldiers believed in him† and his superiors trusted him. But the Country, as yet, heard little of him. He was the subordinate of subordinates, and much hard fighting was still awaiting him before he could aspire to popular fame.

In the changes consequent upon Rosecrans's assumption of command, Sheridan was transferred to McCook's right wing of the army. With the details of his new position he found himself fully occupied through the fall and early winter of 1862. At last the army moved out upon Murfreesboro' Sheridan had only to support other divisions in advance of him through the march, until the day before the battle. Then he led the movement, had sharp skirmishing, and finally was compelled to form line of battle and bring up his artillery to clear his front, losing some seventy-five killed and wounded in the operations. The men bivouacked in line of battle. They were to wake to great calamity and great glory in the morning.

In the general plan of the battle of Stone River the part assigned to the right wing was to hold the enemy, while the rest of the army swung through Murfreesboro' upon his rear. In this right wing Sheridan held the left. Elsewhere along that ill-formed line were batteries, to which the horses had not been harnessed when the fateful attack burst through the gray dawn upon them. But there was one division commander who, with or without orders thereto, might be trusted for ample vigilance in the face of an enemy. At two in the morning he was moving some of his regiments to strengthen a portion of his line, on which he thought the enemy was massing. At four he mustered his division under arms, and had every cannoneer at his post. For over two hours they waited. When the onset came the ready batteries opened at once. The Rebels continued to sweep up. At fifty yards' distance the volleys of Sheridan's musketry became too murderous. The enemy, in massed regiments, hesitated, wavered, and finally broke. Sheridan instantly sent Sill's brigade to charge upon the retreating column. The movement was brilliantly executed, but the life of the gallant brigade commander went out in the charge.

* Rep. of Maj-Gen. Gilbert, Reb. Rec. Vol. V, p. 513. Sheridan reported his loss in this battle at three hundred and thirty—of whom forty-four were killed and two hundred and seventy-four wounded.

† About this time General Buell's army was a good deal demoralized by lack of confidence in many of the officers. Through the battle Sheridan had been riding a favorite black horse; it being shot under him, he was compelled, before the close of the action, to appear among the troops on another. They learned the cause, and rent the air with shouts for Sheridan; while by the camp-fires at night it soon became common to hear them boasting that at last they had a fighting General, who cared more for victory than he did for bullets.

Presently the enemy rallied and returned. Already the rest of the wing had been hurled back in confusion; the weight of the victorious foe bore down upon Sheridan's exposed flank and broke it. There was now come upon Sheridan that same stress of battle under which his companion division commanders had been crushed. But, hastily drawing back the broken flank, he changed the front of his line to meet the new danger and ordered a brigade to charge; while, under cover of this daring onset the new line was made compact. Here Sheridan felt abundantly able to hold his ground.

But his flank ——? The routed divisions, which should have formed upon it, were still in hasty retreat. He dashed among them—threatened, begged, swore. All was in vain; they would not re-form. Sheridan was isolated, and his right once more turned. Moving then by the left, he rapidly advanced, driving the enemy from his front, and maintaining his line unbroken till he secured a connection on the left with Negley Here he was instantly and tremendously assailed. The attack was repulsed. Again Cheatham's Rebel division attacked, and again it was driven back. Once again the baffled enemy swept up to the onset till his batteries were planted within two hundred yards of Sheridan's lines. The men stood firm. Another of the brigade commanders fell; but the enemy was once more driven. Thus heroically did Sheridan strive to beat back the swift disaster that had befallen the right.

But now came the crowning misfortune. When the rest of McCook's wing had been swept out of the contest, the ammunition train had fallen into the hands of the enemy With the overwhelming force on his front, with the batteries playing at short range, with the third Rebel onslaught just repulsed, and the men momentarily growing more confident of themselves and of their fiery commander, there suddenly came the startling cry that the ammunition was exhausted! "Fix bayonets, then!" was the ringing command. Under cover of the bristling lines of steel on the front, the brigades were rapidly withdrawn. Presently a couple of regiments fell upon an abandoned ammunition wagon. For a moment they swarmed around it—then back on the double-quick to the front, to aid in the retreat of the artillery. One battery was lost, the rest, with only a missing piece or two, were brought off. Thus riddled and depleted, with fifteen hundred from the little division left dead or wounded in the dark cedars, but with compact ranks and a steady front, the heroic column came out on the Murfreesboro' Turnpike. "Here is all that is left of us," said Sheridan, riding up to Rosecrans to report. "Our cartridge-boxes are empty, and so are our muskets!"

Thus the right, on which the battle was to have hinged, had disappeared from the struggle. Already the enemy, pressing his advantage to the utmost, seemed about to break through the center; and Sheridan, supplied with ammunition, was ordered in to its relief. He checked the Rebel advance, charged at one point, and captured guns and prisoners, held his line steady throughout, and bivouacked upon it at nightfall. This final struggle cost him his last brigade commander! "I knew it was infernal in there before I got in," was the rough but forcible exclamation of Rousseau, describing afterward his own

entry into those cedar thickets; "but I was convinced of it when I saw Phil. Sheridan, with hat in one hand and sword in the other, fighting as if he were the devil incarnate, and swearing as if he had a fresh indulgence from Father Tracy every five minutes."*

Whatever was required of him through the scattered fighting of the subsequent days, Sheridan did promptly and well, but this was the substantial end of his hard work at Stone River. His conduct throughout was soldierly and superb. So much should be said irrespective of the success that attended it. Disaster did not dispirit him; unlooked-for emergencies did not find him unprepared; there was in him that simple soldier's faith in fighting as a means of success that would not permit him to think of yielding his ground while a cartridge remained to be shot at the enemy, or of suffering his retreat to become a rout while bayonets could cover it. But, furthermore, it was his rare good fortune to hold the key to the field, and thus by his splendid fighting to save the army. For, while his obstinate defense covered the retreat of McCook's routed divisions and broke the force of the blow by which the enemy had almost annihilated† one wing of the army, while Cheatham and the other Rebel commanders were, by the testimony of their own writers, "storming about the field, gnashing their teeth at the delay and at the slaughter of their braves," Rosecrans was re-forming his lines. Before Sheridan's ammunition was exhausted the General Commanding had gathered up the tangled and raveled threads of battle. When the noble column emerged with its empty "cartridge-boxes and muskets," he was ready for whatever the Rebels might attempt; the disaster had been remedied. And so, while Rosecrans must forever stand the central figure of the great battle, none can dispute the claim of Sheridan to the place next to the foremost. If Rosecrans was the master that organized the victory, Sheridan was the bulwark behind which, at the critical moment, he was enabled to deploy his lines and mass his artillery. It was Rosecrans who fashioned and handled the weapons of victory; but among those weapons he found none so efficient, at the critical hour, as Sheridan.

The loss was terrible. Every one of the brigade commanders was shot dead. Sixteen hundred and thirty men were dead, wounded, or missing, from a division that went into battle scarcely five thousand strong.‡ "I trust the General Commanding is satisfied with my division," said Sheridan, modestly, in his report. He went on in this apologetic fashion: "The loss of Houghtaling's battery and of one section of Bush's battery was unavoidable, as all the horses were shot down or disabled. Had my ammunition held out I would not have fallen back." The army and the country considered that no apology was necessary. No one indeed thought, even yet, of Sheridan as an independent com-

*Referring to the fact of Sheridan's being a Roman Catholic, and to his relations to the well-known priest on duty at Rosecrans's head-quarters.

† So far as the purposes of that battle were concerned.

‡ The casualties given above are from the Official Report. The strength of the division is only estimated. The right wing numbered fifteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-three men, including those in hospital or on detached duty. The three divisions in it were of about equal strength.

mander, but all recognized him as a trusty and skillful soldier, in the sphere in which he was placed. General Rosecrans praised him in his report; but, with the lack of insight which often marked that distinguished officer's judgments of men, he failed to single him out as the hero of the battle. In fact, of the ten brigadiers whom he recommended for Major-Generalships, Sheridan's name was the very last on his list. The commission, however, was duly issued, to date from Stone River.

Through the long delays that consumed the spring and summer of 1863, we catch occasional glimpses of Sheridan. He was growing in the confidence of the generals; the soldiers had long trusted him implicitly. Once he was sent on an expedition against small forces of the Rebel cavalry, which penetrated almost to Shelbyville. During the inaction he kept his command in splendid drill, and acquired distinction among his brother officers for superior skill in a sort of camp ten-pin game. In the Tullahoma advance he handled his division energetically. When at last the Rebels crossed the Tennessee, he was sent forward in support of Stanley's cavalry, to try and save the great bridge across the river at Bridgeport. He dashed ahead with such vigor that his infantry outstripped the horsemen they were to support; and on their arrival, the Rebel rear-guard, which they captured, insisted that they must be the cavalry whose advance had been expected! When the railroad was repaired, Sheridan, conducting Thomas along it, was annoyed by the protracted stoppage of their train at a way-station. The conductor gave a gruff answer to inquiries about the delay, disobeyed the peremptory order to start, and finally, when called to account for it, began to tell that he only received his orders from the railroad superintendent, and not from generals of any rank. The sentence was not finished till Sheridan had felled him with a single blow of his fist, had kicked him off the train, and pulled the bell-rope. For the rest of the trip he served as conductor himself. The wild Irish boy of Somerset had grown dignified and discreet; but his old comrades would still have been apt to pronounce him "moighty handy wid his fists" upon occasion.

At last the army crossed the Tennessee. "Little Phil," as by this time he had come to be called by his admiring soldiers, was held a capital fighter, and much liked; but his capacity for something more than the command of a division under McCook, seems not even yet to have been suspected. In this painfully subordinate capacity he moved with his corps, gaining no prominence and winning no praise, save for the uniform promptness and intelligence with which he obeyed every order. On the evening before Chickamauga he was of essential service in coming to the aid of Wood's and Davis's divisions, which were hard pressed by Longstreet. Through the night he was ordered to change his position; at daybreak fresh changes occurred; and before the attack came, he found himself isolated on the extreme right. Here he held his lines in almost perfect quiet until eleven o'clock—the roar far to the left telling meanwhile of the terrible assault upon Thomas. Finally, the attack seemed to approach the division nearest him, and he was ordered to send one of his brigades to support it. Hardly had this been properly disposed, when a fresh order came for the

other brigades to move with all haste to support Thomas. Abandoning his position, Sheridan started at once. But before he reached the ground where his first brigade had been sent, disaster was once more bursting upon the fated corps. Another division commander, perversely following the letter of an order to the destruction of its spirit, had broken the lines, and the enemy was pouring into the gap and crushing the flanks, right and left. As Sheridan, marching toward Thomas, came to the rear of the brigade which he had recently detached, he found it breaking under the terrific onset. He instantly threw in his other brigades on the double-quick. They were pressed back: he rallied them, finally charged, and swept up to the ground from which his first brigade had just been driven. But it was a triumph costly and temporary. Many of his best officers fell, foremost among them, General Lytle, commanding one of the charging brigades, and in a few moments the division was once more broken and in retreat.

Rallying and re-forming his troops in the lull that followed he now had opportunity to look around him. Of all the gallant line of battle behind which he had been marching to Thomas, not a division or a brigade remained. The right, in irretrievable confusion, had drifted out of the fight; he was left alone, with the victorious enemy between himself and Thomas.

It was a rout which had carried back division and corps commanders, and even the General at the head of the army. But Sheridan's position on the extreme right, had kept him out of the whirl of disaster a little, and not one thought of retreat would seem to have entered his mind. He first essayed to continue his former march by the Dry Creek Valley Road, and so connect with Thomas's right. Finding that the enemy had reached this road before him, he turned once more, still keeping his division well in hand, and marched for Thomas's left, near Rossville, carrying with him fragments of regiments and brigades from other commands, which, still retaining some semblance of organization, gladly clung to his flanks.

At Chattanooga it was first believed that he had been involved in the common disaster to the right. Then, as he failed to appear with the rest of the routed wing, he was supposed to have been cut off and captured; and the loss of Sheridan's whole division was actually telegraphed to the North. But before the dispatches had been forwarded—indeed before some of them had been written—Sheridan was marching in on Thomas's left. He was not in time, however, to participate in the fierce struggle there, which, a little before his arrival, had driven off the enemy

Sheridan's action at Chickamauga was not so distinguished as at Stone River, and after the first disaster he was able to bring no great aid to the portion of the army that still kept up the struggle. But he fought his command with gallantry, rescued it from perilous isolation, and marched it, not like the rest, toward the rear, but in the direction of the enemy's guns. For the disasters that befell the right, he was, in no sense, responsible; for the only exception to the sweeping rout of the right he deserves all the praise. His command at the outset numbered four thousand bayonets. His killed and wounded numbered

one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine, or nearly one man for every three who went into battle.* Two of his brigade commanders received severe wounds, and one of them, the lamented Lytle, fell dead after the third.

In the changes consequent upon the removal of Rosecrans, Sheridan's command was considerably enlarged. He held his part of the lines through the siege of Chattanooga; when offensive operations were resumed his position determined his share in the storming of Mission Ridge. All the while Sherman and Hooker on the opposite flanks were advancing, he lay in line of battle; when Lookout was carried he advanced his line in front of Mission Ridge; there, all the forenoon and till the sun was nearly half down the western hemisphere, he lay watching the battle-flags of regiment after regiment marching up to re-enforce the Rebel line on his front, and awaiting the "six guns from Orchard Knob" that were to be his signal for attack. At last they came. What followed has been told by a thousand pens, and has gone into history as the most brilliant spectacle of the great war.

Before Sheridan and the companion divisions stretched an open space of a mile and an eighth to the enemy's first line of rifle-pits. Above this frowned a steep ascent of five hundred yards, up which it scarcely seemed likely that unresisted troops would clamber. At the summit were fresh rifle-pits. As Sheridan rode along his front and reconnoitered the Rebel pits at the base of the ridge, it seemed to him that, even if captured, they could scarcely be tenable under the plunging fire that might then be directed from the summit. He accordingly sent back a staff-officer to inquire if the order was to take the rifle-pits or to take the ridge.† But before there was time for an answer the six guns thundered out their stormy signal, and the whole line rose up and leaped forward. The plain was swept by a tornado of shot and shell, but the men rushed on at the double-quick, swarmed over the rifle-pits, and flung themselves down on the face of the mountain. Just then the answer to Sheridan's message came. It was only this first line of rifle-pits that was to be carried. Some of the men were accordingly retired to it by their brigade commander, under the heavy fire of grape, canister, and musketry. "But," said Sheridan, "believing that the attack had assumed a new phase and that I could carry the ridge, I could not order those officers and men who were so gallantly ascending the hill, step by step, to return." As the twelve regimental colors slowly went up, one advancing a little, the rest pushing forward, emulous to be even with it, till all were planted midway up the ascent on a partial line of rifle-pits that nearly covered Sheridan's front,‡ an order came from Granger: "If in your judgment the ridge can be taken, do so." An eye-witness shall tell us how he received it: "An aid rides up with the order. 'Avery, that flask,' said the General. Quietly filling the pewter cup Sheridan looks up at the battery that frowned above him, by Bragg's head-quarters, shakes his cap amid that storm of everything that kills, where you could hardly hold your hand without catching a bullet in it, and, with a 'How

*He lost three hundred and twenty-eight prisoners, besides a number of his wounded, who were captured in the field hospital.

†Sheridan's Official Report Mission Ridge. ‡Ibid.

are you?' tosses off the cup. The blue battle-flag of the Rebels fluttered a response to the cool salute, and the next instant the battery let fly its six guns, showering Sheridan with earth. The General said in his quiet way: 'I thought it —— ungenerous!' The recording angel will drop a tear upon the word for the part he played that day. Wheeling toward the men he cheered them to the charge, and made at the hill like a bold-riding hunter. They were out of the rifle-pits and into the tempest, and struggling up the steep before you could get breath to tell it."*

Then came what the same writer has called the torrid zone of the battle. Rocks were rolled down from above on the advancing line; shells with lighted fuses were rolled down; guns were loaded with handfuls of cartridges and fired down, but the line struggled on: still fluttered the twelve regimental flags in the advance. At last, with a leap and a rush, over they went—all twelve fluttered on the crest—the Rebels were bayoneted out of their rifle-pits—the guns were turned—the ridge was won. In this last spasm of the struggle Sheridan's horse was shot under him. He sprang upon a captured gun, to raise his short person high enough to be visible in the half-crazy throng, and ordered a pursuit! It harassed the enemy for some miles, and brought back eleven guns as proofs of its vigor.

Signal as had been Sheridan's previous services, he had never before been so brilliantly conspicuous. In other battles he had approved himself a good officer in the eyes of his superiors; on the deathly front of Mission Ridge he flamed out the incarnation of soldierly valor and vigor in the eyes of the whole American people. His entire losses were thirteen hundred and four, and he took seventeen hundred and sixty-two prisoners. But these figures give no adequate idea of the conflict. It may be better understood from the simple statement that in that brief contest, in a part of a winter afternoon, he lost one hundred and twenty-three officers from that single division—a number greater than the whole French army lost at Solferino! Through his own clothes five Minie balls had passed; his horse had been shot under him; and yet he had come out without a scratch.

No man could be more modest in detailing his own exploits; but it was easy to arouse the belligerent tendencies of Sheridan's nature by seeking to appropriate the exploits of his soldiers. In his official report he could not refrain from this gruff correction: "While we were thus pushing the enemy, and forcing him to abandon his artillery, wagons, and stores, the division of General Wood remained on Mission Ridge, constructing rifle-pits, and General Hazen and his brigade employed themselves in collecting the artillery from which my men had driven the enemy, and have claimed it their capture. General Wood, in his report to General Thomas of artillery taken, claims many pieces which were the prizes of my division, and when told by me that the report was untruthful, replied 'that it was based upon the report of General Hazen,' who perhaps will in turn base his on those of the regiments; but whether Wood, Hazen, regimental or company commanders are responsible, the

* B. F. Taylor, Esq., of Chicago.

report is untrue. Eleven of these guns were gleaned from the battle-field, and appropriated while I was pushing the enemy on to Chickamauga Station."*

Then followed the rapid march for the relief of Knoxville, under Sherman, and then the long rest of the winter, not to be broken till the bugles sounded the advance for the Atlanta campaign. But the spring that unleashed his old troops for Atlanta, was to bring to Sheridan himself new duties and wider fame.

It was largely to Grant that Sheridan had owed his start in the war, in his transfer from the routine duties of the staff to the command of a cavalry regiment. He had then worked his own way up to the command of a brigade, and in the handsome little affair at Booneville had won his star. But he was again indebted to Grant, when he had been transferred to Kentucky, for the recommendation which had secured his further promotion to the command of a division. At Perryville, Stone River, and Chickamauga, his conduct had been that of a trusty and energetic commander; but, though he had won a Major-Generalship, he had not succeeded in impressing his further capacities upon the minds of his immediate commanders. At Mission Ridge he shone; but the eyes that from Orchard Knob then watched his brilliant conduct, had followed him from the far-off days of Booneville. Their approval brought Sheridan face to face with his destiny. Grant soon applied for his transfer to the East; a few days later he was made Chief of Cavalry to the renowned Army of the Potomac; in three weeks he was covering the flank of the army as it moved upon the Wilderness.

The next eleven months were to Sheridan the seed-time and fruition of all his soldierly career. At their close he was able to say: "We sent to the War Department from 5th May, 1864, to 9th April, 1865 (the day on which the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered), two hundred and five battle flags, captured in open field fighting—nearly as many as all the armies of the United States combined sent there during the rebellion. The number of field pieces captured in the same period was between one hundred and sixty and one hundred and seventy—all in open field fighting."† Of the operations of his immediate arm, the cavalry, he was able, with a proper pride in its brilliant performance, that still never overstepped the bounds of scrupulous narration, to say: "We led the advance of the army to the Wilderness; on the Richmond raid we marked out its line of march to the North Anna, where we found it on our return; we again led its advance to Hanovertown, and thence to Cold Harbor; we removed the enemy's cavalry from the south side of the Chickahominy by the Trevillian raid, and thereby materially assisted the army in its successful march to the James River and Petersburg, where it remained until we made the campaign in the Valley; we marched back to Petersburg, again took the advance and led the army to victory. In all these operations the per centage of cavalry casualties was as great as that of the infantry, and the question which had existed—'who ever saw a dead cavalrymen?' was set at rest."

*Sheridan's Official Report, Mission Ridge.

†Sheridan's Official Reports, Gov't Edition, p. 31

How brilliantly he led the cavalry these ringing sentences of his own may suggest. But the weight of the ponderous strokes which he dealt in those closing campaigns, with cavalry and with infantry as well, must be told by other pens. We shall have to follow him through such varied service to the Army of the Potomac as his own tribute to the cavalry hints at. We shall then find him summoned in an hour of peril to the command of a great department. We shall see him drive the last Rebel organization from its borders. We shall see how his successes added enthusiasm to the Presidential campaign, and *esprit* to the army; how when he was absent his army was driven; how his individual return proved better than re-enforcements, bringing victory with him in his mad gallop; how his remorseless pursuit hung upon the great army of the rebellion in its final flight; how he planted himself across its path, tore great rents in its ranks, and at last forced it to yield; how, from first to last, he never issued a congratulatory order to the troops that wrought such deeds, never assumed that they or he had done aught but what their duty required, and at the last turned his back upon the dazzling pageant in which generals and privates were to see how their countrymen admired them, to hurry to fresh fields of duty and danger.

How these busy eleven months were crowded may perhaps be better seen in another way. Here is the official roll of the battles he fought. There are seventy-six of them! All were fought by the troops of his command—all but thirteen under orders from himself:

PARKER'S STORE, May 5, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. B. McIntosh, commanding brigade Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and infantry advance of the Rebel army.

CRAIG'S MEETING-HOUSE, May 5, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Rebel cavalry under command of General Fitz Lee.

TODD'S TAVERN, May 5, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General D. McM. Gregg, commanding Second Cavalry Division, with Wilson's Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Rebel cavalry corps under General J. E. B. Stuart.

FURNACES, May 6, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W Merritt, commanding First Cavalry Division, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

TODD'S TAVERN, No. 2, May 7, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P H. Sheridan, commanding Gregg's and Merritt's cavalry divisions, and Rebel cavalry corps under General J. E. B. Stuart.

SPOTTSYLVANIA C. H., May 8, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, and Wickham's Rebel cavalry brigade and Longstreet's Rebel infantry corps.

BEAVER DAM, May 9 and 10, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding cavalry corps, Army of the Potomac, and the Rebel cavalry corps under General J. E. B. Stuart.

YELLOW TAVERN, May 11, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding cavalry corps, Army of the Potomac, and Rebel cavalry corps under General J. E. B. Stuart.

MEADOW BRIDGE, or RICHMOND, May 12, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding cavalry corps, Army of the Potomac, and Rebel cavalry corps and four brigades of Rebel infantry.

HANOVERTOWN, May 27, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding First Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General Gordon's Rebel cavalry command.

HAWE'S SHOP, May 28, 1864.—Fought by General P. H. Sheridan, commanding, with

Gregg's cavalry division and Custer's brigade, First Cavalry Division, and the Rebel cavalry corps with Butler's South Carolina mounted infantry, under General Wade Hampton.

MATADEQUIN CREEK, May 30, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General A. T. A. Torbert commanding First Cavalry Division, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

COLD HARBOR, May 31 and June 1, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P H. Sheridan, commanding, with the First Cavalry Division (Torbert's), supported by Second Cavalry Division (Gregg's), and General Wade Hampton, with Rebel cavalry corps, supported by Hoke's Rebel infantry division, etc.

*MECHUMP'S CREEK, May 31, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, and General W. H. F. Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

*ASHLAND, June 1, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General W. H. F. Lee's division of Rebel cavalry.

*HAWE'S SHOP No. 2, June 2, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General W. H. F. Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

SUMNER'S UPPER BRIDGE, June 2, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General D. McM. Gregg, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and the right wing of the Rebel army.

*TOLOPOTOMOY, June 2, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and the left wing of the Rebel army.

*BETHESDA CHURCH, June 11, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. B. McIntosh, commanding brigade, Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General W H. F. Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

TREVILLIAN STATION, June 11, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding cavalry corps, Army of the Potomac, with the First and Second Cavalry Divisions, and Major-General Wade Hampton, commanding Rebel cavalry corps, supported by a brigade of South Carolina mounted infantry.

*LONG'S BRIDGE, June 12, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Rebel cavalry division under General W. H. F. Lee.

MALLORY'S FORD CROSS-ROADS, June 12, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding cavalry corps, Army of the Potomac, with First and Second Cavalry Divisions, and Major-General Wade Hampton, with Rebel cavalry corps, brigade of South Carolina mounted infantry, and Breckinridge's Rebel infantry division.

*WHITE OAK SWAMP, June 13, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Rebel cavalry division under General W. H. F. Lee.

*RIDDEL'S SHOP, June 13, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General G. H. Chapman, commanding cavalry brigade, Third Division, Army of the Potomac, and the infantry advance of the Rebel army.

*SMITH'S STORE, near ST. MARY'S CHURCH, June 15, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. B. McIntosh, commanding brigade, Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General W. H. F. Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

TUNSTALL'S STATION, June 21, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding cavalry corps, Army of the Potomac, with the First and Second Cavalry Divisions, and Rebel cavalry corps under General Wade Hampton.

*NOTTOWAY C. H., June 23, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Rebel cavalry division under General W. H. F Lee.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, June 24, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General D. McM. Gregg, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General Wade Hampton, commanding Rebel cavalry corps.

*ROANOKE STATION, June 25, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Kautz's cavalry division, Army of the James, and Rebel cavalry division and Home-Guards under General W. H. F. Lee.

*STONEY CREEK, June 29, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding, with Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Brigadier-General A. V. Kautz's cavalry division, Army of the James, and General Wade Hampton, commanding Rebel cavalry corps and General W H. F. Lee's cavalry division.

*REAM'S STATION, June 29, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and Kautz's cavalry division, Army of the James, and Rebel cavalry divisions of Hampton, Fitz Lee, and W. H. F. Lee, and Hoke's division of Rebel infantry.

DARBYTOWN, July 28, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding, with the First (Torbert's) and Second (Gregg's) Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Potomac, and Longstreet's corps and Wilcox's division of Hill's corps (Rebel infantry), and Hampton's Rebel cavalry corps.

LEE'S MILLS, July 31, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. Irvin Gregg, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

MOOREFIELD, August 7, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. W. Averill, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry brigades of Bradley Johnston, McCausland, and Imboden.

TOLL GATE, August 11, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. Merritt, commanding First Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel infantry division of General Gordon, and Rebel cavalry under Wickham.

CEDARVILLE, August 16, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. Merritt, commanding First Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division, and General Kershaw's Rebel infantry division.

WINCHESTER, August 17, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert commanding, with the Third (Wilson's) Cavalry Division, Lowell's brigade of First Cavalry Division, and Penrose's brigade, Sixth Army Corps, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry and Breckinridge's Rebel infantry corps.

SUMMIT POINT, August 21, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry and infantry advance of the Rebel army.

KEARNEYSVILLE, August 25, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding First and Third Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and Breckinridge's Rebel infantry corps.

KABLETOWN, August 26, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General C. R. Lowell, jr., commanding brigade First Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division, supported by Kershaw's Rebel infantry division.

SMITHFIELD, August 28, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier General W. Merritt, commanding First Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Lomax's Rebel cavalry division.

SMITHFIELD CROSSING OF THE OPEQUAN, August 29, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. Merritt, commanding First Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and General Breckinridge's Rebel infantry corps, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

BUNKER HILL, September 2 and 3, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. W. Averill, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry brigades of McCausland, Bradley Johnston, and Imboden.

ABRAM'S CREEK, September 13, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. B. McIntosh, commanding brigade, Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Kershaw's Rebel infantry division, and McCausland's Rebel cavalry brigade.

OPEQUAN, September 19, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding Army of the Shenandoah (cavalry and infantry) and Lieutenant-General Jubal A. Early, commanding Rebel Army of the Valley (cavalry and infantry).

FRONT ROYAL, September 21, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, command-

*These were fought by Brigadier-General J. H. Wilson, commanding Third Cavalry Division, under instructions from Major-General G. G. Meade, commanding Army of the Potomac.

ing Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry division under Brigadier-General Wickham.

FISHER'S HILL, September 22, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding Army of the Shenandoah (infantry) with Devin's brigade, First Cavalry Division, and Averill's cavalry division, and Lieutenant-General Jubal A. Early, commanding Rebel Army of the Valley.

MILFORD, September 22, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding First (Merritt's) and Third (Wilson's) Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

LURAY, September 24, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding First (Merritt's) and Third (Wilson's) Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

FOREST HILL, September 24, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. H. Powell, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry brigades of Jackson, Imboden, and McCausland.

WEYER'S CAVE, September 26, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. H. Powell, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division.

BROWN'S GAP, September 26, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. Merritt, commanding First Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry divison, and Kershaw's Rebel infantry division.

WAYNESBORO', September 28, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding Third (Wilson's) Division, and Lowell's brigade, First Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry and infantry.

MT. CRAWFORD, October 2, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding First (Merritt's) and Third (Custer's) Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry divisions of Fitz Lee and Rosser, and Pegram's Rebel infantry division.

TOM'S RUN, October 9, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding, with cavalry divisions of Generals Merritt and Custer, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry divisions of Fitz Lee, Rosser, and Lomax.

CEDAR CREEK, October 19, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan commanding, with Army of the Shenandoah (cavalry and infantry), and Lieutenant-General Jubal A. Early, commanding Rebel Army of the Valley (cavalry and infantry).

MILFORD, No. 2. October 26, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General Powell, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and General L. L. Lomax, with Rebel cavalry division.

MIDDLETOWN, November 12, 1864.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan commanding, with the First and Third Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and the Rebel Army of the Valley, under Lieutenant-General Jubal A. Early.

NINEVEH, November 12, 1864.—Fought by Brigadier-General W. H. Powell, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry Division under General L. L. Lomax.

LACEY'S SPRING'S, December 21, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General G. A. Custer, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry division under General Rosser.

LIBERTY MILLS, December 22, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding First and Second Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and Rebel cavalry division under General L. L. Lomax.

GORDONSVILLE, December 23, 1864.—Fought by Brevet Major-General A. T. A. Torbert, commanding First and Second Cavalry Divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and Lomax's Rebel cavalry division, and Pegram's division of Rebel infantry.

WAYNESBORO' No. 2, March 2, 1865.—Fought by Brevet Major-General G. A. Custer, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and Lieutenant-General Early, with Wharton's Rebel infantry division, Lilley's infantry brigade, and Rosser with part of a brigade of cavalry.

NORTH ANNA BRIDGES, OR ASHLAND No. 2, March 14 and 15, 1865.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan commanding, with Merritt's two cavalry divisions (Custer's and Devin's), Army of the Shenandoah, and Lieutenant-General Longstreet commanding, with Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division, and Pickett's and Bushrod Johnston's Rebel infantry division.

DINWIDDIE C. H., March 31, 1865.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan commanding, with Merritt's two cavalry divisions (*i. e.* Custer's and Devin's), Army of the Shenandoah, and Crook's cavalry division, Army of the Potomac, and Pickett's and Bushrod Johnston's Rebel infantry divisions, with Fitz Lee's and W. H. F Lee's cavalry divisions.

FIVE FORKS, April 1, 1865.—Fought by Major-General P H. Sheridan commanding, with Merritt's two cavalry divisions (*i. e.* Custer's and Devin's), Army of the Shenandoah, and Crook's and McKenzie's cavalry divisions, armies operating against Richmond, and the Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac, and Lieutenant-General Anderson, commanding Pickett's and Bushrod Johnston's Rebel infantry divisions, and the Rebel cavalry corps, consisting of Fitz Lee's, W H F. Lee's, Lomax's, and Rosser's Rebel cavalry divisions.

SCOTT'S CORNERS, April 2, 1865.—Fought by Brevet Major-General W. Merritt, commanding, with Custer's and Devin's cavalry divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and McKenzie's cavalry division, Army of the James, and infantry rear-guard of the Rebel army under Longstreet, and Rebel cavalry under Fitz Lee and W H. F. Lee.

SWEETHOUSE CREEK, April 3, 1865.—Fought by Brevet Major-General G. A. Custer, commanding Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and General W. H. F. Lee, commanding Rebel cavalry division, supported by six brigades of Rebel infantry.

WINTICOMACK CREEK, April 3, 1865.—Fought by Colonel William Wells, commanding brigade Third Cavalry Division, Army of the Shenandoah, and General Geary, commanding North Carolina brigade of Rebel cavalry.

AMELIA C. H., April 4 and 5, 1865.—Fought by Brigadier-General R. S. McKenzie, commanding cavalry division, Army of the James, and the advance of the Rebel army under General Longstreet.

TABERNACLE CHURCH, April 4, 1865.—Fought by Brevet Major-General W Merritt, commanding, with Custer's and Devin's cavalry divisions, Army of the Shenandoah, and the rear-guard of the Rebel army under General Gordon.

AMELIA SPRINGS, April 5, 1865.—Fought by Major-General George Crook, commanding Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General Fitz Lee's Rebel cavalry division, supported by Rebel infantry.

SAILOR'S CREEK, April 6, 1865.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, commanding, with General W. Merritt's cavalry divisions (Custer's and Devin's) Army of the Shenandoah, Major-General Crook's Second Cavalry Division, and the Sixth Army Corps under Major-General H. G. Wright, and the Rebel Army of Northern Virginia under General R. E. Lee.

FARMVILLE, April 7, 1865.—Fought by Major-General George Crook, commanding, Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Potomac, and General Rosser's Rebel cavalry division, supported by infantry, rear-guard of the Rebel army.

APPOMATTOX STATION, April 8, 1865.—Fought by Major-General P H. Sheridan, commanding, with Merritt's two cavalry divisions (*i. e.* Custer's and Devin's), Army of the Shenandoah, and the main advance of the Rebel army.

APPOMATTOX C. H., April 9, 1865.—Fought by Major-General P. H. Sheridan, with Merritt's cavalry command (*i. e.* Custer's and Devin's cavalry divisions), Army of the Shenandoah, and Crook's and McKenzie's cavalry divisions, armies operating against Richmond, supported by the Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac, and the Twenty-Fourth Army Corps, Army of the James, and Rebel Army of Northern Virginia (cavalry and infantry), General Robert E. Lee commanding.

The history of these seventy-six battles is the history of by far the larger part of the cavalry operations of the war. Into that we can not enter. It is likewise the history of the greatest of living cavalry Generals; and this (with a quicker pen) we may continue to trace.

Minie muskets and rifled cannon had abolished the old functions of cavalry. What its true sphere might be, under the changed conditions of war, was still an open question. Manifestly the day for grand cavalry charges, which should decide the fate of pitched battles was past, when the charge must be made for miles under a storm of rifle projectiles. So high an authority as General Sherman had declared that he had lost faith in cavalry raids.* In effect the cavalry was reduced to the drudgery of furnishing pickets for the army. It was without *esprit de corps;* the men were the target for alternate abuse and raillery from the fighting infantry; and their horses, neglected by riders never taught how to care for them, were broken down.

Sheridan's first movement was to procure the release of his cavalry from a large share of their picket-duty; his next to nurse the horses into some degree of fitness for active service. Meantime he sought to impress upon the mind of the Lieutenant-General his own idea of the work before the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac. He took up the theory, he tells us, that in that country of dense woods and numerous streams, "our cavalry ought to fight the enemy's cavalry, and our infantry the enemy's infantry. But it was difficult to overcome the established custom of wasting cavalry for the protection of trains, and for the establishment of cordons around a sleeping infantry force."† He had taken up another notable idea. He did "not believe war to be simply that lines should engage each other in battle, as that is but the duello part—a part which would be kept up so long as those who live at home in peace and plenty, could find the best youth of the country to enlist in their cause."‡ He said "the best"—he explained, "because the bravest are always the best." And with this profession of a soldier's creed, he added that, believing war to be something more than a duel, he did "not regret the system of living on the enemy's country. These men and women did not care how many were killed or maimed, so long as war did not come to their doors; but as soon as it did come, in the shape of loss of property, they earnestly prayed for its termination." Furthermore, war being a punishment and death the maximum punishment, "if we can, by reducing its advocates to poverty, end it quicker, we are on the side of humanity." Questionable conclusions, perhaps! But Sheridan's campaigns never saw such license resulting therefrom, as brought stains upon the bright honor of others. He took the best out of both his principles—showed what could be done by fighting the enemy's cavalry, and what by living off the country.

For a few days after Grant's overland movement began, he was kept busy, guarding the left of the army, protecting its trains, and feeling its way for it, out of the Wilderness, to Spottsylvania. Then, cutting loose from the Army of the Potomac, with but a half-day's rations of forage, he started to "fight the enemy's cavalry," and—get supplies on the James! Making a wide detour to avoid Lee, he next turned straight for Lee's rear and for Richmond. The Rebel cavalry could not comprehend his purpose, and frittered away its time in incon-

*Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1867, Vol. I, p. 195.

†Sheridan's Official Reports, Gov't Edition, p. 18. ‡Ibid, p. 31.

sequential attacks upon his rear, while his advance leisurely walked across river after river, where the passage might have been strenuously resisted. At last he passed the North Anna; then launching out a single division in all haste to Beaver Dam Station, he captured a rich store of supplies,* and was henceforth in no fear as to what might befall before he should reach his rations on the James. His horses' heads were turned into the open road to Richmond—the Rebel cavalry following at first in bewilderment, then, as his purpose dawned upon them, bending every energy to interpose between his advancing column and their capital. They did not succeed till the guidons of the Yankee troopers were fluttering within six miles of the city. Here, at Yellow Tavern, came the first vigorous contest between the entire forces of cavalry of the contending armies. General J. E. B. Stuart, an old and distinguished cavalry commander, was Sheridan's antagonist. He committed the tactical error of dividing his force as he was about to receive the attack, sending a large column to effect a diversion in Sheridan's rear. He paid for the error with his life. Sheridan left a small body to take care of the rear, and charged resistlessly down upon Stuart's position in front. The Rebel cavalry broke; the part in front fled toward Richmond, the column at the rear was driven northward; and, with an open road before him, Sheridan trotted down till he was within the outer defenses of the city. Then, hearing from negroes that Butler, advancing up the James, was threatening Richmond on the south, he determined to move along the defenses in such a manner as to render Butler whatever aid might be derived from a very effectual and convincing demonstration. Accordingly he turned eastward, the feet of his horses touching off the torpedoes as they moved, and made a night march along the passage between the outer and inner line of works; the Rebel cavalry, meanwhile, curiously watching to see what crazy freak this new Yankee commander would next attempt. When he came to cross the Chickahominy, he found his passage obstructed, and the bridge partially destroyed. He repaired it under fire, crossed a division on it, and pursued the enemy to Gaines's Mill. Meantime the rest of his force had been attacked before crossing the river, and one of his divisions had been driven; but the other was skillfully thrown in upon the surprised foe; the Rebels were routed and driven behind the inner breastworks of the city. What followed the unique official report shall tell us: "For the balance of the day we collected our wounded, buried our dead, grazed our horses, and read the Richmond papers, two small newsboys having, with commendable enterprise, entered our lines, and sold to the officers and men!"

Thus far the casualties had been four hundred and twenty-five. The difficulties of the movement were over, for crossings on the Chickahominy were easily secured, and the column marched, comparatively uninterrupted, through White Oak Swamp to Haxall's Landing, on the James.

Here for three days they rested. They were to return to the Army of the Potomac; but where was it? To make sure of contingencies, Sheridan decided on marching far to the eastward, crossing the Pamunkey at White House, and

* About a million and a half of rations, in all, besides medical stores, telegraph wire, etc.

feeling there for the missing army. The railroad bridge was supposed to be burnt, but on coming to examine it closely, Sheridan found he could make it passable if he only had plank. Mounted parties were at once sent out to scour the country; every man returned bearing a board; and before two divisions, sent out towards Richmond to reconnoiter and to destroy Lee's railroad had returned, the bridge was ready for their passage. A few prisoners were taken; the whereabouts of the contending armies was ascertained, and with little more difficulty they rejoined the Army of the Potomac. They had been gone sixteen days, had destroyed and captured many stores, temporarily broken the railroads, deepened the sense of insecurity at Richmond, and kept the Rebel cavalry out of Grant's way But beyond and above this, the movement had changed the mounted force of the Army of the Potomac into cavalry. Thenceforth, they had confidence in themselves and in their leader; were animated with the cavalry spirit, and were no longer doubtful of their power to compete with equal or superior forces of the enemy.

They next moved to secure for the army the crossing of the Pamunkey. Beyond the river, and but three-quarters of a mile from the infantry line, they had a hard fight with South Carolina cavalry, whom they finally drove. Next, they maneuvered for the possession of Cold Harbor, through which Grant wished to run his new line of supplies. Finally, they fought for it—first along an adjacent creek, then at Cold Harbor itself, where they drove a strong force of cavalry and infantry out of intrenchments. "The men were now beginning," says Sheridan, "to accept nothing less than victory" They were heavily attacked in their new position; but behind their slight intrenchments they held it firmly till ten o'clock next morning, when the advance of the infantry arrived to relieve them.

One of the systems of co-operative movements which Grant had so well arranged on paper (but which bitterly failed in execution) was now in progress. Sheridan, with two divisions, was ordered to assist it. General Hunter was expected to arrive at Charlottesville. Sheridan accordingly set out to cut the Virginia Central Railroad, and join Hunter at this point—it being further expected that his movement would draw off the Rebel cavalry from the flanks and trains of the Army of the Potomac. He carried a hundred rounds of ammunition, three days' rations, and two days' forage. For the rest he was to live off the country. As he started he received news that Breckinridge's infantry, and the whole Rebel cavalry, were moving westward on a route parallel to his own. He encountered no difficulty till he reached Trevillian Station, where he had hard fighting. He now learned that Hunter was not at Charlottesville but that Breckinridge was; that Ewell was still further westward; that Hunter, instead of marching to join him, was marching fairly away from him, in the direction of Lynchburg. He had nearly exhausted his ammunition. He had five hundred wounded, and as many prisoners. Thus burdened and isolated, he was facing, without rations or forage, in an enemy's country, largely superior numbers, and was without powder and ball, and without prospect of joining the co-operating column. He promptly decided to return; broke up

the railroad about Trevillian Station; used almost his last round of ammunition in the fighting that accompanied this work; left ninety wounded who could not be moved, and with the rest in ambulances, struck out north-eastwardly on his return, bearing with him two thousand escaping slaves. There was some delay in feeling for the new positions of the Army of the Potomac; and, finally, the column came safely out at White House.

A new task awaited it—to conduct the great train left there to the south side of the James, whither the army had already gone. "The train should never have been left for us," says Sheridan rather curtly—indeed he seems on several occasions ill-satisfied with General Meade's management of affairs—but his tired troopers at once undertook the work. Heavy Rebel forces hung upon his flanks; and he had to fight a stubborn battle at St. Mary's, which ended in disorderly retreat, but lasted long enough to get the train out of harm's way. And so he came out on the James.

Meanwhile General Meade had contrived to get Wilson's cavalry division, which Sheridan had left behind when he started on the Trevillian raid, into trouble. It had been sent south of Petersburg to cut railroads, had not been properly supported, and had been improperly instructed as to the forces it would encounter. Just as Sheridan was arranging for its relief it worried through, though with heavy loss.

At last came a little rest. The cavalry had now been fighting and marching continuously for fifty-six consecutive days. It was given from the 2d to the 26th of July to recuperate. Then followed a fresh movement to the north side of the James, to create a diversion in favor of the Burnside mine explosion. At Darbytown it came upon resistance, fought a brisk engagement, and came off with two hundred and fifty prisoners and two battle-flags. Then, with the supporting infantry, it drew in around the head of the bridge. At dark the floor was covered with moss and a division of the cavalry stealthily moved over to the south side. At daybreak, dismounted, and with all the pomp of fluttering banners and beating drums, they came marching back. By such maneuvers the enemy was led to believe a continuous and formidable movement to the north side was in progress. Then—the mine explosion having ended in miserable failure—he once more led back his cavalry to the lines around Petersburg. It was on the 30th of July he returned. On the 1st of August he was relieved, for harder duty on a wider field.

Of the energetic and successful use made of the cavalry belonging to the Army of the Potomac during these busy months nothing can be said but praise. When Sheridan began he confronted superior forces, under the ablest cavalry leader of the rebellion. This leader* was killed in the first battle; his troops, under subordinates so noted as Wade Hampton and Fitz Lee, were routed at almost every encounter, and when Sheridan turned his face northward, on the 1st of August, he left behind him no Rebel cavalry worthy of the name. In all his more extended movements he had lived off the country; but it is much to his credit that no outrages were permitted, and that, whenever they occurred,

* General J. E. B. Stuart.

efforts were made to bring the perpetrators to justice. He had captured during the campaign over two thousand prisoners; had placed *hors de combat* a force of the enemy at least equal to his own casualties, and had lost in killed and wounded over five thousand.

At the period which we have now reached Washington was just recovering from the alarm of an attack which, under an enterprising commander, could scarcely have failed to result in its capture. But Early had frittered away his opportunity in feeble reconnoissances; had suddenly found himself confronted by two corps; had hastily retreated, and had been followed, rather than vigorously pursued, up the Shenandoah Valley Hitherto the troops and the territory essential to the safety of the capital had been split up into four independent departments, for the convenience of the sorely beset President in finding places for his unemployed Major-Generals. General Grant now bróke up this unmilitary arrangement. He made one department of the four, and shortly afterward placed Sheridan at the head of it.

The task here was two-fold: First, and always, to protect the capital and the North from these perpetual incursions or alarms about incursions, through the open gateway of the Shenandoah Valley; and second, to defeat the Rebel army, drive it out, and prevent its return. For this work Sheridan had the Sixth and the Nineteenth Army Corps, Crook's "Army of Western Virginia," and two divisions of cavalry from the Army of the Potomac, making up an effective force, not stated in numbers officially by the General, though it could scarcely have fallen below thirty thousand. There seems little reason to doubt that Early, at the beginning of active operations, had at least twenty thousand.*

*Some controversy having subsequently sprung up as to the relative strength of the opposing armies in this campaign, it may be well at the outset to say that there seem to be no official data for arriving at Sheridan's exact strength. In his official report, describing the month's skirmishing before the battle of Opequan, he says his "effective line-of-battle strength was eighteen thousand infantry and three thousand five hundred cavalry." But General Grant speaks (in his official report of general operations through the closing year of the war) of three brigades of cavalry sent to him, "numbering at least five thousand men and horses;" and subsequently of sending also Torbert's and Wilson's divisions of cavalry from the Army of the Potomac. Sheridan himself, in his report of cavalry operations, gives the effective strength of the Army of the Potomac in that arm at ten thousand. As he received two of the three divisions, the number thus added could hardly have been less than six thousand. He had, besides these, Averill's cavalry, connected with the Army of Western Virginia, which could scarcely have been less than one thousand strong. These figures would make an aggregate of twelve thousand cavalry. The Sixth Corps had numbered nearly thirty-five thousand at the beginning of Grant's Overland Campaign; but after its passage through that protracted slaughter there appear to be no attainable official data to show its strength; nor are there any to give the strength of the Nineteenth. Sheridan officially reports the casualties in his army through the entire campaign at sixteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-two (Gov't Edition, p. 48). Unless he lost over half his army in the campaign, this would involve a strength of at least thirty thousand at the outset, besides occasional re-enforcements. Swinton (History Army of the Potomac, p. 556) states Sheridan's entire effective strength at thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. But there is a passage in a cipher dispatch of Grant's to Halleck, brought out in the final Report Com. Con. War (Vol. II, Sheridan's Campaigns, p. 35), stating that Early had received re-enforcements, raising

The region through which these rival forces were to contend was the beautiful and fertile valley of the Shenandoah—that loveliest portion of Virginia, lying between the Alleghanies on the west, and their outlying parallel range, the Blue Ridge on the east—rich, prosperous, abounding in food, and little harmed thus far by the war.

The enemy lay at Martinsburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was the northern terminus of the great turnpike to Staunton, the leading artery of the valley. Sheridan's forces were concentrated near Harper's Ferry. The distance between the two armies was not great. Between them, however, flowed the Opequan Creek. With the first signs of Sheridan's movement the enemy retreated up the turnpike to Winchester. Here Sheridan meant to attack him. But Early continued his retreat, and Sheridan, striking in on the pike behind him, pressed hard after. Thus up the valley they hastened, pursuers and pursued, till, near the bank of Cedar Creek—name which he was yet to make immortal—Sheridan was met by Colonel Chipman, from the Adjutant-General's office, who had ridden hard through Snicker's Gap, from Washington, to bear him an ominous dispatch from Grant: "Inform General Sheridan that it is now certain two divisions of infantry have gone to Early, some cavalry, and twenty pieces of artillery. He must be cautious and act now on the defensive. Early's force, with this increase, can not exceed forty thousand men, but this is too much for General Sheridan to attack."*

"At once," Sheridan tells us, "I looked over the map of the valley for a defensive line." He could find but one—that at Halltown, in front of Harper's Ferry—and he subsequently expressed his belief that no other good line for resisting the approach of a superior force existed in the valley. Thither he at once retreated—having some cavalry fighting and much maneuvering on the

his strength to "not over forty thousand—*but this is too much for General Sheridan to attack.*" Greeley (American Conflict, Vol. II, p. 607) calls Sheridan's force "nearly thirty thousand;" and as will be seen from the sentence in the text, I have thought this about the number to which the various scraps of evidence point as correct. The matter is of importance in estimating the value of Sheridan's service, since it has been common, both in Rebel circles and in certain quarters at the North, to speak of his campaign in the Shenandoah Valley as fought against an antagonist having little more than one soldier to his four. General Early himself, in a letter written from Havana, and published in the newspapers in December, 1865, charged Sheridan with exaggeration and misrepresentation as to various matters in the valley campaign, and said: "At the battle of Winchester, or Opequan, my effective strength was about eight thousand five hundred muskets, three battalions of artillery, and less than three thousand cavalry." Unfortunate as he certainly was, General Early has hitherto been considered truthful; and, at any rate, an officer having regard for his own reputation, would hardly commit himself to an untrue statement in a matter of this kind, when the means for correcting it must exist in the hands of several individuals, and are pretty sure, some day or another, to come out. But Sheridan's reply shuts us up to the belief either that Early's statement here was grossly incorrect, or that he must have displayed excessively bad generalship in fighting a great battle with only a part of his forces, or that he must have been in constant receipt of re-enforcements afterward. This reply was very simple. It consisted of a receipt from the Provost-Marshal-General of the Department, for thirteen thousand prisoners, captured from General Early's command during the valley campaign—two thousand more than Early represented as forming the entire effective strength of his army at Winchester!

*Final Rep. Com. Con. War. Vol. II, Sheridan's Campaigns, pp. 34, 35.

way. Under directions from General Grant, the wheat and hay throughout the portion of the valley thus reached, were destroyed, the order instructing "officers in charge of this delicate but necessary duty to inform the people that the object is to make this valley untenable for the raiding parties of the Rebel army."*

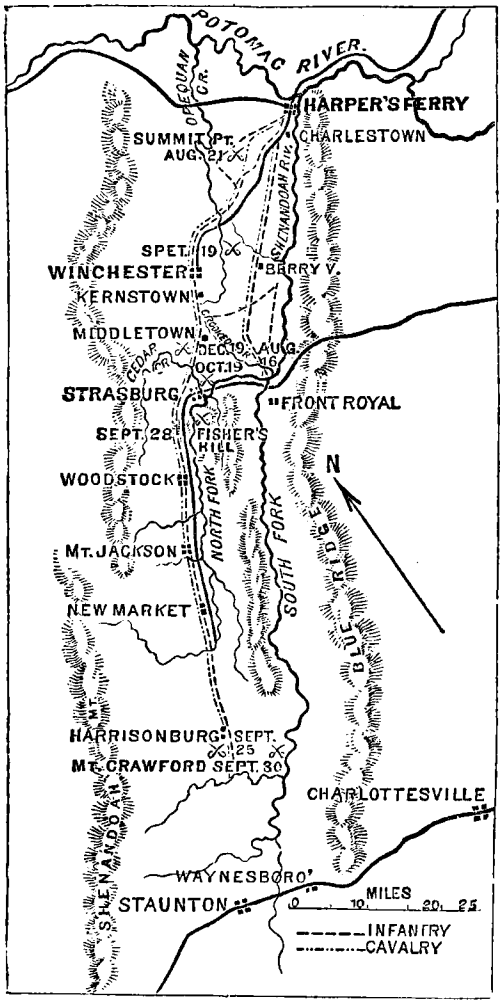
On the 21st of August Sheridan reached his defensive line of Halltown. Three days before, on the evening of the 17th, Early had reached Winchester on his advance, and had been re-enforced by Kershaw's division of Longstreet's famous corps from the Army of Northern Virginia, and by two brigades of Fitz Lee s cavalry. Still there is no reason to believe that his force by any means reached General Grant's enormous estimate of forty thousand. Subsequent dispatches indeed proved so confused and contradictory that Sheridan determined to find out for himself what force Early really had, and repeated reconnoissances were accordingly ordered. Some of these swelled into considerable engagements. They resulted in convincing the General that "the difference of strength between the two opposing forces was but little."† Meanwhile he had learned that Kershaw's division was soon to be ordered back to Richmond, and he decided to await its withdrawal. The country, he reasoned, could ill afford defeat, and no interests in the valley were injured by a little delay save those of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—a corporation never likely to suffer long without making its wants abundantly known.‡ From the 21st of August, therefore, till the 3d of September, the army lay on the Halltown line, then until 19th September on positions in front of it toward Winchester. Through all this time the cavalry was kept at work, skirmishing with the enemy, and—a matter of far greater moment—learning to attack infantry in position. The territory between the advanced lines and the bank of Opequan Creek was thus continually scoured, and behind this impenetrable veil Sheridan hoped, when the time came, to conceal the movements of his infantry.

At last, on the night of the 15th September, came news of the awaited return of Kershaw. The plan now conceived by Sheridan was bold and sagacious. He determined to abandon his own line, throw himself upon that of the enemy, on the valley turnpike behind him, and thus leave him without retreat. But as yet his orders from the Lieutenant-General did not contemplate bringing on a decisive battle. Grant, however, now came up from City Point to confer with Sheridan and decide what should be done. "He pointed out so distinctly how each army lay," says Grant in his Annual Report, "what he could do the moment he was authorized, and expressed such confidence of success, that I saw there were but two words of instruction necessary—go in! I asked him if he could get out his teams and supplies in time to make an attack on the ensuing Tuesday morning. His reply was that he could before daylight on Monday. He was off promptly to time," continues the General, "and I may here add that the result was such that I have never since deemed it necessary to visit General Sheridan before giving him orders." High compliment indeed—but we shall see how Sheridan won it.

* Final Rep. Com. Con. War. Vol. II, Sheridan's Campaigns, pp. 34, 35.
†Ibid, p. 37. ‡Ibid.

He was on the point of executing his bold movement to the enemy's rear, when word came to him that Early, keeping half his army at Winchester, had just sent the other half down to Martinsburg. Here then was an opportunity to beat him in detail. He would fall first upon the force at Winchester, then, after crushing it, would advance northward down the Valley Pike against the Martinsburg column, which, thus cut off from its line of retreat, could have no escape.

Beyond the Opequan stretched a narrow mountain gorge, through which lay the road Sheridan must take in advancing upon the Rebel positions at Winchester. Along this Wilson charged* with one division of the cavalry, sweeping out the Rebel defenders, capturing the work at the exit near Winchester, and securing space for the deployment of the army. But Emory's Nineteenth Corps was unfortunately delayed by its blunder in allowing the wagon-train of the Sixth to precede it, and the difficulty of the roads increased the detention, so that it was nine o'clock before the lines were ready to advance.



SHERIDAN'S VALLEY CAMPAIGN.

Before this time Early had recalled the absent divisions, and concentrated his army. Moving up, therefore, to the attack with the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps, Sheridan met a heavy and obstinate resistance. He still held Crook in reserve, meaning, at the turning point in the battle, to throw him in on his left, and thus reach the Valley Pike, and still gain the enemy's line of retreat. But now Early, hoping by a powerful attack to break through the National front, seize the gorge, and thus plant himself upon *its* line of retreat, made a desperate onset upon the center. The line was completely broken; toward the gorge began a rush of confused soldiery from half the regiments; the battle was almost lost. At this critical juncture Sheridan drew aside one of the brigades in the line, which had just missed the full force of the Rebel blow, and ordered it to reserve its fire. Early's attacking column rushed on after the fleeing regiments till it had unwarily exposed its flank. Then, upspringing, the brigade poured in its fire, and rushed upon the enemy's flank and rear. The diversion threw back the successful assaulting column; the corps commanders exerted themselves to re-form their lines, and bring back the

* 19th September, 1864.

thousands from the rear; and before Early could prepare to renew his venture, a compact wall of infantry once more confronted him.

Along the center fierce line-fighting progressed, each side lying close to cover, and firing with a deliberation and accuracy that the long ranks of corpses on the battle-field afterward attested. On the right, however, the storm increased; and Sheridan began to grow fearful that it would be turned. At last he determined to avert this danger by abandoning his original design of putting Crook in on the left, and by using him instead as a turning column on the right. His attack was vehement and successful. Just as the enemy began to flee, one looking down the Valley Pike might see the rest of Sheridan's cavalry charging up. They had made a long detour to the right, had routed the Rebel cavalry, and were now driving a confused mass of infantry and cavalry up the pike and into Winchester. In the open ground in front of the town Early made a last stand. But Wilson's cavalry was now pushing in on the left to gain the pike in his rear; Sheridan ordered a combined infantry and cavalry charge on the front; and the battle was over. It was five o'clock in the evening.*

In his hasty dispatch to the War Department from the battle-field, Sheridan said: "We have just sent the enemy whirling through Winchester, and are after them to-morrow. This army behaved splendidly. We captured two thousand five hundred to three thousand prisoners, five pieces of artillery, nine battle-flags, and all the Rebel dead and wounded. Their wounded in Winchester amount to some three thousand."† He wrote exactly as he felt. He had been into the fight, had thrilled with the rapture of the charge, and the pride of the pursuit; and it was but putting the cavalry enthusiasm into words, when in his lively phrase he telegraphed to the listening Country, as he talked to the comrades around him, that they had sent the enemy whirling through Winchester. How he fed on the fighting as on food a hundred stories of the battle are told to illustrate. But this bit of a picture from the pen of a regimental officer must suffice. The general advance had just been ordered: "A mounted officer, followed by a single orderly, galloped up to us. As he reined in his horse a Rebel shell, one of the many which were now tearing through the wood, burst within a few feet of him, actually seeming to crown his head with its deadly halo of smoke and humming fragments. 'That's all right, boys,' he said, with a careless laugh. 'No matter, we can lick them.' The men laughed; then a whisper ran along the ranks that it was SHERIDAN! Then they burst into a spontaneous cheer. 'What regiment is this,' he asked; and dashed off toward the firing." So it was that he was magnetizing these troops, who a month ago had scarcely heard of him, into the confidence that a month later, was to enable

*In the statements of the General's plans, in the above, and generally in the account of this campaign, where other authorities are not quoted, I follow closely Sheridan's own official reports.

†Early states that he had only eleven thousand five hundred effective force in this battle. Were the statement credible it would detract greatly from the glory of the victory, for Sheridan's force engaged could scarcely have been less than twenty-five thousand. See note on this subject, *ante*, p. 521.

his simple presence among them to turn rout into sturdy resistance, and presently into inspiring victory.

In the morning after Opequan* the whole army pushed forward, and by nightfall the advance corps had found the enemy intrenched at Fisher's Hill, and had gone into position before him. Fisher's Hill is a steep bluff overhanging the south bank of the little stream known as Tumbling River, and is impregnable to direct attack. The Valley here contracts to a width of only three and a half miles. The enemy had intrenchments across it, and evidently considered himself safe. But he was much weaker than at Winchester the day before, both by reason of his heavy losses in killed and wounded, and especially because of the dispiriting effect of the ghastly loss and the hurried retreat upon the survivors. Furthermore, he was very uneasy about his rear—protected by only a small cavalry force at a mountain gap, against one of Sheridan's splendid divisions which he knew to be assailing it.

Throughout the succeeding day Sheridan maneuvered. The massing of his force on a small part of the enemy's front mystified Early; and on the morning of the 22d that commander was still further deceived by a movement of cavalry against his skirmish-line, which he took for a turning column. Meantime Crook, whose force had been carefully concealed from observation, was now hurriedly and secretly thrown westward to the extreme edge of the valley, where he moved up unperceived, and struck Early's thin flank a blow that instantly rolled it backward. He then swung in on the rear; the line on the front rushed forward, overrunning all opposition and forming a connection with his flank; with a single dash the rout of the enemy was complete.

But Sheridan seemed forever doomed to disappointment in the efforts to plant a force across the Valley Pike in the enemy's rear. Torbert should have forced his passage as had been expected. If he had, Sheridan's sanguine expectation of capturing the whole opposing army might well have been realized, for, in its rout from Fisher's Hill, it scarcely preserved the semblance of even a company organization. As it was, pursuit was instantly ordered through the darkness. At Harrisonburg Early got together fragments of his force and took a strong position; but presently left again in great haste, as his flank began to be threatened. The pursuit was pushed hard, and finally Early took to the mountains at Brown's Gap, where, soon, Kershaw once more came to his assistance. Sheridan continued picking up prisoners, and sending out cavalry expeditions through the length and breadth of the Valley, even penetrating to Staunton and Waynesboro'

The Valley was clear; the Rebel column had disappeared. It was now, therefore, to be decided whether the army should push after it into the mountains, and advance on Charlottesville and Gordonsville. The Department evidently expected this, and it would appear that General Grant once desired it. "I was opposed to it," says Sheridan, frankly, in his report, "for many reasons, the most important of which was that it would require the opening of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, and to protect this road against the numerous guerrilla

*20th September, 1864.

bands would have taken a corps of infantry. Besides, I would have been obliged to leave a small force in the Valley to give security to the line of the Potomac. This would leave me but a small number of fighting men." And he further instances the danger of being overwhelmed in the mountains with this small force, by a sudden detachment from Lee's army, into the vicinity of which his march would be carrying him. He accordingly advised that the campaign in this direction be ended, and the bulk of the troops returned to the Army of the Potomac. Grant assented, and the march back again down the Valley began.

When Sheridan assumed the command, scarcely two months before, the first orders he received were those under which his predecessor was acting: "In pushing up the Valley, it is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage and stock wanted for the use of your command. Such as can not be consumed, destroy. It is not desirable that buildings should be destroyed—they should rather be protected; but the people should be informed that so long as an army can subsist among them, recurrences of these raids must be expected, and we are determined to stop them at all hazards." General Sheridan officially reports that, "fully coinciding in the views and instructions of the Lieutenant-General, that the Valley should be made a barren waste, I stretched the cavalry across, from the Blue Ridge to the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, with directions to burn all forage and drive off all stock, etc., as they moved to the rear."

But, unfortunately, he did more than "coincide." Here is his first account of the destruction in one of his dispatches from the field. "In moving back to this point, the whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain has been made untenable for a Rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements; over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep." But it is to be observed, with pleasure, that "the most positive orders were given not to burn dwellings." It would have been better if mills had been included in the exemption. To destroy these was to inflict vengeance on the country for many years to come, and it was not required by the terms of General Grant's order. For the rest, Sheridan is not responsible. It will, however, be long regretted that this cruel devastation, at best of doubtful necessity, involved innocent and guilty in a common and dread calamity; while it proved unavailing to keep out the Rebels, who, a few weeks later, were driving his surprised army in confusion from Cedar Creek. The laws of war admit such general destruction of food, in those special cases in which "the advantage gained may seem adequate to the sufferings inflicted."* It would be hard to show wherein such advantage was realized in the Shenandoah Valley. But it is to be said that General Sheridan did all he could to prevent riotous license from mingling with the stern destruction. In this he stands in enviable contrast with another, and not less distinguished Ohio General. "As he rode down the Mar-

*Twiss,-Law of Nations, Vol. I, p. 125.

tinsburg Pike in his four-horse wagon," writes an admiring staff officer,* "with heels on the front seat, and smoking a cigar, while behind him his cavalry was destroying the provender that could not be carried away, the inhabitants of the Valley doubtless regarded him as history regards the Emperor who fiddled while Rome was burning, and would not now believe what is the simple truth, that this destruction was distasteful to him, and that he was moved by the distress he was obliged to multiply upon these unfortunate people whose evil fate had left them in the ruinous track of war so long."

As he retired, the Rebel cavalry, under a new leader, General Rosser, dogged his heels, and strove to prevent the destruction. Finally Sheridan halted; ordered Torbert to attack, and notified him that the infantry would wait till he had defeated them. "I thought it best," he telegraphed, "to make this delay of one day here and settle this new cavalry General." And he goes on to tell how Torbert charged and drove him, and pursued him "on the jump twenty-six miles."

About this time he received the notice of his appointment to the Brigadier-Generalship in the Regular Army, made vacant by the lamented death of his old classmate, McPherson. Here, indeed, was success. "Perhaps, in the chances of war, I may win a Major's commission," he said in 1861. It was now only 1864; he had long been a Major-General of Volunteers; and now, in the inner circle of his and every West Pointer's idolatry, the regular service, he was a Brigadier, with an appointment that would last for life. But even this faintly conveyed to him the immense stride he had taken. General Grant had ordered a salute of a hundred guns "in honor of Sheridan's great victory" The War Department tendered him formal thanks, and emphasized the declaration that "your cavalry has become the efficient arm in this country that it has proved in other countries, and is winning by its exploits the admiration of the country and Government." The country went wild over his successes; great political calculations were based upon his achievements, and the important State and Presidential elections of the fall were largely influenced by his ringing dispatches from the field, which, to over half the nation, soon became familiar in their mouths as household words. Sheridan s pre-eminence as a cavalry officer was admiringly conceded on all hands. Not yet, however, had the public come to recognize the real breadth and strategic ability of the General's mind. In this respect, indeed, the very brilliancy of his exploits retarded the solid growth of his fame.

We have seen that the victor of the Valley and those who controlled the conduct of the war differed as to the policy now to be pursued. Sheridan s vigorous representations had gained an assent to his far-seeing and sagacious views; but at Cedar Creek he was met by a dispatch from the marplot "Chief of Staff" at Washington, instructing him to "take a position far enough south to serve as a base for further operations upon Gordonsville and Charlottesville," which, furthermore, was to be "strongly fortified and provisioned." It was stated that

* Colonel Newhall. With General Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign, pp. 22, 23.

this plan originated with Grant, but Sheridan did not hesitate to repeat his objections to it. Finally, Secretary Stanton telegraphed him* that a consultation on several points was exceedingly desirable, and ordered him, if possible, to go down to Washington.

Sheridan spent a day in arranging the affairs of the army The enemy had returned to Fisher's Hill, but was not thought likely to take the offensive. His army was placed at Cedar Creek; the cavalry was started to Front Royal, on its march to the Army of the Potomac. Sheridan himself accompanied it thus far; then turned off through Manassas Gap to Piedmont, and took rail for Washington. On the way warning dispatches came to him from Wright, who was left in command. A message from Longstreet to Early had been taken off the Rebel signal-flag. It read: "Be ready to move as soon as my forces join you, and we will crush Sheridan." Wright thought the enemy's cavalry might give some trouble, but he had no fears save for his right flank. Unfortunate misconception!

Sheridan thought the Rebel dispatch might prove a ruse, but at once ordered back the cavalry, sent instructions to Wright to call in all his forces and be watchful, and promised to be back not later than Tuesday He spent but six hours in the consultations at Washington. Even then he was too late.

On the night of the 18th, while Sheridan was approaching Winchester, on his return, Early and Longstreet were stealthily moving out from Fisher's Hill. So careful and minute were their arrangements for silence on the march that they even took away the canteens from their men, lest their rattle against the bayonet-sheaths or cartridge-boxes should be heard. Wright, as we have seen, was apprehensive about his right flank. His disposition of the entire cavalry there showed it, and the enemy at once profited by the disclosure. They moved rapidly to the opposite flank. Here the front was scarcely protected at all. The exultant army that had followed the Rebels "whirling up the valley" was utterly incredulous as to the possibility of attack. They slept, officers and men, the deep slumber of absolute confidence. Pickets were advanced but a short distance from the camp, so short a distance that the Rebel column crept around them, within six hundred yards of the main line! Some pickets did report the sound of marching in the darkness on their front, and General Crook ordered men into the trenches; but this report failed to arouse much apprehension, and they neglected to send out a reconnoissance. The front line was broken here and there by regiments sent out for picket-duty—even these gaps were unfilled.†

*13th of October, 1864.

†These statements, of course, involve culpable negligence. General Crook, commanding this wing, proved himself so competent and valuable an officer throughout the war, that readers will be glad to believe him not wholly responsible. General Wright had impressed the idea that the danger, if any existed, was on the other wing. General Crook had, however, insisted on having his flank covered by cavalry, and a division had been ordered to him, but had not yet arrived. In a subsequent portion of this work (Vol. II, Twenty-Third Infantry) it will be seen that the belief was current, both among officers and men, that this cavalry had arrived, and that officers starting out under this supposition to join it were actually captured by the enemy. General Crook himself, however, could hardly have been lulled into security by this belief. But much weightier responsibility attaches to General Wright. He created the impression that the

The dawn was obscured by fog. Through this there suddenly came bursting the wild charging yells of the Rebel infantry—not Early's often beaten troops alone, but the flower of the Army of Northern Virginia. The extremity of Crook's line, taken thus by surprise in flank and rear, was doubled up in confusion precisely as, a few weeks before, Crook had himself doubled up Early's flank at Fisher's Hill. The enemy was into the trenches before all the muskets of the defenders were loaded; the movement was quick, ordered, forceful, on the part of the assailants—hesitating and bewildered on the part of the confused troops thus rudely awaked from their dreams of security. In fifteen minutes the struggle was practically over. The Rebels, knowing perfectly their ground, and knowing, moreover, precisely what they wanted to do, drove forward their charging columns with a rapidity that to the surprised army seemed amazing. The Nineteenth Corps next gave way; next, only a little more slowly, the Sixth. Long before this the tide of runaways had swept down the pike as far as Winchester, twenty miles away. The camps were abandoned, twenty-four pieces of artillery were lost, and the whole army was in full retreat on Winchester. Nearly five miles down the valley it began to come together, and General Wright essayed the formation of a defensive line. He was presently interrupted by his Chief, who "here took the matter in hand."

General Sheridan had arrived at Winchester the night before, on his way back from the consultation at Washington, to which he had been ordered. In the morning artillery firing was heard, but it was attributed to an intended reconnoissance, and nothing was thought of it. After an early breakfast, Sheridan mounted and trotted quietly through Winchester, southward. A mile from the town the first fugitives from the lost field were encountered. He instantly gave orders to park the retreating trains on either side of the road, directed the greater part of his escort to follow as best it could, then, with only twenty cavalrymen accompanying him, he struck out in a swinging gallop for the scene of danger. As he dashed up the pike the crowds of stragglers grew thicker. He reproached none; only, swinging his cap, with a cheery smile for all, he shouted: "Face the other way, boys; face the other way. We are going back to our camps. We are going to lick them out of their boots." Less classic, doubtless, than Napoleon's "My children, we will camp on the battle-field, as usual;" but the wounded raised their hoarse voices to cheer as he passed, and the masses of fugitives turned and followed him to the front. As he rode into the forming lines, the men quickened their pace back to the ranks, and everywhere glad cheers went up. "Boys, this never should have happened if I had been here," he exclaimed to one and another regiment. "I tell you it never should have happened. And now we are going back to our camps. We are going to get a twist on them; we 'll get the tightest twist on them yet that ever you saw We 'll have all those camps and cannon back again!" Thus he rode

danger was on the other flank, failed to get the cavalry over when asked for, and, above all, completely neglected the emphatic injunction sent him by Sheridan, on the first note of alarm—to call in the cavalry from Front Royal on the left. This cavalry was not called in, and between it and the left of the infantry Early and Longstreet passed for their sudden onset.

along the lines, rectified the formation, cheered and animated the soldiers. Presently there grew up across that pike as compact a body of infantry and cavalry as that which, a month before, had sent the enemy "whirling through Winchester." His men had full faith in "the twist" he was "going to get" on the victorious foe; his presence was inspiration, his commands were victory.

While the line was thus re-established, he was in momentary expectation of attack. Wright's Sixth Corps was some distance in the rear. One staff officer after another was sent after it. Finally Sheridan himself dashed down to hurry it up; then back to watch it going into position. As he thus stood, looking off from the left, he saw the enemy's columns once more moving up. Hurried warning was sent to the Nineteenth Corps on which it was evident the attack would fall. By this time it was after three o'clock.

The Nineteenth Corps, no longer taken by surprise, repulsed the enemy's onset. "Thank God for that," said Sheridan gayly. "Now tell General Emory, if they attack him again, to go after them, and to follow them up. We'll get the tightest twist on them pretty soon they ever saw." The men heard and believed him; the demoralization of the defeat was gone. But he still waited. Word had been sent in from the cavalry of danger from a heavy body moving on his flank. He doubted it, and at last determined to run the risk. At four o'clock the orders went out: "The whole line will advance. The Nineteenth Corps will move in connection with the Sixth. The right of the Nineteenth will swing toward the left."

The enemy lay behind stone fences, and where these failed, breastworks of rails eked out his line. For a little he held this position firmly His left overlapped Sheridan's right, and seeing this advantage, he bent it down to renew the attack in flank. At this critical moment Sheridan ordered a charge of General McWilliams's brigade against the angle thus caused in the Rebel line. It forced its way through, and the Rebel flanking party was cut off. Custer's cavalry was sent swooping down upon it—it broke, and fled or surrendered, according to the agility of the individuals. Simultaneously the whole line charged along the front; the Rebel line was crowded back to the creek; the difficulties of the crossing embarrassed it, and as the victorious ranks swept up it broke in utter confusion.

Custer charged down in the fast gathering darkness to the west of the pike; Devin to the east of it; and on either flank of the fleeing rout they flung themselves. Nearly all the Rebel transportation was captured, the camps and artillery were regained; up to Fisher's Hill the road was jammed with artillery, caissons and ambulances; prisoners came streaming back faster than the Provost-Marshal could provide for them. It was the end of Early's army; the end of campaigning in the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah.

The effect upon the Government and the country was electric. The first rumors of disaster were painful and wide-spread. On the heels of these came Sheridan's dispatch, announcing the reverse and its retrieval, and giving a faint hint of the splendid prizes—artillery for an army, transportation, ammunition, small arms in a profusion that could scarcely be estimated. General Grant

telegraphed from his position before Richmond: "I had a salute of a hundred guns from each of the armies here fired in honor of Sheridan's last victory. Turning what bid fair to be disaster into a glorious victory, stamps Sheridan what I always thought him, one of the ablest of Generals." The Secretary of War indorsed and published this to the world. The resignation of General McClellan soon made a vacant Major-Generalship in the regular army, and to this highest prize in his profession Sheridan was promoted.

It was a giddy height to which our modest little red-faced Captain, who thought he might yet be a Major, had risen; but his head was not turned. He did not even give vent to his exultation in congratulations to his army. "Every one realized our success"—so he wrote soon after, in his official report—"congratulatory orders were unnecessary, and every officer and man was made to understand that when a victory was gained it was not more than their duty nor less than their country expected from her gallant sons." But the Country could at least make its own congratulations. The name of Cavalry Sheridan was in all mouths. His exploits became the favorite theme of speakers, the inspiration of poets,* the argument against all who held to the Chicago declaration that the war was a failure. Sherman had not yet fastened the gaze of the nation by his grander operations; Grant had still to give Richmond as proof of his title to the power with which he was vested; and for the time Sheridan was the most popular of our generals.

But even yet the public scarcely rose to the true height in their appreciation of him. His campaign in the Valley justified their warmest plaudits; but they attributed it all to his "dash," when far more was due to the breadth

* The noblest of the poems thus inspired, indeed, the noblest lyric of the war, has a special interest here, both by reason of its connection with Sheridan, and because of its Ohio authorship. Readers will be glad to find it given in connection with this sketch of its hero, and to have also an account of the circumstances under which it was written:

"Mr. Murdoch, the tragedian, had devoted himself during the earlier years of our struggle, with a noble and self-sacrificing patriotism, to the task of raising money for the Sanitary Commission, and all other benevolent projects intended for the benefit of 'our boys in blue.' He had delivered lectures and recitations all over the country, the proceeds going to the objects we have named; and at length, as the war was drawing toward its close, his numerous friends in Cincinnati proposed a magnificent ovation for Mr. Murdoch's own benefit—his finances having somewhat suffered from his unselfish and unsparing efforts in the cause of the soldier and the country. At breakfast on the morning of the benefit night, Mr. Murdoch, who was staying at Mr. Thomas Buchanan Read's house (and who had been chiefly, or at least very largely, reciting Mr. Read's noble lyrics and battle sketches during the two years preceding), remarked to his poet friend: 'I'm sorry, Read, that you did not give me some original poem for to-night. Something new and fresh that would arouse the audience and set the blood leaping through my own veins as I spoke. The fact is, I feel rather a dread of this occasion; and without some stimulus of the kind can not speak as well for myself as I did for others.' Mr. Read suggested that it was not yet too late. If Murdoch really wished it, he would try his hand at something new. Murdoch, however, persisted that it *was* too late—firstly, because poets can not always write to order; and secondly, because he, Murdoch, would require some hours to study whatever Mr. Read—even in the brief space allowed him—might find his Muse willing to offer. 'Nevertheless,' said Read, 'I'll try. That Ride of Sheridan's from Winchester to Cedar Creek we have just been reading about gives me a subject; and if you stay here some few hours, I'll run up to my library and see what can be done.' In less than three hours he returned to the breakfast parlor and placed in the hands of

of his sound strategy, and his combination of all the qualities that go to make up a successful General. His performance at Cedar Creek went far to confirm this mistake. That remarkable battle was compared—justly enough—to Marengo. The points of similarity were striking. Marengo began as a defeat; so did Cedar Creek. The Austrians attacked at day-break at Marengo; the Rebels did the same at Cedar Creek. Napoleon did not arrive on the field till about eleven; Sheridan's arrival was near the same hour. At the appear-

the tragedian, equally delighted and astonished, the perfect manuscript of that noblest and most fiery of all our war-songs, 'Phil. Sheridan's Ride.'"

SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

Up from the South at break of day,
Bringing from Winchester fresh dismay,
The affrighted air with a shudder bore,
Like a herald in haste, to the chieftain's door,
The terrible grumble, and rumble, and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more,
And Sheridan twenty miles away.

And wider still those billows of war
Thundered along the horizon's bar;
And louder yet into Winchester rolled
The roar of that red sea uncontrolled,
Making the blood of the listener cold,
As he thought of the stake in that fiery fray,
And Sheridan twenty miles away.

But there is a road from Winchester town,
A good broad highway leading down;
And there, through the flush of the morning light,
A steed as black as the steeds of night
Was seen to pass, as with eagle flight,
As if he knew the terrible need;
He stretched away with his utmost speed;
Hills rose and fell; but his heart was gay,
With Sheridan fifteen miles away.

Still sprung from those swift hoofs, thundering south,
The dust, like smoke from the cannon's mouth;
Or the trail of a comet, sweeping faster and faster,
Foreboding to traitors the doom of disaster.
The heart of the steed and the heart of the master
Were beating like prisoners assaulting their walls,
Impatient to be where the battle-field calls;
Every nerve of the charger was strained to full play,
With Sheridan only ten miles away.

Under his spurning feet the road
Like an arrowy Alpine river flowed,
And the landscape sped away behind
Like an ocean flying before the wind,
And the steed, like a bark fed with furnace ire,
Swept on, with his wild eye full of fire.
But lo! he is nearing his heart's desire;
He is snuffing the smoke of the roaring fray,
With Sheridan only five miles away.

ance of their commanders, the armies—French and American alike—rallied. There followed with each a period of doubtful but steadying resistance. At four Napoleon ordered the attack that cost him Dessaix, and won him the field; at the same hour Sheridan gave his orders for attack. Napoleon swept the enemy into and through Marengo, captured twenty pieces of artillery and eight standards; Sheridan swept the enemy across Cedar Creek and through Strasburg, captured forty-nine pieces of artillery and ten standards. Napoleon's loss was eight thousand; Sheridan's six thousand. Here, however, the parallel ends. Napoleon's victory was won by the arrival of Dessaix's Corps; Sheridan's was won by the arrival of a General.

It was this that the public forgot. It was not a mere dashing fighter who re-established the lines of the routed army; who turned the enemy's flanking him into an opportunity; who skillfully combined his cavalry and infantry in his final assault, and followed up the defeated army like a bloodhound. Nor was it a mere dashing fighter who saw at the outset of the campaign that his plan was not to drive the enemy out of the Valley, but to crush and annihilate him in the Valley; who was ready to disappoint the public expectation of his dash and vigor by delaying, for a month, at Harper's Ferry for the opportune moment to strike; who held his army so in hand that he was ready to fight a pitched battle on twenty-four hour's notice; who, in the full flush of his intoxicating success, drew rein at Woodstock, and assumed the responsibility of disappointing the General-in-Chief, the Government, and the country, by refusing to continue his movement to Charlottesville.

These were strokes of military genius—worthy to be named beside the first in the war. On these, indeed, rather than on the brilliant "dash" of the fighting must Sheridan's position in history depend. For it is not to be forgotten that results in war lose their brilliancy in proportion to the preponderance

> The first that the General saw were the groups
> Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops,
> What was done? what to do? a glance told him both,
> Then striking his spurs, with a terrible oath,
> He dashed down the lines, 'mid a storm of huzzas,
> And the wave of retreat checked its course there, because
> The sight of the master compelled it to pause.
> With foam and with dust the black charger was gray;
> By the flash of his eye, and the red nostril's play,
> He seemed to the whole great army to say,
> "I have brought you Sheridan all the way
> From Winchester, down to save the day!"
>
> Hurrah! hurrah for Sheridan!
> Hurrah! hurrah! for horse and man!
> And when their statues are placed on high,
> Under the dome of the Union sky,
> The American soldiers' Temple of Fame;
> There with the glorious General's name,
> Be it said, in letters both bold and bright,
> "Here is the steed that saved the day,
> By carrying Sheridan into the fight.
> From Winchester, twenty miles away!"

of force in the hands of the commander, and not to be denied that Sheridan's preponderance of force was great.* The casualties of the campaign were sixteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-two.† The number of prisoners taken from the enemy was thirteen thousand; of pieces of artillery, one hundred and one (besides twenty-four recaptured after being lost at Cedar Creek); of battle-flags, forty-nine.

While Sherman, heading northward from Savannah, was drawing nearer and nearer, the doomed army that still held its lines before Richmond and Petersburg, Sheridan now started southward to complete what has often not inaptly been termed the Circle of the Hunt. His instructions contemplated the destruction of the Virginia Central Railroad and the James River Canal—the great arteries that fed Richmond from the westward. He was then to take Lynchburg if possible, and to return to Winchester, or move southward to join Sherman, as circumstances should dictate. But General Sheridan had now risen to that point in the confidence of his commander and of the Government, that he could venture to form plans of his own whenever those formed for him seemed inferior. And so we shall see that his movement resulted quite otherwise from the expectations entertained by the General-in-Chief. At the outset he found a feeble force under Early still keeping up a show of resistance. The route to Lynchburg was open, but he decided not to leave this force in his rear, and, accordingly, the head of his column was turned in this new direction. At Waynesboro' Early was found, his position was carried by the cavalry at a gallop, his men, sixteen hundred strong, threw down their arms—as Sheridan's unique report tells us—"with cheers at the suddenness with which they were captured;" and the train, eleven pieces of artillery and other valuable spoils, were taken with them. Parties were sent out to destroy Rebel property collected at various depots through the country; the railroad was reached at Charlottesville, and the destruction of the track was begun.

Meantime heavy rains had deluged the land. The melting snow from the mountains swelled the freshets, and the spring thaw broke up the roads so that rapid movements were impossible, and only great energy could secure movement at all. Furthermore, during the delay for the action with Early, and that subsequently compelled by the roads, the enemy had time to concentrate at Lynchburg a considerable force. Sheridan now, therefore, decided to abandon the effort against that city, and likewise—since every bridge across the James between Lynchburg and Richmond was destroyed—to abandon the project of moving southward to join General Sherman.

*See extended note on this point *ante*.

† These casualties were divided as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Crook's command	301	1,947	637	2,885
Sixth Corps	578	3,965	357	4,899
Nineteenth Corps	586	3,093	1,361	5,020
Cavalry	454	2,817	646	3,917
Provisional Division	19	91	121	231
Aggregate	1,938	11,893	3,121	16,952

There remained in his instructions the return to Winchester. But he was now, as he said, "master of all the country north of James River." He thereupon decided to assume the responsibility of abandoning General Grant's instructions—moving, instead, down the north bank of the James and essaying the dangerous venture of a march, by the flank, past Richmond to the army before Petersburg. This would place his command where he knew it was wanted, and would give him further opportunities to make his destruction of the road and canal (from Richmond westward) more complete. Till he reached the neighborhood of Richmond he was safe. Then, indeed, it became him to use every precaution to protect his flank and rear, and secure a passage over the Pamunkey, the Chickahominy, and the James, in the face of the watchful enemy. To fail here would bring not merely defeat, but also disgrace, since it would be held that he had invited the disaster by assuming to disobey his orders.

Pushing his advance, however, boldly down the river toward Richmond, as if none of these things troubled him, he then suddenly drew it back, almost due northward, to the point on the Gordonsville and Richmond Railroad, whither the rest of his command had already hastened. He was now safely out of reach from Richmond, without danger to his flank. But he was still far from the White House, where he hoped to find supplies and cross toward Grant; and to march directly thither would still expose his flank, while it would also disclose his intentions. He already knew that Longstreet was preparing to oppose him. He determined, therefore, to hold that officer on his front by assuming a bold initiative. Turning straight toward Richmond, his horsemen trotted down till they were within eleven miles of the city Then, while a single brigade amused the gathering enemy, the rest of the command, behind its cover, made all haste north-eastwardly till the South and North Annas were crossed, and the column stood within easy distance of White House, with Longstreet still looking for it at Richmond. These operations happily combined daring and skill. They carried the command safely through grave difficulties; and greatly aided the Lieutenant-General, by leaving the troops in good season at the place they were wanted, instead of forcing him to wait while they made the tedious march back to Winchester, and then down to the Army of the Potomac. The movement was as successful, therefore, in its ending as it had been throughout its progress. It left Richmond without communication with the rich granaries of south-western Virginia, by roads north of the James; destroyed enormous supplies,* and left no organized enemy along its track.

*Nothing can so well show the injury inflicted upon the enemy by this march, as the bare list of property destroyed or captured, as furnished in the official report:

46 canal locks.
5 aqueducts.
40 canal and road bridges.
2 naval repair shops with machinery.
2 steam canal dredges.
1 machine shop.
1 forge.
9 portable forges.
1 lumber yard.
1 foundry.
21 warehouses.
6 government warehouses.
606 hogsheads tobacco.
500 kegs tobacco.
58 boxes tobacco.
8,000 pounds tobacco.
1 tobacco factory, valued at $200,000.
336 sacks salt.
500 bushels salt.
12 barrels potash.
29 canal boats loaded with hospital, quartermaster, com. stores and ammunition.

At last all eyes could see the approaching end. Scarcely fifty thousand men were left within the lines of Richmond and Petersburg. Upon this hapless remnant of brave soldiery was fallen the defense of the Confederacy at the vital point. Looking southward, its far-seeing commander could behold but one loose-jointed organization, perhaps half as strong, to which he could turn for aid; looking in every direction, he could behold the converging bayonets of the million soldiers of the Nation, against whose overwhelming force he still kept up the hopeless struggle. He yet might strike one blow with the old skill—then, under cover of that, escape. But other eyes saw the same one-sided conditions of the opening campaign. While Lee was maturing his attack, Grant was preparing for one more "movement by the left, toward the South-Side Railroad." With the success of such a movement must come the end, for there was no longer any other avenue for supplies to the doomed city and army When Lee's attack failed, Grant thrust out his turning column.

The flying verge of this was Sheridan's cavalry, nine thousand strong. Covered with the laurels of the Shenandoah, the successor in the regular service to the Major-Generalship of the first and most distinguished leader of the Army of the Potomac, the commander of a great department, the most popular General, as we have seen, in the armies of the country, had cheerfully—from the love of fight that was in him, and the enthusiasm to share in the last struggle for the final triumph—dropped back into his old position at the head of the cavalry of this single army But he was no longer subjected to the irksome necessity of taking commands from its little-liked chief. He received his orders from General Grant alone. He was to cut loose from the advancing infantry;

6 flat boats loaded with com and quartermaster stores.
41 miles railroad.
10 railroad depots, with tanks, buildings, etc.
400 feet railroad trestle work.
4 railroad cars.
23 railroad bridges, averaging 400 feet each.
6 railroad culverts.
400 cords wood.
27 miles telegraph.
3,000 pairs pants
2,000 shirts and drawers.
50 kegs powder.
500,000 rounds rifle ammunition.
1 barrel oil.
400 gross buckles and rings.
3 saw mills.
7 flour and grist mills.
1 cloth mill filled with machinery, in full operation, containing an immense am't of Confederate gray cloth.
3 cotton mills with machinery.
1,500 pounds wool.
35 bales cotton.
1 candle manufactory.
1,000 pounds candles.
3 tanneries filled with hides and leather.
1,500 bushels wheat.
1,000 grain sacks
600 barrels flour.
18 wagon loads grain and com. stores.
1 jail at Goochland, used for imprisonment of National soldiers.
225 ambulances and wagons.
98 wagons loaded with ammunition and stores.
75 beef cattle.
100,000 feet bridge timber.
1,500 cotton quilts.
1,000 pounds bacon.
7 water tanks.
3,000 pounds fixed ammunition.
Quantity of shell.
500 wall tents.
500 saddle trees.
500 cavalry saddles.
110 sides harness leather.
904 sets harness.
1,000 shelter tents.
3 pieces rifled cannon.
5 pieces rifled cannon with limbers.
9 pieces rifled cannon.
6 caissons.
1,900 small arms.
A quantity small arms.
60 carbines.
2,143 horses and mules.
3 large and deep breaches made in James River and Kanawha Canal.

strike the South-Side Railroad and destroy it; then return to the Army of the Potomac, or sweep southward to Sherman, as circumstances might suggest.*

On the 29th of March, 1865, the general movement began. Sheridan pushed forward vigorously, selecting his own roads. By nightfall he was in bivouac at Dinwiddie C. H., with the Rebel cavalry to the south of him, and forced to march around him to the westward, by a wearisome detour, before it could again get into position. Here came to him Grant's famous order: "I now feel like ending the matter before going back. I do not want you, therefore, to cut loose and go after the enemy's roads at present. In the morning push around the enemy if you can, and get on his right rear."† At the same time came rain—first in gentle showers, then in a torrent. The wagon-trains everywhere stuck fast, the troops went supperless to bed, and all expected the movement to end as similar movements had, the season before, in utter defeat by the elements. But at daybreak General Sheridan decided to visit Grant, and consult with him as to the details of his notable plan for "ending the matter before going back." The rain was still pouring down, and everything on wheels was hopelessly swamped, as the cavalry leader rode back through the shivering, cowering crowds of infantry, to the bottomless sand-field in the midst of which stood the Lieutenant-General's tent. Grant thought, if cavalry could wade over the roads, he would like to have them move up a little—it would be better than absolutely standing still. Sheridan cheerfully assented, said good-bye to his chief—"as chirpily"—a staff-officer‡ tells us, "as if the elements were smiling," and hurried off orders to the cavalry to move on Five Forks. It was his last interview with Grant (save a glimpse, one morning, at Jettersville), till, ten days later, he was able to turn over to him the flag of the Army of Northern Virginia.

*Grant and his Campaigns—Orders to Sheridan, p. 433. †Ibid, p. 436.

‡Colonel Newhall, of General Sheridan's staff. In his book "With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign," pp. 57–59, he gives a pleasant picture of the ride, and of this scene:

"Wishing to have a perfectly clear idea of General Grant's proposed plan of ending the matter, General Sheridan, soon after daylight on the 30th, mounted his gray pacer (captured from Breckinridge's Adjutant-General at Mission Ridge), and paced rapidly over to the head-quarters of the Lieutenant-General, taking two or three staff-officers, with a dozen men for an escort. This little party raised an immense commotion on the picket-line of the army, and only after such persevering dumb-show as the friendly Friday made to Robinson Crusoe was it permitted to approach. Once inside, the pacer was let out again, and rein was drawn only when the horses slumped to their bellies in the quicksand-field, where General Grant had pitched his tent, from which he regarded the tempest with derision.

About this time things certainly looked rather blue to a superficial observer; the troop, just out of comfortable winter-quarters, cowered under their scant shelters, or dragged themselves slowly along to their place in line, clogged with mud and weighed down with the drenching rain. In every by-way and in every field, wagons were hopelessly imbedded in the glutinous soil. Drivers and mules had given it up, and the former smoked their pipes calmly under the wagons, while the latter turned tail to the storm and clustered around the feed-box, where they had put their heads together from habit, for there was nothing in the box to eat, and they *must* have been asses if they hoped the forage-wagons would get to the front that day. General Sheridan, water dripping from every angle of his face and clothes, was ushered into the presence and councils of the Lieutenant-General; and between them they soon settled that, as it was within the limits of horse possibility for cavalry to move, they would move a little and see what came of it, if only

The cavalry was now at Dinwiddie C. H. Six miles north lay Five Forks, a point covering the roads west from Lee's intrenchments and north to the South-Side Railroad, and therefore a point to be jealously guarded. Dinwiddie and Five Forks were two angles of the triangle within which occurred the maneuvers that decided the fate of the army. The third angle was eastward, where the infantry advance was pressing upon the end of Lee's protracted line of intrenchments. If now the reader will fix this triangle in his mind he will have the geography of the contested region—apex at the westward end of Lee's Petersburg lines, one side leading thence south-westward along the Boydton Plank Road to Dinwiddie, the other side westward from the same point along the White-Oak Road to Five Forks, and the third side formed by the Ford Road running north and south between Dinwiddie and Five Forks.

At the eastward angle Grant's infantry advance faced Lee's. At the southern angle lay Sheridan. The westward angle Lee *must* protect, to cover the South-Side Road from Sheridan. Yet, to do it, he must either leave Grant's infantry advance on his flank (at the eastward angle), while he faced Sheridan at Five Forks, or he must seek to sweep it out of the contest before going westward to Five Forks. He determined upon the latter course, and vehemently assailed Warren, with such success as to throw back two of his three divisions in confusion. The disaster was, indeed, speedily remedied, for Warren's corps was skillfully posted *en echelon*, but Lee, not waiting for this (and probably not supposing it possible) hurried westward to Five Forks. Here Sheridan, advancing, found himself confronted by a force he could not hope to master—"Pickett's division, Wise's independent brigade, and Fitz Lee's, Rosser's, and W. H. F Lee's cavalry commands," as he enumerated them in a subsequent note to the Lieutenant-General. While his advance held near Five Forks,* the enemy pushed westward around its flank, burst suddenly upon it, hurling it

to pass the time, for on a day like this the most ardent man must find employment, or he will begin to think that he is a helpless party to a fiasco, which it must be acknowledged we all appeared to be just then. The only thing, probably, that could have amused the company on that inauspicious morning, would have been an excited horseman straining through the treacherous soil, waving his hat, and crying out that Lee would surrender to Grant, one hundred miles from there, in ten days from date. That would have been extremely amusing, and the toughest veteran would have smiled grimly.

"Very hopeful, but somewhat incredulous, were the veterans, and it was rather their fashion to scoff in the last year of the war. There were precedents for all sorts of campaigns except "the last," and the old troops were somewhat skeptical when that was predicted. They had something of the feeling of the man in "Used Up," who had been everywhere and seen everything—been up Mount Vesuvius, looked down the crater, and found nothing in it. Lee had escaped them by only so much as Tam O' Shanter's mare escaped at the bridge, and, possibly, for the reason that armies like witches are balked by streams, as the Potomac and Rappahannock would seem to testify. They had been in Burnside's "mud movement," and looking on this picture and on that they discovered the counterfeit presentment of two brothers, so far as it was given to them to see; but the Lieutenant-General and General Sheridan had not been in the other mud movement, and they are not men of routine to care for precedent, so the latter got into his wet saddle again, said good morning to the Lieutenant-General as chirpily as if the elements were smiling, and sent off a staff-officer by a short-cut to find General Merritt, on the road from Dinwiddie to Five Forks, and tell him to move out a little further and stir up the animals.

*31st of March, 1865.

back eastward, and thus cut it completely off from Sheridan's main column in front of Dinwiddie. The force thus isolated and in danger of speedy capture consisted of three cavalry brigades. But Sheridan was never so plucky or full of resources as in the most dangerous crisis. Hastily sending word (by a long detour) to the dislocated brigades to continue their retreat through the woods till they struck the lower side of the triangle (the plank road leading to Dinwiddie, by which they might return to him), he waited till the pursuing enemy, in ignorance of the force it was passing, had rushed on eastward after the flying brigades, exposing its rear to his columns about Dinwiddie. Then he fell fiercely upon them. They, of course, faced by the rear rank to meet this new danger, and abandoned their pursuit. The isolated brigades made their way around to Dinwiddie in safety; while Sheridan, dismounting his cavalry and throwing up fragments of hasty rail-breastworks, resisted the onsets of the whole Rebel force now concentrated upon himself. Officers were hastily dispatched to bring up Custer, who was still in the rear with the trains. The horse artillery was brought into position, and as soon as opportunity offered was used with effect. An attack of the Rebel cavalry was repulsed with a single volley. At last came, with the level rays of the setting sun, a charge upon this obstinate dismounted cavalry of Sheridan's, by the whole line of the Rebel infantry, not less than twelve thousand strong. There was no better infantry anywhere. As they advanced Sheridan, cap in hand, galloped along his lines, and from end to end rose the cheers of the confident cavalry. The group of horsemen drew the first fire of the enemy; the repeating carbines of the cavalry puffed out their responses; and till dark fierce musketry firing raged. But the enemy halted soon after entering the open fields before Sheridan's lines, apparently not choosing to drive such vigorous fighters to extremities without more daylight for the task. They wrapped themselves in their blankets, and sank down in line of battle on the bloody ground; the cavalry did the same; and darkness shut in assailed and assailants on the common field of Dinwiddie C. H.*

But for the Cavalry General there was little rest that night. He waited

*Colonel Newhall, of Sheridan's staff, thus describes the last onset. (With General Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign, pp. 70, 72):

"The sun was nearly down now, but one more effort of the enemy was yet to be made to get possession of Dinwiddie C. H., and win some fruits of the hard day's work, which, so far, had borne but barren honor. The thundering salute to their cavalry had hardly ceased to echo through the woods when the long line of their infantry slowly debouched on the plain—infantry that was hard to beat. We used to think that living was such a poor life with them that they did not much care to continue it. They had an air of *abandon*, a sort of devil-may-care swing in their long stride as they advanced over a field, that was rather disheartening to men that did not want to get shot. And these were some of their best—parts or all of Pickett's and Johnston's divisions of Anderson's corps. While they were still deploying, Pennington's brigade of Custer's division reached the field, and was immediately ordered to the right, to the support of Gibbes. Catching sight of the enemy, Pennington's men burst into a glorious cheer as they splashed through the miry road behind the rails, and from left to right the shout was passed along, while General Sheridan, cap in hand, galloped up the line with some of his staff and Generals Merritt and Custer, who were with him at the moment, and drew the first fire of the now advancing enemy. Mud and bullets flew, and an enthusiastic reporter of the New York Herald, who was carried away by his feelings at this juncture, was shot in the shoulder following the General.

till it seemed certain that the enemy would attack no more till morning; then sat down in a little cabin filled with his wounded soldiers, and wrote to the Lieutenant-General what had occurred through the day, concluding: "This force is too strong for us. I will hold out at Dinwiddie C. H. until I am compelled to leave." Then came in the brigades that had been cut off in the morning, and they were conducted to their new positions and put into line. Meantime, by ten o'clock Grant had received Sheridan's report, and by midnight his answer had arrived. Warren was ordered to Sheridan's support—"should arrive by midnight"—and a thousand more cavalry were sent. The Lieutenant-General specified the routes by which Warren was to move. One route would bring the force that took it into Sheridan's lines. The other would lead the force upon it square against the rear of the enemy's lines—an arrangement that would either bring on an engagement in the thick woods in the night or disclose to the Rebel column in the morning that it had enemies on front and rear. Sheridan saw it and gloated over the prospect. But midnight passed, one o'clock passed, two, three—and still no word of Warren. Then Sheridan wrote, assuming that at least the division on the enemy's rear had got into position:* "I understand that you have a division at J. Boisseau's; if so, you are in rear of the enemy's line, and almost on his flanks. I will hold on here. Possibly they may attack here at daylight. If so, attack instantly and in full force. Attack at daylight anyhow. I will make an effort to get the road this side, and if I do, you can capture the whole of them." The hours passed away; no sounds of attack arose, and no word came from Warren. Dawn struggled through the dense fog, and disclosed an infantry line still facing the cavalry in their rail breastworks.† It was found to be—not Warren, as had seemed possible—but the Rebel force, still holding on, in spite of the danger that, since the Lieutenant-General's orders to Warren, had been menacing his rear. Before the cavalry could move out against it, it wound into the woods and disappeared. The cavalry pushed in after it, and before long the patter of musketry told that the skirmishers were engaging its rear-guard. At last Warren was heard from. He had not thought it prudent to move down toward Dinwiddie through the

Our artillery now opened, and at such short range could not fail to be destructive, and a moment later the carbines of five brigades were blazing in the twilight, the repeating Spensers puffing out their cartridges like Roman candles. The heavy fire from both sides continued for a few minutes, and, meanwhile, darkness settled down upon us. Gradually the fire from the enemy became fitful and irregular, and soon ceased altogether, for, as they advanced across the open ground, they seemed to count the cost of carrying our line, and weigh the advantages of holding the Court-House by such uncertain tenure as theirs would be, separated by miles from their own army, and liable to be annihilated before they could rejoin it. Acting on the conclusion of this sober second thought, they contented themselves with such glory as the day had brought, and, wrapping themselves up in it, lay down in their tracks to rest, as soon as the slacking of our fire permitted."

* Sheridan's Official Report.

† We have another pleasant picture, from Colonel Newhall's pen. (With General Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign, pp. 89, 91), describing the uncertainty here existing:

"Meanwhile, before daybreak, General Sheridan and his staff might have been very indis-

woods on the enemy's rear, in the darkness, while uncertain about the safety of his own rear, thus exposed to any force which Lee might suddenly order out from the Petersburg intrenchments. His troops were accordingly directed to halt and get breakfast; while—the chance at Dinwiddie being thus lost—the cavalry should push the enemy up to Five Forks, and see what better fate awaited them there.

"I here determined," Sheridan tells us, "that I would drive the enemy, with cavalry, to Five Forks, press them inside their works, and make a feint to turn their right flank; and meanwhile quietly move up the Fifth Corps with a view to attacking their left flank, crush the whole force if possible, and drive westward those who might escape, thus isolating them from their army at Petersburg." It was a happy conception; its successful execution made Five Forks forever memorable—if not as the virtual close of the war, at least as the most important in the quick series of blows which secured that close.

The Rebel force now drawing back to Five Forks contained Pickett's division, seven thousand strong; Bushrod Johnson's, six thousand; and two small brigades besides—in all say fifteen thousand. It had doubtless discovered that its contest was no longer with Sheridan's ten thousand cavalry, but with a formidable infantry corps as well; and it is quite probable that through the night a considerable portion of its numbers had already been withdrawn, in fear of the

tinctly seen emerging from the Dinwiddie Hotel and mounting their trusty steeds. It was a very foggy morning; even after the hour of sunrise heavy vapors rendered only indistinctness perceptible, and when we reached the picket-line of Custer's division, which was in front, beyond Dinwiddie, the most straining eyes could not see many yards beyond the works, which our men had strengthened during the night, and were now fit to resist horse, foot, or dragoons. Gradually the fog lifted, and Generals Sheridan, Merritt, and Custer, each with staff and escort, proceeded to make a reconnoissance, which soon developed a long line of infantry, with skirmishers to the front, and mounted officers prancing gaily about. The question then arose under which king this line was marshaled. We had heard nothing of the Fifth Corps, which was to attack at daylight, and it seemed very possible that the enemy might have stolen away in the night, declining to be sandwiched between General Warren's command and our cavalry, and this, then, might be the Fifth Corps confronting us. There was a great division of opinion. Field-glasses were leveled and eyes were shaded to discover whether the line was friend or foe. Some cried 'They're blue!' and some 'They're gray!' but for awhile nobody was sufficiently certain to venture any nearer; already we were within easy musket range, but not a shot was fired—still the line did not advance, neither did it retire, and the anxiety for some sort of demonstration was growing painful, when one of Custer's staff discovered, through his glass, most unmistakable blue, and dashed boldly down toward a mounted officer, who was caracoling his horse on the neutral ground between our party and his skirmishers. We heard a 'Halt!' a question and an answer, and then the sharp report of a pistol, and Custer's officer came galloping back through the muddy field, and was able to report positively that the line was gray—a very gray gentleman having shot at him and called him some highly improper names. Our cavalry was at once ordered forward, and while the order was being carried back to the troops the stolid line faced to the right and coiled itself rapidly into the woods, only giving us time to send after it our compliments in a couple of rifled shells, which were fired partly for the sake of the damage they might do, but principally as a signal to General Warren that we were on the move, with the enemy in front of us. But as he had hardly yet started from his last night's encampment, we might well have saved the ammunition."

danger menaced by Warren's ability to march upon its rear.* Against this fifteen thousand Sheridan was bringing the Fifth Corps, say thirteen thousand strong, and ten thousand cavalry—overbalancing the enemy's strength by a surplus of eight thousand. Under the stress of this hostile superiority, it was natural that the enemy should draw into his intrenchments without very vigorous opposition to the hard-pressing cavalry By two o'clock his skirmish-line was driven in, and around his front the enveloping cavalry drew its cloud. Behind, Sheridan was free to develop his plan.

Warren was now ordered up from the neighborhood of Dinwiddie. While his movement went on, the cavalry was to occupy the enemy's attention on the front, Warren was to advance (on the Gravelly Run Road which carried him to the east of Five Forks,) till, reaching the northern side of the triangle, he struck the White Oak Road, leading out to Five Forks. Here he was to turn sharp west, with a left-wheel, and burst straight upon the flank and rear of the unsuspecting enemy, who was still facing southward against the cavalry.

Sheridan remained on the front with the cavalry, repeating and re-repeating to General Merritt (the immediate commander) his plans for co-operation with the infantry attack. Then leaving the cavalry to demonstrate to the westward of the enemy's line, he rode off eastward to where the infantry should now be going into position on the flank. He was disappointed in finding the corps not so far advanced as he had hoped. Warren sat on a log sending out his orders and enjoining haste. Sheridan could not bear this standing off and giving orders—he thought it was an occasion for the energizing effects of the corps commander's own presence. Three or four times he urged the necessity of speedy movements upon Warren with a manner sufficiently indicative of a brewing storm, and those who knew him best watched his eyes as they began to glare in rage, and foreboded ill-luck for the officer who should fail to satisfy his demands for swift execution of orders.† Meanwhile he found a relief for his restlessness in providing for a new danger that threatened from the direction of Lee's fortified lines on the eastward about Petersburg. Some anxiety had begun to be felt there, it would seem, for the situation of Pickett and Johnson at Five Forks, and a small column was now moving out to their aid. To meet this Sheridan sent Mackenzie with a thousand cavalry in hot haste—to hurl it back, and then return to aid in the impending conflict.

At last Warren's corps was up. Wheeling westward, it had before it the flank and rear of the hapless body of fifteen thousand Rebels in Five Forks. It interposed between them and their army, stood on their line of retreat, and

* In the acrimonious discussions that have sprung out of Sheridan's act in relieving Warren at the close of the battle of Five Forks, there has been much dispute on this point. Warren's friends have maintained that the enemy retreated from Dinwiddie during the night; Sheridan's that he retreated next morning before the cavalry. The matter does not possess the importance with which these discussions have invested it; but the probability seems to be that at daybreak nothing but a strong rear-guard was facing Sheridan at Dinwiddie. In any event it is plain that the purpose of retiring to Five Forks had been formed before the cavalry began their movement on that day.—See Warren's pamphlet, "The Fifth Corps at Five Forks."

† With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign, pp. 98, 99.

was ready to drive them upon—Sheridan's cavalry! It was four o'clock when the movement began. Sheridan cantered out before the infantry line—his head-quarters' flag fluttering in the breeze—and pushed hard up toward the skirmishers in his eagerness. Just then Mackenzie came galloping back. He had driven the Rebel column that was coming out from the Petersburg lines, had brought back his command, and was ready for the greater fight in hand.

Presently the left of the Fifth Corps struck the Rebel flank, the center and right overlapping it and enveloping its rear to the northward. They were moving through dense woods, and this gave rise to some confusion. Two or three regiments became unsteady and finally broke. Just then Sheridan came dashing in, and the magnetism that had turned Cedar Creek into a victory soon checked the untimely alarm. But he noted, with baleful look, that Warren was not on the spot at the critical moment. As the line steadied he seized his head-quarters' flag and with it rushed forward to head the advance. They struck the enemy's left, doubled it up, and under orders that there should be no stopping in the whirl of victory to re-form lines, leaped forward upon his center. The opening roar of musketry was the signal to the cavalry on the front, and presently the crack of their repeaters came to swell the diapason of the circling battle. Meantime the center and right of Warren's line bent up around the enemy's flank, and now came in upon his rear. What men might do, these veterans of the army of Northern Virginia did. Facing at once to rear and front, they made a gallant effort to keep up the unequal contest. Warren, leading his center and right, had gained the Ford Road leading from Five Forks northward to the railroad depot, and now came down this. A short crotchet of the line here met them, and for a little the disordered assailants were thrown back. Then Warren, calling on his men to follow, dashed forward. His horse was shot within a few yards of the Rebel breastworks. But the position was carried, and the line swept down to the Forks. Simultaneously, the part of his corps which with Sheridan had borne the brunt of the fighting, came up the Rebel line, fairly elbowing its defenders out of their works, and the cavalry, charging in from the south, reached over on their line of retreat. Five thousand men threw down their arms; the rest were torn from their connection with Lee's army and driven westward, pursued and harassed till long after dark by the insatiable cavalry

But before the pursuit began General Sheridan's displeasure with General Warren had culminated. He thought that officer should have exerted himself to inspire confidence among the men at the first breaking of the line; he had seen nothing of his splendid behavior subsequently (which, indeed, was not displayed at the critical point), and savagely recalling the disappointment the night before at Dinwiddie, he resolved to have his subordinates imbued with more energy and dash. He accordingly relieved Warren from the command of the corps. It was a power which had come to him unsolicited; its exercise had been provoked by the tardiness which kept him from striking the enemy at Dinwiddie, and by the aggravation of the subsequent delays. Yet one who remembers how prudent much of Warren's conduct really was, and how frequently

past experience had vindicated its wisdom, and who recalls the splendid gallantry and often-proved ability of the man, can not but regret that, as he disentangled himself from the horse that had been shot under him within a stone's throw of the last Rebel breastwork, he should have been met with an order that sent him from the field in disgrace.*

General Grant, in his annual report, out of these brilliant operations, singled Sheridan's conduct at Dinwiddie C. H. for special commendation. "He here displayed," said Grant, "great generalship" by fighting, "instead of retreating with his whole command on the main army to tell the story of superior forces encountered." Unquestionably Sheridan's conduct at Dinwiddie was handsome, but it furnished a conspicuous exhibition of his invincible pugnacity rather than of signally brilliant generalship. It was the next day, in the perfect plan of Five Forks, that he displayed a capacity for large movements, for which not even the Shenandoah campaign had given him credit with the public. High authorities have pronounced Five Forks the most perfect battle, in its tactics, ever delivered in Virginia—Virginia, that had witnessed the efforts of well-nigh every General who rose to distinction in the Eastern service. The victory was indeed won with a considerable preponderance of forces, but this does not detract from the unsurpassed plan, and the almost equally unsurpassed execution.

The battle of Five Forks was fought on the 1st of April. On the 2d Grant broke through Lee's meager lines before Petersburg. That night Lee drew across the Appomattox and retreated westward. On the morning of the 3d Sheridan was off in pursuit. There had been some busy marching of the cavalry on the 2d, and Sheridan regretted that he had not retained the infantry to aid him; but the issue was already decided along the close-locked lines before Petersburg. Sheridan was now without orders, but he never doubted for one moment what to do. Lee was going to Danville. It was his business to head him off—not to harass his rear, or delay with his stragglers, but head him off! So he took a line of march parallel to Lee's. The Rebel cavalry was encountered and brushed aside; stragglers were picked up, and a little artillery was captured. But there was no serious opposition. The Rebel soldiers had everywhere, in their retreat, declared the failure of the Confederacy; the inhabitants seemed anxious to stand well with the Yankees; even an old negro, in reply to Sheri-

* There is no occasion to enter here into the points of this much-vexed controversy. General Warren demanded a Court of Inquiry, which General Grant refused—so far indorsing General Sheridan's conduct in removing him. Subsequently General Grant assigned him to other responsible duty—thereby saying to the world that the reasons of his removal did not touch Warren's honor as a soldier, nor his unquestioned capacity. There can be little doubt that General Grant's course was judicious. Sheridan's blood was up; he had the enemy at advantage, knew it, and demanded from every subordinate the same ceaseless exertions and undoubting faith in the result that he himself displayed. Warren was an engineer, by nature and by profession cautious; he had been accustomed to a large share in the confidence of his superiors; had greatly aided in forming the plans for previous movements, and on more than one occasion had not hesitated to take the responsibility of changing them upon his own judgment. At a time like this Warren was no fit subordinate for Sheridan.

dan's question where the Rebels had gone, said, "Siftin' souf, sah, siftin' souf." Meantime the scouts were busy; and on the morning of the 4th, from their reports and from the general indications, Sheridan had made up his mind that Lee was heading for Amelia C. H., on the railroad to Danville. A few miles south of Amelia, on the same road, is Jettersville. Thither Sheridan turned his column, straining every nerve to reach it before Lee could strike Amelia. His success (if only he could hold the point) would end the retreat toward Danville. There was a little cavalry fighting through the day, and a number of wagons were snatched from the enemy, but by five the several divisions were entering Jettersville, and Sheridan was sending back a staff officer with orders to ride his horse down in bearing swiftly to Meade the news that he was across the enemy's path; that Lee would doubtless attempt to break through; that he would do all in his power to hold the ground, and that he implored the infantry to hurry up and force a surrender

All through the night Sheridan watched for attack, and sent back renewed messages for the infantry. Day broke peacefully, the sun had moved well up the sky, and still Lee, lying quietly five miles off, failed to improve his opportunity and break through the cavalry curtain that alone stood between him and the open road to Danville. If he had—but history need only record that he did not, and that he so missed his only chance for escape.* The Fifth Corps—the head of which had got up the night before—was soon in position; the Second came up early in the afternoon, and Lee's retreat to Danville was an impossibility. Thenceforward there was no hope of junction with Jos. E. Johnston. Meanwhile Sheridan, suspicious that the quiet about Amelia might be concealing an effort to steal away, sent out some cavalry westward. This speedily fell upon a train and captured one hundred and eighty wagons, a thousand prisoners, and five pieces of artillery at a dash. The spoils were sent safely to the rear; but the cavalry soon found that the enemy was not yet powerless. A heavy force was sent out from Amelia to cut them off, and they had hard fighting to get in again.

Next morning† Meade assumed command of the infantry. Sheridan pushed out his cavalry to the westward, and it was shortly discovered that the roads were filled with trains. Lee had abandoned a direct movement toward Danville, and was heading south-westward. Crook, who was in the advance, dashed at the tempting prizes, but speedily recoiled. The trains belched out sulphurous smoke and death; they were heavily guarded by the best infantry of the Army of Northern Virginia. Then Sheridan gave his orders. Each division was in turn to try an attack on the trains, while the others pushed ahead to try in turn at new points. If anywhere in those long, exposed lines Lee had left one unguarded point, this style of movement would find it. By noon it was found. At Sailor's Creek Custer planted himself fairly upon a section of the

* In point of fact, he could not. He had expected rations at Amelia C. H., and had been cruelly disappointed by the blundering of subordinates. He was accordingly compelled to halt and send out foraging parties to seek food for his exhausted soldiers.

† 6th April.

train. Crook and Devin came galloping up to his support, and they took sixteen pieces of artillery, besides four hundred wagons and some prisoners.

Meantime Sheridan himself waited behind. Some cavalry and a battery he kept with him, and the last he set to work practicing on the passing wagon covers. Then sitting down on a stump, he took out his pocket field-book and scratched off a dispatch to the Lieutenant-General: "From present indications the retreat of the enemy is rapidly becoming a rout. We are shelling their trains and preparing to attack their infantry. Our troops are moving on their left flank, and I think we can break and disperse them. Everything should be hurried forward with the utmost speed." With this an aid dashed off at a gallop in the direction of Amelia C. H., where the Lieutenant-General had been left. In a moment the restless Cavalryman, boiling over with energy and impatience as he watched the Rebel wagons go by, had whipped out his field-book and was writing again: "The enemy's trains and army were moving all last night, and are very short of provisions and very tired indeed. I think that now is the time to attack them with all your infantry. They are reported to have begged provisions of the people of the country all along the road as they passed." With this another aid went off galloping. Then Sheridan, waiting still for the Sixth Corps, which had been directed to report to him, ordered his little brigade of cavalry to fill up the time with a charge. They made it gallantly, and though the men lined the front of the enemy's position with dead horses, they came back satisfied at seeing the movement of the Rebel infantry arrested while their commanders should look for the meaning of this wild assault. It was a fortunate delay; for just then Crook and the rest, a couple of miles further on, were beginning their break into the lines.

The head of the Sixth Corps appeared as the little brigade of cavalry came back from its charge. It at once attacked under Sheridan's personal leadership, carried the road, then formed on either side of it, with Sheridan himself and his escort on the center; and so, with hot skirmishing and the incessant crackle of musketry mingling with the rush of the regiments through the woods, advanced for a mile or more. Then came the open ground about Sailor's Creek; across it a force of the enemy in strong position, with skirmishers obstinately holding the ground on the hither side; beyond, columns of smoke blurring the beauties of the spring landscape. Sheridan grasped the situation instantly His cavalry divisions in advance had planted themselves where the smoke (from the burning trains) was rising, across the road along which the force he was pursuing retreated, and had thus cut them off. He forthwith hastened the preparations for attack. Just then a young cavalryman, quiet and resolute-looking, in spite of the peril he had just defied, broke through the enemy's skirmishers and galloped up to Sheridan. He was one of Custer's men, had charged with his division, and, ahead of his comrades, had leaped his horse over the enemy's breastwork. Unable to get back, he had dashed through to the other side; and here he was to tell General Sheridan that his cavalry had already captured guns, wagons, and prisoners, and was now on the opposite side of this Rebel force, pressing hard the attack. He rode off quietly as he

finished his story, and doubtless thought he had done only an ordinary thing; but Sheridan takes care to tell us that "this gallant young soldier was private Wm. R. Richardson, company A, Second Ohio Veteran Cavalry."

At last then the remorseless energy of this pursuit had brought a portion of the flying army to a compulsory stand. Sheridan hastened his preparations to attack. Wright with the infantry (Sixth Corps) moved up on the enemy's left; the single brigade of cavalry which the General had kept back went in on the extreme right. As the infantry crossed the creek they were met with a terrific fire. Part of them fell back in disorder to the water, and the Rebels dashed up in pursuit. But here they were caught by the enfilading fire of the divisions which had not been repulsed; to go back was more dangerous than to go forward, and they surrendered. The repulsed portion of the line swung up again; just then Custer and Crook and the rest came whirling through the pine woods on the other side; for a moment the surrounded Rebels fought wildly, then their arms were thrown down and ten thousand surrendered. At their head stood a corps commander, identified with the history of their soldierly army, who, since Stonewall Jackson's day, could be named second to Longstreet alone; and besides General Ewell, there were Kershaw and Custis Lee, and half a dozen others of note. Such were the rich prizes of the quick-fought battle of Sailor's Creek.

The cavalry pursued the escaping fragments of Ewell's force for a few miles. Sheridan dictated dispatches to the Lieutenant-General, then lay down on his back before a camp-fire and snatched an hour's sleep while supper was preparing, took Ewell and the rest to supper with him, got another hour's sleep before daybreak, and then, up with the earliest, trotted out again in the gray dawn on his westward road.* This day (April 7th) he swung more to the

*Colonel Newhall gives a life-like sketch of the scenes at head-quarters this evening. (With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign), pp. 187, 188:

"When we struck off into these digressive paths, General Sheridan was sitting by his camp-fire in the plain on top of the crest where the fighting had ended, and now he is on the broad of his back on a blanket, with his feet to the fire, in a condition of sleepy wakefulness which can only be attained through excessive fatigue and a sense of responsibility. Clustered about are blue uniforms and gray in equal numbers, and immediately around our camp-fire are most of the Confederate generals who have just been captured. General Ewell is the principal figure in the group, and attracts, though he seems to avoid, attention. He has plainly admitted that there is no hope now for General Lee, and has begged General Sheridan to send him a flag of truce and demand his surrender, in order to save any further sacrifice, but the General has made no further response to this than to urge General Grant to push on faster. Ewell is sitting on the ground hugging his knees, with his face bent down between his arms, and if anything could add force to his words, the utter despondency of his air would do it. The others are mostly staid, middle-aged men, tired to death nearly, and in no humor for a chat; and so the party is rather a quiet one, for our fellows are about done over too, and half starved. To this sprawling party, enter Sandy Forsyth, aid-de-camp, to announce that he has established head-quarters in a lovely orchard, where tents are up and supper is cooking; so we follow the beaming colonel down the road for a mile and find ourselves quartered just in rear of Getty, who has gone into position for the night, Devin in front of him reporting no enemy.

"We carried the Confederate generals with us and shared our suppers and blankets with them, as we would be done by, and after a sleep of hardly an hour, took breakfast in their company and then parted with it as we followed the general's swallow-tailed flag down the road."

southward to foreclose possibilities of escape, leaving to the infantry the inner and shorter lines. Failing to find the enemy at Prince Edward's C. H., he then decided (for he was entirely without orders) to push columns north-westward toward Farmville and Prospect Station, feeling sure that here he must find the head of the fleeing column. At Farmville Crook struck them, and again at the crossing of the Appomattox. All the while Sheridan kept restlessly consulting his maps, questioning the natives as to roads and bodies of troops seen passing,* sending out his orders to his various divisions, and reports to his Chief.

Next morning (8th of April) he sends off a dispatch to the Lieutenant-General: "I shall move on Appomattox C. H. Should we not intercept the enemy, and he be forced into Lynchburg, surrender there is beyond question." A few hours later a scout meets him on the road, with word that four trains of cars, laden with provisions, are at Appomattox Depot, five miles south of the Court-House, awaiting General Lee. He deflects his columns a little, and strikes out on the keen trot for Appomattox Depot, twenty-five miles distant. Only once the column halts a little for rest and water; by five o'clock it is near the depot, and Custer, in advance, has caught sight of the smoke from the four waiting locomotives. He circles down through the woods, comes up on the other side with a whirl, siezes the trains before the startled engineers have time to comprehend the situation, and backs them southward toward the rest of the

*A good sample of his way of dealing with refractory "natives" is told by Colonel Newhall. It occurred at Prince Edward's C. H. (With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign, pp. 192-194):

"The General dismounted here, at the fence of a stiff old gentleman, who was sitting on his high piazza and scowling severely as we rode up. He was the typical Southerner of fifty years; his long gray hair fell over the collar of his coat behind his ears; he was arrayed in the swallow-tail of a by-gone mode, a buff linen vest, cut low, and nankeen pantaloons springing far over the foot that was neatly incased in morocco slippers; a bristling shirt-frill adorned his bosom, and from the embrasure of his wall-like collar he shot defiant glances at us as we clattered up the walk to his house. Prince Edward C. H. was a stranger to war, and our indignant friend was looking now for the first time on the like of us, and certainly he didn't seem to like our look. He bowed in a dignified way to the General, who bobbed at him carelessly and sat down on a step, drew out his inevitable map, lighted a fresh cigar, and asked our host if any of Lee's troops had been seen about here to-day. 'Sir,' he answered, 'as I can truly say that none have been seen by me I will say so; but if I had seen any, I should feel it my duty to refuse to reply to your question. I can not give you any information which might work to the disadvantage of General Lee.' This neat little speech, clothed in unexceptionable diction, which no doubt had been awaiting us from the time we tied our horses at the gate, missed fire badly. It was very patriotic and all that; but the General was not in a humor to chop patriotism just then, so he only gave a soft whistle of surprise, and returned to the attack quite unscathed.

"'How far is it to Buffalo River?'

"'Sir, I don't know.'

"'The devil you don't! how long have you lived here?'

"'All my life.'

"'Very well, sir, it's time you did know. Captain, put this gentleman in charge of a guard, and when we move, walk him down to Buffalo River and show it to him.'

"And so he was marched off, leaving us a savage glare at parting; and that evening tramped five miles away from home to look at a river which was as familiar to him as his own family. Doubtless, to this day he regales the neighbors with the story of this insult that was put upon him, and still brings up his children in the faith for whose dogmas he suffered. Doubtless, too, he considers General Sheridan a perfect gentleman."

advancing cavalry. He stirs up a very hornet's nest in doing so, for there in the woods lie portions of Lee's famished advance, awaiting the issue of their suppers from those very trains. For a little there rages fierce firing, then the Rebels are driven north toward the Court-House, leaving twenty-five pieces of artillery behind them. Sheridan sits down in the nearest little house, dispatches the Lieutenant-General that, if he can push up, "we will perhaps finish the job in the morning;" arranges to hold his ground against any attack, and then stretches himself on the floor for a few hours' slumber.

By daybreak the infantry is trotting past. The cavalry has already been pushed up almost to the Court-House. Bitter fighting breaks out; then as Sheridan gallops to the front it slackens. He has ordered the cavalry to fall slowly back. The enemy advances, evidently resolved to break through; when lo! from out the silent woods glide the long lines of our infantry. He shrinks back in horror—it is only against brigades of flying cavalry that this once compact Army of Northern Virginia can stand. Sheridan silently draws off his horse to charge on the right; the infantry advances; before them, in the valley about the Court-House, lie the broken fragments of the once great army. A single charge will sweep out the whole confused mass. But the uplifted hand is stayed. "Out from the enemy's lines comes a rider, 'bound on bound,' bearing a white flag of truce to ask for time to consummate surrender."*

Then followed the hasty dash toward Joseph E. Johnston, to repair any mis-

*Sheridan's lines held fast on Lee's front till interviews between Grant and Lee were over. The narrative ends, in the text, with the close of Sheridan's active control of the movements that brought about the surrender. Readers will be glad, however, to have from the graphic pen of General Sheridan's staff officer, whom we have so often quoted already, an account of the interviews with the Rebel commanders, and of Grant's appearance on the stage. Colonel Newhall says:

"General Gordon asked for a suspension of hostilities, and said that General Lee was prepared to surrender his army and would immediately send to General Grant a communication to that effect. General Sheridan replied that he was very anxious to avoid further loss of life, but the effort of the morning had n't looked like an intention to surrender, and he must have some certain assurance that this was a bona fide proposition, and not a make-shift to gain time and advantage. Both General Gordon and General Wilcox earnestly declared their entire good faith, and said Lee's case was hopeless now, and he must surrender and would. There could be no doubt of their sincerity or of the pass to which Lee had come, and so General Sheridan agreed to wait for further developments, and returned to our lines, promising to meet these officers again at the Court-House in half an hour.

"Meanwhile General Ord came up, and others began to gather from right to left; but there was no excitement at all. After the first cheer, the tired troops had stretched themselves on the ground at full length, and were calmly surveying the novel scene of a harmless enemy in front. Indians couldn't have conducted themselves with more propriety, or have observed a more serene indifference in the face of a matter of surpassing interest; and a stranger arriving on the ground would have said the halt was only a rest, that nothing unusual had occurred, and that the march would be resumed after coffee. As the generals rode up there was some hand-shaking, more smiles than are often seen in line of battle, but nobody was very demonstrative. If we believe that men of rough natures have underlying them some finer sensibilities which do not openly find expressions, let us say that all this quiet was the index of a feeling of overpowering gratitude to Heaven that on this Sabbath day they were permitted to see the sun shining on the downfall of rebellion, and gilding the hope of country restored, friends reunited, and enemies disarmed.

"When the half hour was up, General Ord and General Sheridan, together with several other officers of rank, rode through the pickets again, and met the Confederate Generals at the

chief Sherman's negotiations might have wrought; and then the leisurely return to Washington. But long before the cavalry, rejoicing in the old name of contumely, came marching up Pennsylvania Avenue in the grand review, proclaiming itself to all inquirers as "Sheridan's Robbers," the chief who had redeemed it from contempt, and linked its name indissolubly with the most crowded and

Court-House. General Longstreet was there this time—a grisly-looking man, disabled in one arm, and bearing all over the evidences of hard campaigns and traces of disappointment in his troubled face—and he bore a dispatch from Lee to General Grant. It was in answer to one that the Lieutenant-General had sent to him stating the terms on which he would receive his surrender.

"With this dispatch General Sheridan immediately sent off a staff officer to find General Grant, who was reported to be on his way from General Meade to Appomattox C. H. Taking a wood-road leading off in the direction from which the Lieutenant-General would come, the officer rode fast on his errand, and after galloping some five or six miles and striking the main road on which we had marched the day before, fortunately met General Grant just beyond the intersection, rapidly pacing down this road in search of General Sheridan. Turning off into the woods at a lively trot, the party was not long in reaching the Court-House (and would have gained it sooner but for stupidly missing the way and almost wandering into Lee's lines), and there it was found that the second interview had not been much longer than the first, and that all of our officers had come back inside the pickets. As General Grant rode up, Generals Ord and Sheridan and the rest were strolling on foot at the end of the broad grassy street which intersects the Court-House—that is, the town. The Lieutenant-General dismounted, came forward, and said: 'How are you, Sheridan?' To which, in a pert manner, the General replied: 'First-rate, thank you; how are you?' 'Is General Lee up there?' 'Yes.' 'Well, then, we'll go up.'

"This is all that was said at that time, and the conversation, in view of all the circumstances, would illustrate a statement that we are not a very demonstrative or dramatic people. In effective groupings and treatment of remarkable occasions, the people of the other continent can give us heavy odds. How poor this seems by the side of the Prussian King and Bismarck hunting over the field of Sadowa for the Crown Prince, whom, when found, the King grapples to his soul, decorates his manly bosom with beautiful insignia of honor and glory; and then their feelings master them, and king and prince and Bismarck burst out crying, field and staff officers joining in. And yet our field of Appomattox C. H. was more than the field of Sadowa. What recollections had they there of years of alternate disaster and victory; what memories of hard campaigns and well-contested fields; of friendship cemented by the trials of camp and battle; of patient watching and anxious thought; of the fierce attack and the stubborn defense; of waiting, and work, and war? If they had had any such thronging into their minds, and had met on the evening of Sadowa, as our generals met now, it is painful to contemplate what they might have done.

"So Generals Grant, Ord, and Sheridan, with three or four staff officers each, went up to the Court-House, and of our staff there went three, a senior aid, the chief of staff, and the Adjutant-General. The town consists of about five houses, a tavern, and a court-house, all on one street, and that was boarded up at one end to keep the cows out. On the right hand side as we went in was the principal residence, owned by Mr. McLean, and to his house General Grant was conducted to meet General Lee. At the fence the whole party dismounted, and walking over a narrow grass-plot to the house noticed General Lee's gray horse nibbling there in charge of an orderly, who was holding his own as well. General Grant entered the house with one or two of his staff, and the rest of us sat down on the piazza and waited. Mr. McLean was out there, too, but was so much excited by his appreciation of passing events that he did n't know where his pump was, or if he had any, and if not, could n't tell us where there was a spring. In a moment Colonel Babcock came out, smiling, whirled his hat round his head once, and beckoned Generals Ord and Sheridan to come in. They walked the floor silently, as people do who have first peep at a baby, and after awhile General Lee came out and signaled to his orderly to bridle his horse. While this was being done, he stood on the lowest step of the piazza (we had all risen respectfully as he passed down), and looking over into the valley toward his army, smote his

stirring campaign of the war, and with the great Peace that ensued, was turning his back on the triumphs that followed the victory. Around the young Captain who thought the chances of war might bring him a Major's commission, now rose multitudinous voices of praise. The Government, the General-in-Chief the Public, hastened to cover him with eulogies. His native State, through her legislative assembly, voted him unanimous thanks, and recorded her pride in the unrivaled achievements of her son. But, while the grateful crowds were showering his subordinates with boquets, as they rode in the grand pagean

hands together several times in an absent sort of way, utterly unconscious of the people about him, and seeming to see nothing till his horse was led in front of him. As he stood there he appeared to be about sixty years of age, a tall, soldierly figure of a man, with a full gray beard a new suit of gray clothes, a high gray-felt hat, with a cord, long buckskin gauntlets, high riding boots, and a beautiful sword. He was all that our fancy had painted him; and he had the sympathy of us all as he rode away. Just as he gathered up his bridle, General Grant went down the steps, and, passing in front of his horse, touched his hat to General Lee, who made a similar salute, and then left the yard and returned to his own lines with his orderly and the single staff officer who had accompanied him to the interview, and who was said to have been Colonel Marshall, his chief of staff, a quiet-looking man, in spectacles, looking more like one of thought than of action. General Grant presented something of a contrast to General Lee in the way of uniform, not only in color, but in style and general effect. He had on a sugar-loaf hat, almost peculiar to himself, a frock coat, unbuttoned and splashed with mud, a dark vest, dark-blue pantaloons tucked into top-boots, muddy, also, and no sword. His countenance was n't relaxed at all, and not a muscle of his face told tales on his thoughts. If he was very much pleased with the surrender of Lee, nothing in his air or manner indicated it. The joyful occasion didn't seem to awaken in him a responsive echo, and he went and mounted his horse and rode away silently, to send off a dispatch which should electrify the North and set all the church-bells ringing jubilant vespers on this happy Sunday evening.

"Meanwhile there was a great stir in General Lee's army, and they were still cheering wildly as we left McLean's house to find a camp for ourselves. Of course his intention to surrender had been noised abroad, and as he returned from his interview with General Grant he was greeted with the applause we were now hearing. Cheer after cheer marked his progress through the old ranks that had supported him so gallantly; but what or why they were cheering seems not to be fully decided. The Southern writers of the day agreed that they applauded General Lee thus to show for him their sympathy in his misfortunes, and their devotion to him and the lost cause. The latter reason is possible, but the former is not probable; sympathy for sorrow and calamity does not find such loud expression in crowds any more than it does in individuals. Nobody would give three cheers for a man who had lost his father, with the idea of soothing him. When Queen Victoria made her first public appearance in England, after the death of the Prince Consort, it was reported that as her carriage moved down the Strand, the thousands who had gathered there to welcome her suppressed the rising cheer, and stood all silent with one consent as she passed by; and will any body say that the army of the Confederacy was less sympathetic than an English crowd, and less keenly alive to a proper regard for misfortune? Doubtless Lee's army was sorry for him, because his loss was theirs, and when his hope foundered theirs went down too; but it was not because of his loss that they cheered so long and loud. It was because he had surrendered; because he had confessed defeat at last, though all they had known he was defeated long before; because they saw in surrender some hope of beginning life anew to repair the blunder of the Confederacy; and, thanking him for this, the brave fellows who stood by him to the last, and would have died rather than desert the cause, cheered him rapturously as he returned to tell them that they were set at liberty.

"In the evening we sent rations for the twenty thousand men into his hungry camp, and he released our hungry prisoners, who came joyfully into our lines, with Irvine Gregg at the head of them, serene as usual, but with a good appetite. Then we went to bed, and had a good night's rest, and tried to appreciate the great blessing of peace that had suddenly descended upon us." (With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign, pp. 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224.)

through the streets of the capital, Sheridan himself was hurrying to a remote region, where was hope neither of fame nor fighting, in cheerful and prompt obedience to the orders requiring him to look after the surrender in the South-West.

Into the campaign which he then undertook we can not enter. As we write it is scarcely finished. But from Five Forks the blindest of prophets might have forecast the end of Appomattox C. H. So from the successes by the way in this campaign we could forecast its triumphant close. His first task was to reduce the reckless bands of the Trans-Mississippi to Lee's terms of surrender; he was next to preserve order and maintain the laws in the chaotic confusion of Louisiana and Texas, to keep the peace along the Mexican border, and finally to preside, under regulations of Congress, in the reorganization of civil government throughout the troubled limits of his great command.

The Trans-Mississippi shrank into peace at the noise of his coming.

To preserve order was a more difficult task. But the bloody riots in New Orleans, which broke out during his absence in Texas, were never repeated. He chafed under the necessity of tolerating the continuance in office of their authors. When the President proposed that the "Attorney-General" should supersede the "Governor," and that Sheridan should aid him in the reorganization, he telegraphed an indignant protest. His commission was at the service of the Government, but he would not be disgraced by taking orders from an ex-Rebel General! When Congress gave him the power, he turned this Rebel out of his civil office, turned out the Mayor who had brought on the riot, and finally turned out the "Governor," whose treachery and double-dealing with all parties had helped to inflame it.

In Texas he was hampered again by the Executive. The Provisional-Governor had for his standard of loyalty, "Abhorrence for the Rebellion and Glory in its Defeat." In the abortive reconstruction this officer was succeeded by another, who had for his standard of loyalty, "Pride in the Rebellion; a righteous but lost cause; overpowered but not subdued." Each of these "Governors" he was required to support. It was little wonder that he found the task embarrassing, or that, when the power came to him, he was hindered by few scruples in doing to Throckmorton, of Texas, even as he had done to Wells, of Louisiana.

Troubles sprang up along the border; once, in fact, United States troops crossed it for a little to check a scene of pillage and lawless bloodshed. He did not hesitate to proclaim his entire sympathy with the brave Republicans who were struggling for their imperiled independence; and to denounce as an "Imperial Buccaneer" the Prince who was now striving to overthrow the legitimate Government of Mexico, and to secure armed emigration from the Rebels of the South. Encouraged by this sympathy, and looking upon the heavy re-enforcements thrown into Texas as virtual allies, the Republicans took fresh courage, and the Imperial standards, under the stimulus of this moral aid, were speedily pressed back to the valley of Mexico.

The poor freedmen had in him a judicious friend. He would not encourage a disposition, once or twice shown, to enforce their claims by riotous manifestations; if they did not disperse he would sweep them from the streets with grape

and canister. But he upheld the hands of the Freedmen's Bureau in protecting their rights; more than once called Rebel officials to a stern account for outrages they had concealed; and curtly reported to the General-in-Chief that* over a single white man killed by Indians on the frontier the Texans would raise a great excitement, but over many freedmen killed in the settlements nothing would be done—that, in fact, the trial of a white man in Texas for the murder of a freedman would be a farce.

He enforced the law of Congress for reconstruction fairly and honestly. When he was conditionally directed to obey the Attorney-General's explaining-away of that law, he did not hesitate to pronounce it the opening of a broad, macadamized road for fraud and perjury. He faced the President's displeasure in this straightforward and honest performance of his duty; but no one step that he took showed any disposition to provide for his own safety or advancement by compromising the interests committed to his care. At last the President, with a wrathful determination to defeat the policy of Congress at any cost, removed him from the command and ordered him to duty on the frontier. General Grant carried his earnest protests against this course to the very verge of subordination to the Constitutional Commander-in-Chief. The people hailed the removed Department General as a victor.

And here we leave him. We have thus far studiously avoided many words of praise. We have preferred to tell what he did.

But now, as we look back over this wonderful career, how little is there that we can not praise—how little, indeed, that does not bear with it its own eulogy! Once more we recur to that wise saying of Marshal Turenne's: "Whoever has committed no errors has not made war." But where are Sheridan's errors?

We may, indeed, regret his absence from New Orleans during the riots, although he had reason to believe there would be no disturbance. We may regret his failure to bring the murderers in the guise of policemen to condign punishment, for which there seems less apology. Going further back, we may deplore the devastation of the Shenandoah—ordered, indeed, by his superiors, but carried to an extent for which the orders did not strictly call. We may criticise the delay at Winchester, by which the morning was lost before line of battle was formed beyond the gorge, and Early's whole army was therefore met instead of the half of it. We may wish that, if not actually unjust, he had at least been less unkind to Warren at Five Forks. We may wish that he had shown better taste, in his official reports, than to sneer at Banks and Butler as commanders "who appeared to have more ability in civil than in military matters, and left the results of that ability for" him "to settle;" at Meade about his cavalry orders; or even at poor Early for entering Richmond, followed from a lost field by a single orderly, "after a campaign in which he had lost nearly the whole of his army, together with his battle-flags, nearly every piece of artillery which his troops fired upon us, and also a large part of his transportation."

*Sheridan's Reports—"Condition of Louisiana and Texas," Gov't. Edition, p. 76.

But what are these? It is a career stretching from Boonville to Appomattox C. H., and the administration in the South-West, of which we speak—a career that includes the superb fighting of Stone River and Mission Ridge; the bewildering successes of the Shenandoah Valley; the recovery of the lost battle at Cedar Creek; the obstinate defense of Dinwiddie, and the handsome tactics of Five Forks; the magnificent pursuit of Lee, and the final reception of his surrender; the success in civil affairs that followed; the remarkable exhibition of this flushed Cavalryman suddenly transforming himself into a grave political officer, and proving as sagacious and clear-sighted in questions of politics and statesmanship as he had been dashing in the attack or relentless in the pursuit. What, in a career like this, are such paltry questions of possible errors in the opening details of a victory won, or of taste in the *naïve* official expression of opinions or prejudices honestly entertained? Were they more frequent—did they obtrude themselves so often as to appear part of the warp and woof of the man's character, they might suggest, not indeed less praise for the past, but less trust for the future. As rare instances of those lapses which no man who makes war—most of all no man who makes war vigorously, from Napoleon downward—may hope to escape, they only serve to illustrate the brightness of the fame they can not dim.

It will be seen then that we judge Sheridan worthy of high rank among the foremost of our Generals. We think, indeed, that for large and uniform success, dependent not merely upon a faithful good fortune, but upon sound military judgment, rapidity of forming correct plans at critical moments, and enormous energy of execution, no General of the war, on either of its sides, can be placed before him. Stonewall Jackson—unlike as the two were in their personal characteristics—furnishes, perhaps, his nearest military parallel. The one fought almost exclusively with infantry; the other either with a judicious combination of the two, or with cavalry alone; but both carried into their campaigns the same methods of preparation and of attack. Both based their plans upon exhaustive topographical knowledge of the country in which they operated. Both acted upon the broadest and soundest application of military rules, tempered by an insight into the character of the opposing commander that instinctively told how far his neglect of the same rules might be reckoned upon. Both began their movements with distinctly defined plans; both were ready, on the instant, to abandon them as circumstances might dictate; both had that rare genius which rises to its best inspirations at the most dangerous conjunctures, and delivers its calmest judgments amid the ebb and flow and whirl of the battle. Both believed in aggressive rather than defensive campaigns; both were resistless in attack; both amazingly energetic in pursuit. To both came that sublime confidence in success that does more for securing it than many re-enforcements. From both went out that personal magnetism that imbues soldiers with this same confidence, and disciplines them on the faith of success. Neither was ever worthily opposed. Against each efficient commanders sometimes operated, but never with efficient support.

But here the parallel ends. Stonewall Jackson won his most brilliant vic-

tories against superior numbers. Sheridan, after Booneville, rarely, in his independent commands, opposed even equal numbers.

Among our own Generals, a comparison with Sherman most readily suggests itself. Each is warlike by nature, and each has the genius of war. Each has familiarity with the rules of military science, and each uses these as the master of them rather than the slave of them. Each has the topographical eye; each moves large forces over great spaces with wonderful ease. Each is full of restless energy; but the energy of Sheridan directed itself solely upon the enemy, while that of Sherman found time to wage war upon the sanitary commissions and the State agents, to argue against laws of Congress, to prepare off-hand opinions on reconstruction, and to volunteer advice on a hundred points that did not concern him. Each won great and brilliant success; but the success of Sherman was often tempered by reverses or embittered by waste of life, while Sheridan never encountered a repulse,* and rarely gave the life of a soldier without receiving an equivalent. Each won his victories over inferior numbers; but Sheridan never had such preponderance of force as had Sherman; and Sheridan, in his most memorable campaign, destroyed the army of his antagonist, while Sherman, in his corresponding campaign, only outflanked his opposing army, and left it with a smaller percentage of losses sustained than his own when he entered Atlanta. Each was brilliant in war, but Sheridan, in addition, was safe. But it must be remembered that he was never tried on so grand a scale as the great soldier with whom we are comparing him, that so formidable difficulties never beset him, and that he was never matched against so astute an antagonist.

But whoever should undertake to rate Sheridan's capacity must remember that he has uniformly risen to every task that has yet been set him. More than once the outside public, which in spite of its admiration for his dash has never fully appreciated him, has been apprehensive that the confident friendship of Grant was assigning too weighty burdens to the young Cavalryman. Yet, whether in the Shenandoah, on the pursuit of Lee, or in the complex administration of the great department of the South-West, he has proved equal to every emergency and to every command; so that, at last, we may be almost ready to take up with the declaration attributed to his admiring chief, that "Sheridan has the ability to command as large an army as the United States ever mustered, or all of her armies." Certainly it may, at the least, be said of him that he is the most uniformly successful soldier of the war, and the one on whom now the Country may rightfully base the largest hopes whenever there may be need of soldiers in the future.

In person Sheridan is short, muscular, and deep-chested—his figure indicating great powers of endurance. His head is disproportionately large, and the developments back of the ears are enormous, to the great inconvenience of his hatter. His temperament is sanguine; his hair is dark, shading off into the color of his full beard, which is reddish; and his face "is flushed, not with wine,

* Of course this is said of his career as an independent commander, and upon the view that he was not responsible for the initial repulse at Cedar Creek.

but with life."* In private circles, and especially in the genial ease of his own head-quarters when off duty, he is an unassuming, chatty companion, silent as to his own exploits, but full of admiring praise for many of his great rivals, delighted with reminiscences of the old frontier life, fond of a joke or a story, and the ideal of a college boy's expression, "A good fellow." Like Grant, he

*Some personal descriptions of Sheridan by acute observers may be here appended.

Mr. Shanks, in his graphic Reminiscences of Distinguished Generals, says: "Sheridan's appearance, like that of Grant, is apt to disappoint one who had not seen him previous to his having become famous. He has none of the qualities which are popularly attributed by the imagination to heroes. 'Little Phil' is the title of endearment given him by his soldiers in the West, and is descriptive of his personal appearance. He is shorter than Grant, but somewhat stouter built; and being several years younger and of a different temperament, is more active and wiry. The smallness of his stature is soon forgotten when he is seen mounted. He seems then to develop physically as he does mentally after a short acquaintance. Unlike many of our heroes, Sheridan does not dwindle as one approaches him. Distance lends neither his character nor personal appearance any enchantment. He talks more frequently and more fluently than Grant does, and his quick and slightly nervous gestures partake somewhat of the manner of Sherman. His body is stout but wiry, and set on short, heavy, but active legs. His broad shoulders, short, stiff hair, and the features of his face betray the Milesian descent; but no brogue can be traced in his voice. His eyes are gray, and being small, are sharp and piercing and full of fire. When maddened with excitement or passion, these glare fearfully. His age is thirty-four, but long service in the field has bronzed him into the appearance of forty. He heartily despises a council of war, and never forms part of one if he can avoid it. He executes, not originates plans; or, as Rosecrans once expressed it, 'He fights—he fights!' Whatever is given Sheridan to do is accomplished thoroughly. He will not stop to criticise the practicability of an order in its details, but does not hesitate to vary his movements when he finds those laid down for him are not practicable. He does not abandon the task because the mode which has been ordered is rendered impossible by any unexpected event. If the result is accomplished, Sheridan does not care whose means were employed, or on whom the credit is reflected. He grasps the result and congratulates himself, the strategist of the occasion, and the men, with equal gratification and every evidence of delight. His generous care for the reputation of his subordinates, his freedom from all petty jealousy, his honesty of purpose, and the nobleness of his ambition to serve the country and not himself, his geniality and general good-humor, and the brevity of his black storms of anger, make him, like Grant, not only a well-beloved leader, but one that the country can safely trust to guard its honor and preserve its existence. It is easy for one who knows either of the two—Grant and Sheridan—to believe it possible that, during all the period in which they have held such supreme power in our armies, not a single thought of how they might achieve greatness, power, and position, at the expense of country, has ever suggested itself to their minds. There is only one other character known in profane history of whom the same thing can be truly said. Sheridan goes into the heat of battle not from necessity merely. The first smell of powder arouses him, and he rushes to the front of the field."

A staff officer once wrote of him: "Some one has called him an 'emphatic human syllable.' If so, nature's compositor set him up in the black face, broad letter, sometimes seen in 'jobs' and advertisements. It is 'solid' at that. Sheridan is barely five feet six inches in height. His body is stout; his lower limbs rather short. He is what would be called 'stocky' in horse-jockey phraseology. Deep and broad in the chest, compact and firm in muscle, active and vigorous in motion, there was not a pound of superfluous flesh on his body at the time we write. His face and head showed his Celtic origin. Head long, well balanced in shape, and covered with a full crop of close curling dark hair. His forehead moderately high, but quite broad, perceptives well developed, high cheek-bones, dark beard, closely covering a square lower jaw, and firm-lined mouth, clear dark eyes, which were of a most kindly character, completed the *tout ensemble* memory gives at the call. Always neat in person, and generally dressed in uniform, Captain Sheridan looked as he was, a quiet, unassuming, but determined officer and gentleman, whose modesty would always have been a barrier to great renown had not the golden gates of

bears public attention uneasily; the fire of opera-glasses disconcerts him more than that of artillery; and although the ladies now pronounce him charming, he has not wholly escaped the old bashfulness that used to make him blush scarlet to the temples at an introduction to one. Public speaking is too much for him, but he writes with soldierly directness and frankness. Long before he

opportunity been unbarred for his passage. Almost the opposite of the Lieutenant-General in his intellectual traits, yet like him in many social characteristics, it would have been difficult for so great a General to have found a more vigorous subordinate, or a more daring executive of the stupendous plans he formed."

Colonel Newhall, from whom we have often quoted already, says: "His face is flushed, not with wine, but with life, and his eyes twinkle like stars; the ends of his moustache curl up with decision, and his *mouche* hides the sharp outline of his chin; his uniform coat is buttoned to the throat, across a square deep chest, which rightly indicates his physical power, and he is very simply dressed throughout, with nothing of the gay cavalier about him. He talks slowly and very quietly, smiling now, and working his mouth crosswise. If excited on the field, he won't bluster, but *may* swear, and be not so careful of the elegancies of speech as are some *dilettante* people, who never have many thoughts of their own to express and never mingle in stirring events; one of whom,

'That never set a squadron in the field
Nor the division of a battle knows,'

might perhaps be shocked in these fiery moments, but if he has a chance for a quiet chat with the General, will think him rather gentle than otherwise, and begin to doubt the terrible oaths and fierce imprecations of song and story; will find him proud of the achievements of his various commands, but modest about his own performances, and as silent as a pyramid if a speech is to be made. Accustomed to reserve, and not having the faculty of hiding himself in words, he resorts to the unusual expedient of silence, and the public never would have known him but for the great events which called him out. With them he can grapple, but a serenading party is too much for him."

Once more from the same author: "The General is short in stature—below the medium—with nothing superfluous about him, square-shouldered, muscular, wiry to the last degree, and as nearly insensible to hardship and fatigue as is consistent with humanity. He has a strangely-shaped head, with a large bump of something or other—combativeness probably—behind the ears, which inconveniences him almost as much as it does his enemies in the field, for there being no general demand for hats that would fit him, the General never has one that will stay on his head. This leads him to take his hat in his hand very often; that action probably suggests cheering something on, and, a fight being in progress and troops needing encouragement, by a simple sequence he usually finds himself among them, where he risks the valuable life of the commanding General, not to mention casualties to staff officers."

"Being rather reserved, he does not care much for general society, but when comfortably established in head-quarters, is hospitable, lives well, and likes to have congenial guests drop in upon his mess. He seems to care most for the company of the placid and easy-going, and is fond of a quiet chat about old times on the frontier with such boon companions as General D. McM. Gregg of the cavalry, General George Crook of the Army of West Virginia, and the gallant General David Russell of the Sixth Corps, who was killed at the battle of the Opequan, and whose death General Sheridan felt extremely.

'These the tents
Which he frequents,'

and in such society he forgets his usual reticence, and talks by the hour about West Point life and 'larks' on the Pacific Coast. Occasionally, when the old associations come back to the party very strongly, they lapse into the Indian tongue, which they all understand, and, with speech clothed in this disguise, they can safely revive recollections which, may be, if told in plain Eng-

was distinguished it used to be said of him that he wrote his reports and even his indorsements on official papers precisely as he would talk in the freedom of the cavalry camp, in discussing the subject with his intimates. This conversational tone still clings to his official style, and sometimes leads to misconceptions. He has developed an unexpected studiousness of habit sometimes in the South-West; his office work is always kept well up; his reports to his superiors are frequent and minute; and the remark is common among those who see the most of him that he is constantly growing and broadening in intellectual grasp. He is still a Roman Catholic in religion, though perhaps not so devout as the rest of the family But the popular impression of him as a reckless dare-devil of a frontiersman is grossly incorrect; his manners are those of a quiet, cultivated gentleman; he is always well dressed, wherein he differs notably from Grant and Sherman; and though he is certainly not a "Son of Temperance," or a devotee of total abstinence, his habits are unexceptionable. At the age of thirty-six, he is one of the four Major-Generals of the regular army, and is still a bachelor.

Before the war he was a Democrat; but he differed from most army officers in having no sympathy with Southern institutions. He was loyally devoted to the Government whose soldier he was; he rejoiced in the principles that triumphed in the triumph of the Government; and he resolved that so far

lish, would astonish the audience, for it is only of late that they have been obliged to sustain the dignity of Major-Generals commanding.

"Though always easy of approach, the General has little to say in busy times. Set teeth and a quick way tell when things do not go as they ought, and he has a manner on such occasions that stirs to activity all within sight, for a row seems to be brewing that nobody wants to be under when it bursts. Notwithstanding his handsome reputation for cursing, he is rather remarkably low-voiced, particularly on the field, where, as sometimes happens, almost everybody else is screaming. 'Damn you, sir, don't yell at me,' he once said to an officer who came galloping up with some bad news, and was roaring it out above the din of battle. In such moments the General leans forward on his horse's neck, and hunching his shoulders up to his ears, gives most softly-spoken orders in a slow, deliberate way, as if there were niches for all the words in his hearer's memory, and they must be measured very carefully to fit exactly, that none of them be lost in the carrying. This is a pleasing way to have orders dealt out, especially under fire.

"When he sees things going wrong in any part of the field, he has a trick of moving forward restlessly in his saddle, as if he would go and put them to rights if he could take leave of his better judgment and follow his inclination; but a serious check or reverse affects him peculiarly. To most temperaments disaster is disheartening, but it passes by General Sheridan as an eddy glides around a pier; his equanimity is not affected by it, and he is not depressed for a moment, for he is a man of much variety and quick resource, and to his aid comes a defiant spirit, which twinkles in his eye when he is called upon to retrieve disaster. Victor Hugo's brave Frenchman in the Old Guard at Waterloo had no more contempt for the enemy than he, but he shows it rather by a talent for ignoring defeat and compelling success than by permitting a useless sacrifice. He never would acknowledge to the most confidential recess of his own bosom that his command was past redemption, and there was nothing to do but go and die like a demigod. But it is not because he is impassive that he can not be stampeded by reports or events, for he is keenly alive to the situation in whatever shape it presents itself. Show him an opening promising success, and he will go in and widen it while an impassive man would be thinking about it. But he is slow to confess defeat; a peculiar organization, so acute in most of its perceptions, and yet so dull in realizing failure. The prominence of this quality must be apparent to all who know anything of him in the war, where his wizard fingers snatched a great victory from the enemy just as they were passing it to history as theirs."

as his power went, no cunning devices of peace should steal away the fruits of the war. Beyond this soldierly resolve he can not be said to have any political position. He is an earnest friend to General Grant, to whom he traces most of his promotions. Between these two there has never passed a shadow of unkindness. With Sherman, and indeed with most of the army officers, his relations are cordial. His most intimate friendships are with subordinates in the cavalry service, and with comrades in the old Indian-fighting days on the frontier.

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES B. McPHERSON.

NO name is held in more affectionate remembrance by the people of Ohio than that of General McPherson. He was not conspicuous as a director of campaigns. He was not recognized as the author of any great victory. He was not ranked among the foremost of the country's generals. He was great in his possibilities rather than in his actual achievements. He was young and scarcely known in person to the public.

But his soldiers knew him to be superbly gallant; and his commanders knew him to be eminently able, prudent, and skillful. Borne forward by their applause, he rapidly reached almost the highest promotion that his profession offered. So loveable was the nature of the man, so simple, so sincere, so manly, that the admiration of the public was heightened in his army into love. Then in the midst of battle, and only a little before great triumphs, he fell. Thenceforward he was a martyr, whose loss was to be deplored as a public calamity; whose memory was to be cherished as a priceless possession of the State. No other officer from Ohio, of equal rank and command, fell throughout the four years of the war. He thus became a solitary martyr, our greatest sacrifice, our saddest loss. It is in this light only that the people of the State regard him, and in this spirit only that we can now attempt to trace his career.

James Birdseye McPherson was born at Clyde, Sandusky County, Ohio, (in the northern part of the State, and but a few miles from Lake Erie), on the 14th of November, 1828. His mother, Cynthia Russell, was a native of Massachusetts. His father, Wm. McPherson, was of Scotch-Irish descent. The pair were married near Canandaigua, New York; but in a short time they removed to Ohio. Here the father settled on a tract of one hundred and sixty acres of woodland, near where the village of Clyde now stands, built a little frame house and a blacksmith shop, worked at his trade when work offered, and employed his leisure time in clearing his farm; and here, four years later, the son was born, who was to be so famous and so mourned.

The boy grew up in the hardy, laborious, backwoods life of the time and region. He was never much employed in his father's blacksmith shop; but he was taught to pick brush, to pile wood, to drive horses, and, by-and-by, to plow and chop. Meantime the father became involved in his business affairs, and in the laborious efforts to clear the farm his health broke down. Poor and an invalid, he thus left his growing family to the struggles of his wife, with such aid as four children, the oldest of them only thirteen, could offer. But this oldest was eager to do all he could, and his character as a bright, manly

little fellow, perfectly upright and trustworthy, was so well known in the neighborhood that he easily secured employment. The postmaster and storekeeper of the next village, that of Green Spring, wanted a store-boy. A friend of the family, who knew James' anxiety to get some employment by which he might diminish his mother's burdens, recommended him. He was at once engaged; and for the next six years he remained, first as store-boy, then as clerk in the establishment of Mr. Robert Smith.

"I can recall very well his appearance at that time," writes a member of the family* "He had a full, round, bright face, large gray eyes, and light brown hair, with a manner that was at once frank and modest, even to bashfulness." What a struggle it cost this pleasant-charactered boy to leave his toiling mother, and his little brother and sisters, we learn from the same source: "I believe it was during his last visit here, previous to going to California, that I heard him relate, with one of his hearty laughs, how terrible was the feeling of home-sickness and the sense of 'being cast out into the wide, wide world' that came over him at parting with his mother and the younger children to come to this village. The whole family were in tears when he bade them good-by; and taking up his little bundle, commenced his journey of *five miles* afoot and alone. After walking boldly forward for some distance he looked back and saw them all at the door watching him and weeping. To shut out the painful sight he clutched his bundle tighter, and ran as fast as his young feet could carry him until he reached the woods, where he sat down and wept abundantly. Then he took up his bundle again and came on to Green Spring."

Here he presently gained the confidence of his employer, and of all with whom he came in contact. Indeed, to quote from the same source again, "from the time of his first making his home here, I remember hearing him spoken of by the older people as a remarkable boy—remarkable for his industry, his unvaried cheerfulness, his earnest application to study, and his freedom from even the ordinary vanities and follies of youth." And then we have this pleasant picture of the sensitive blacksmith's boy, as he came to be known in his new sphere.† "I doubt if he *ever* spoke a profane word. I at least never heard him utter even an unkind or an ungracious one, or knew of his doing an ungracious deed. He always possessed the wonderful faculty, which seems to have distinguished him in maturer years, of attracting to himself as attached friends all with whom he came in contact, high or low. . He was fond of all out-door sports and manly games. We had a large green yard, which, during the summer evenings, was the delightful resort of the children of the neighborhood. 'Touch the base' was the favorite game, and of all who engaged in the romp, none were more eager or happy than 'Jimmy.' He often recurred to these scenes in after life. In a letter written during the war, he says: 'God grant I may live to come back and tell you how dear your friendship is, and has been to me during the many years that have rolled around since we romped in merry glee in the old yard.' I remember being in the store one even-

*Private letter from Green Spring, furnishing accounts of McPherson's early life for this sketch. †Ibid.

ing when they were nailing up some boxes. James was assisting with his usual cheerfulness. As he pushed a board to its place he said that 'it ought to come up *closter*.' 'Closter!' said one; 'why don't you speak more correctly, James? Why don't you say *closer?*' I can see at this moment how painfully confused and disturbed the poor child was at this rebuke. I dare venture to say he never used the word *closter* again in all his life. After the first year or two in the store he went to school each winter. It was a source of disquiet to him not to be able to attend school more regularly, for he was very ambitious for the acquisition of knowledge. He was a very fast reader, which, when he read aloud, became a serious fault. He gradually improved in this as he grew older. His penmanship was, for a boy, remarkably fine, and was greatly relied on when he feared whether his scholarship was sufficient to enable him to pass muster at the examination for entering West Point."

Thus far the pleasant gossip of the good friends with whom the boy grew up. Doubtless they have somewhat idealized their recollections of the lad, since he came to be so famous—who of us is there that would not be likely to do the same? But it is clear that he was a good, manly, hearty fellow, marked for more than usual capacity and loved for more than usual sweetness of disposition.

We have seen that he was anxious for a better education. While in the store he had been a faithful reader. In those days when people spent money for a book it was pretty sure to be for one that the verdict of a good many critics and years had pronounced good; and so it happened that the well-stored book-case to which the clerk had access was mainly filled with standard authors. He pored over Plutarch's Lives, every volume of which he devoured. Gibbon's Decline and Fall came next in his course; then Marshall's Life of Washington, and Buffon's Natural History. Poetry came later in his way; and then some standard works of fiction. At last the promise of an appointment to West Point, which his fine character and the esteem it won him had secured, induced him to give up his position in the store, and enter the Norwalk Academy for a couple of sessions' preparatory study. He was now nineteen years old, and he was fearful of being rejected on account of his age. So limited had been his opportunities for study that he was likewise apprehensive of failure at the examination for admission.

But all difficulties were happily passed; and a few months before attaining his majority the blacksmith's boy was fairly established at West Point. Among the classmates with whom he was here brought in competition, were Schofield, Terrill, Sill, and Tyler. Toward the close of his academic career there was another one—Philip H. Sheridan.* And among the Southern members was one in conflict with whom our young Cadet was afterward to fall—James B. Hood.

Among these rivals the backwoods store-clerk, who had been afraid that his acquirements would prove so limited that he could not enter at all, at once

* Sheridan had been one class in advance, but was thrown back by his suspension for violating the rules of the Academy in flogging a Cadet who had insulted him.

took rank next to the highest. "He stood always at the head of his class in scientific studies," Professor Mahan tells us, "and except the first year, when he stood second, owing to his want of facility in acquiring the French language, he always held the first place in general merit." And in the records of the academy we find him marked second in his class in 1850, first in 1851, first in 1852, and graduated at the head of the class in 1853. "We looked upon him," Professor Mahan goes on, "as one among the ablest men sent forth from the institution, being remarkable for the clearness and prompt working of his mental powers. His conduct was of an unexceptionable character. These endowments he carried with him in the performance of his duties as an engineer officer, winning the confidence of his superiors, as a most reliable man. His brilliant after-career in the field surprised no one who had known him intimately."

Graduated at the head of his class, he was, in accordance with the common rule, assigned to the Engineers. But, so highly were his accomplishments rated, that, instead of being sent out on duty, he was retained at the academy as Assistant-Professor of Practical Engineering; in which position he remained for a year. This seems to have disappointed him a little. But after a hurried visit to his mother, and the home friends, he says—the flourishing, round, "boy's hand," which the poor dead fingers traced, lies before us as we write—"I have had a good time since I came back—found a number of my old acquaintances here, besides three classmates. Most, however, have left, to make ready their winter-quarters, and I miss them very much. In fact I would not object very strongly to going myself. This is but the beginning of a military life—a glorious state of uncertainty, truly However, I do not let it trouble me any. 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof' is my motto."*

From the period we have now reached till the outbreak of the war, the story of McPherson's services might be very briefly told. He taught for a year in West Point. For three years he was engaged on engineering-duty on the Atlantic coast—in New York harbor for all but six months of the time. For three and a half years he was in charge of the fortifications in the harbor of San Francisco. And then came the war.

Meantime the bashful clerk of the country store, and the studious cadet of West Point, had developed into an accomplished engineer, and a man of the world. Before he started for West Point his father had died, and the younger members of the family had grown into an ability to take care of themselves. But he was still the same affectionate lad that had shed tears at the thought of leaving them to go five miles from home; and while he remained on the Atlantic coast he rarely missed making a short visit every season to the family that had crowded weeping to the door to watch him as he went. With his old school-mates, and the pleasant Green Spring friends, too, he kept up the warmest friendships. He was not very faithful as a correspondent, but the letters he did write run over with expressions of delight at recalling "the good times we used to have." From them, indeed, we catch the clearest glimpses of his life at this formative period.

* From collection of McPherson's private letters, furnished for this sketch.

Social attractions seem at first to have largely engrossed him. Young, handsome, genial, a regular army officer, with the honors of his class, he could scarcely fail to be a welcome guest anywhere. He has enough to do in New York, he says, to keep him from feeling lonely and to make a rainy day tolerable. "Besides, I am acquainted with a great many influential persons in the city, as well as a number of highly-accomplished and interesting ladies, whose smile is as cheering as a ray of sunshine would be after an Arctic night," and, as was natural, he was highly pleased with the change from West Point. But this was only in 1854. Two or three years later, while as much devoted to society as ever, he was less boyish in boasting of his influential and accomplished acquaintances. In 1856 we find him giving instead a half-pleased, half-bored account of his experience in making New Year's calls. The day "was everything that a person could wish. I was industriously engaged from ten o'clock in the morning till nine in the evening. I succeeded in making seventy-five calls, and then did not get around all my acquaintances. But I concluded to stop, as I was slightly leg-weary, though the visions of loveliness floating before my mind were more than sufficient to buoy me up." In another place he gives a page to an account of his enjoyment of New Year's Eve "with some charming young ladies," of an apparition that appeared as the mystic hour approached, and was resolved into "an indubitably honest ghost," to-wit: a bowl of egg-nog, and of the good time they had shaking hands all around, and clinking the glasses as they drank the old year out and the new year in. Again he tells of being pretty closely confined by his duties at the forts—this is over a year later—but has "managed to run out of town Saturday afternoons and back early Monday mornings." "It is perfectly elegant," he continues, "to escape from the cares of business, the mire and dust of the city, and rest in the delights of the country—surrounded by charming friends." He has grown still more discreet, it will be observed; but he is frank enough to add that he believes the friends rather than the country make the excursions so pleasant. At last, however, comes the confession. "I tell you, John, I have about come to the conclusion that it is not good for man to be alone. Don't be alarmed. I am not going to desert the ranks of bachelordom yet. No; I am still afloat—not yet having found the pearl of great price." We have scarcely looked into one of the letters of those days without finding it full of phrases like these. In fact—to quote from the old friend and schoolmate of McPherson's, to whom we are indebted for most of the youthful correspondence before us *—"to appreciate his letters fully, one should able to recall the expression of his eye, and the joyousness of the laugh with which he would always refer to 'the good times we used to have calling on the girls.'" But it was a pure, manly regard for the sex to which his mother and his sisters belonged that the hearty young fellow cherished, a regard that made all mothers trustful and from which no pure woman shrank.

What with building of forts, and purchase of materials, and calling on the young ladies, he found his time very much occupied. "There are so many

* George R. Haynes, Esq., of Toledo.

things to do," he writes, three years after his graduation, "and so many ways to enjoy myself that it is with the utmost difficulty I can settle myself down to anything like a calm, steady, and instructive course of reading or studying. However, I satisfy myself with the reflection that a knowledge of men and of business is quite as essential in this rapid, go-a-head country of ours as a knowledge of books."

The cheerful, sunny-tempered boy naturally developed into a man who preferred to look on the bright side of things: "My duties have brought me in contact with persons of almost every walk of life;" he writes in 1856, "and though I find much to condemn, still there is vastly more to admire. It only requires one to be firm and decided in his principles (which must have integrity for their basis) to get along well, command the respect and confidence of the community, and render the shafts of unprincipled men perfectly harmless."

Political matters seem to have attracted his attention a good deal. He could scarcely have passed through West Point in those days without absorbing the Southern notions which prevailed, and the hearty dislike which officers of the regular army particularly chose to affect toward the Abolitionists. But he avowed such prejudices—rather than opinions—with a zeal quite in contrast with the equable regard which he bestowed upon other matters outside his profession. Within a month or two after leaving West Point he was writing to a friend: "Do you have much to do with politics? I hear that matters have come to a pretty bad pass in our State, and that it is really discreditable to go to the Legislature. I think the sooner a reform takes place, the better. I believe, if I were to meddle with politics, I would be a 'Know-Nothing.'" A year later he had come to discuss the sins of the Abolitionists with greater unction and at greater length. "Not a few are highly gratified at the result of the recent elections in Massachusetts and this State, which have been such a signal rebuke to Seward and his Abolition supporters." "It is very seldom," he continues in a half apologetic vein, "that military men meddle with politics, except when broad, sound, *National* principles are assailed, and then they feel it a duty to place themselves in the van and rally to the support of the Union. I have felt a good deal of interest in politics since I have seen the efforts which have been made to form a sectional party—a party with but one idea, and that one calculated to awake a feeling of animosity from one extreme of the Union to the other, the fatal effects of which neither you nor I can predict. When I see men who are endowed with superior powers of mind, and occupying high stations, putting forward their utmost energies to excite dissension, and not only dissension but absolute hatred between the different sections of our country, I feel it is time they were shorn of their strength and rendered powerless to commit evil. Could I believe in their sincerity or patriotism, and that motives of humanity actuate them, I might be a little more charitable. But when such men as Salmon P. Chase, whose position gives him influence, gets up before a public assembly in Maine or any other State, and declares that there is a deep feeling of hatred between the North and the South, that 'the Allies do not hate the Russians or the Russians the Allies, any more than the people of the North

hate the people of the South,' or the people of the South hate the people of the North,' it is time all candid men should act to defeat the schemes and machinations of such demagogues. I do not hesitate to say that I am GRATIFIED at the result of the elections; and I believe that *every Union Whig, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster Whig*, can say the same." The italics and capitals are given above as Mr. McPherson used them to show the strength of his sage conviction. The elections over which the young man rejoiced were among the last defeats of the Republican party, prior to that one which made Mr. James Buchanan President of the United States.

Engineering he understood; and the regular army and society, and the prejudices of both. With these prejudices he was content so far as politics were concerned. A year later he had learned no more wisdom than this: "From what I can hear from Ohio, I suppose it will go for Fremont. Fillmore is my choice, and had I the casting vote he would be the man to take the Presidential chair on the 4th of March. Next to Fillmore I prefer Buchanan, although many of his principles are of a different school from that in which I was educated." "But the time has come, John," he continues, in appeal to his friend, "when good and true men must rally round the Constitution and the Union, and stay the tide of sectionalism and fanaticism which is spreading like wildfire throughout certain parts of the country."

His rhetoric was badly involved, but his principles were clear. He stood by the Constitution and the Union. Full of his West Point training, and of the prejudices of such New York society as a handsome young West Pointer was likely to see, it was very natural that he should be mistaken as to who were the real assailants of the Constitution and the Union. But when he found out, there came back the ringing sound of the pure metal. From the fortifications of Alcatras Island, in San Francisco Harbor, he writes to his mother in the winter of 1860–61: "My mind is perfectly made up, and I can see that I have but one duty to perform, and that is, to stand by the Union and the support of the General Government. I left home when I was quite young, was educated at the expense of the Government, received my commission and have drawn my pay from the same source to the present time, and I think it would be traitorous for me, now that the Government is really in danger, to decline to serve and resign my commission. Not that I expect any service of mine can avail much; but such as it is it shall be wielded in behalf of the Union, whether James Buchanan or Abraham Lincoln is in the Presidential chair." And soon after we find him writing again to his mother: "However men may have differed in politics, there is but one course now. Since the traitors have initiated hostilities and threatened to seize the National Capital, give them blow for blow and shot for shot, until they are effectually humbled. I do not know whether I shall be kept here or ordered East; but one thing I do know, and that is, that I am ready and willing to go where I can be of the most service in upholding the honor of the Government, and assisting in crushing out the rebellion; and I have faith to believe that you will see the day when the glorious old flag will wave more triumphantly than ever. I wish I

was at home now to join the Ohio volunteers. I swung my cap more than once on reading the telegraphic message of Governor Dennison: 'What Kentucky will not furnish, Ohio will!' Now that the fires are kindled, I hope they will not be permitted to die out until Jeff. Davis and his fellow conspirators are in Washington to be tried for treason, or, in the language of old Putnam, 'tried, condemned, and executed.'"*

And with this burst of indignant loyalty we turn away from those broad-paged, handsomely-written, much-prized letters to family and friends; away from the old life to which they belong; away from building defenses for harbors and listening to conservative anti-sectional politics, and keeping up home memories and calling on the girls—away from all this, and into the seething war—whence he is not to emerge save with the cross and martyr's crown.

In the spring of 1861, McPherson, only a Lieutenant of Engineers yet, was still in San Francisco. He was now a little over thirty-two years of age, was still manly and handsome and sunny-tempered, and unmarried, though engaged to a lady in Baltimore. To the outside public he was unknown. In the army he was not much talked of; but he had served in New York under Major Delafield, who had spoken well of him, and in San Francisco he had conducted his engineering operations to the entire satisfaction of the Department. Altogether, he was to be considered a good and safe engineer. Whereupon, when after personal application, he obtained orders to come East in the summer of 1861, he was assigned to engineer duty in Boston harbor, and in August 6th—after McClellan was a Major-General in the regular army, and a score of incapables had become Major-Generals of volunteers by virtue of their knowing regimental and brigade drill, Lieutenant McPherson was—advanced to the junior Captaincy of Engineers.

At last his time came. When Halleck went West he wanted a number of regular army officers around him. Among the rest, he thought of the young engineer who had been at work for a year or two in the harbor, while he had been practicing law in the city of San Francisco. Captain McPherson was accordingly promoted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of volunteers, and assigned to duty on General Halleck's staff.

This was on the 12th of November, 1861. Between that date and the 22d of July, 1864, a period of less than three years, was crowded all that it remains to us to tell of McPherson.

Through the winter he did some engineer duty, constructed defenses along the line of the Pacific Railroad, and helped to organize troops as they came into the department.

On the 31st of January, 1862, General Grant, at Cairo, received the often-sought permission to move on Forts Henry and Donelson, with the intimation that full instructions would come by messenger. Next day the messenger presented himself in the person of McPherson, made brevet Major of engineers,

*The entire letter from which this last extract is taken may be found in "Hours at Home," for March, 1866.

and assigned as chief engineer of the expeditionary forces. There thus began the association which was soon to prove so helpful to the young staff officer

At first there was little for him to do. Admiral Foote captured Fort Henry before Grant got up. When the army reached Donelson, however, McPherson was kept busy enough tracing the lines along which Grant had determined to conduct a siege. The exposure through that terrible weather was a rough commencement for campaigning, and McPherson, unused for many years to exposure, broke down under it. An old affection of the throat and lungs returned, and he was forced, in fear in fact of his life, to hasten back to St. Louis for medical assistance. When, in the first days of March, he was able to return to the field, he bore with him the instructions to General Grant for the movement up the Tennessee.

The frightful blunder in which this expedition ended at Pittsburg Landing does not seem in any way traceable to McPherson. It was indeed specially within the scope of his engineering duties to have set forth the objections to the encampment on the wrong side of the river in the face of a superior foe, to the confused jumbling of the several divisions, and to the lack of defensive preparations. But an old friend of Grant's, Colonel Webster, was the chief engineer on the staff, and the young officer might well, under such circumstances, be chary of offering unasked advice. When the blow fell, through all the confusion of the fateful Sunday of Pittsburg Landing, and the better fortune that came with the morrow, he did staff-duty efficiently and gallantly So well was Grant pleased that, swiftly following after the brevet of Major in the engineers, came that of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was at the same time promoted to a full Colonelcy in his volunteer rank, and again assigned to duty on Halleck's staff, this time as chief engineer to the combined armies now concentrated against Corinth.

For the amazing engineering delays that retarded the advance on Corinth to a rate of about a quarter of a mile per day, he was as little responsible as for the previous lack of such precautions. General Halleck was himself an engineer. What he required of his subordinate was not advice, but work. This McPherson did, and, new as he was to such tasks, did so well that to this day the lines drawn about Corinth have scarcely been surpassed. But he condemned the orders he obeyed, considered the unusual delays needless, and while he filled the woods between Corinth and the river with miles upon miles of parapets, would, if allowed to exercise his own judgment, have been marching toward the enemy's works.*

When Halleck was summoned to Washington as General-in-Chief, his staff officer remained behind, and presently, on the recommendation of General Grant, who now commanded the department, was promoted to a Brigadier-Generalship of volunteers, for the purpose of assuming the position (for which his engineering capacity was supposed to give him peculiar fitness) of military superintendent

* This statement I make on the authority of General Hickenlooper, subsequently chief engineer on General McPherson's staff.

of railroads. He remained, however, in active duty on General Grant's staff until after the battle of Iuka. He had just begun his work of repairing the railroads when the battle of Corinth came on. A dispatch from Grant notified him that telegraphic communication with Rosecrans at Corinth was cut off, that the Rebels were probably making an attack, and that he was anxious to have McPherson conduct re-enforcements at once to the assailed garrison. He immediately mustered his engineer regiment from the railroad, and with the other troops sent him by Grant—enough to make up a good brigade—moved rapidly down the road. As he approached Corinth the sounds of heavy firing grew plainer and plainer, till suddenly, a little after four o'clock, they ceased altogether. McPherson was puzzled. Which side was successful? On which side was the enemy, and how was this single brigade to move so as surely to avoid Price and Van Dorn, and reach Rosecrans? No intelligence whatever could be secured from the battle-field. Throwing skirmishers well to the front, and moving cautiously, he advanced on the north side of the railroad. At last Rosecrans's pickets were reached; and just as the triumphant commander was galloping over the field, congratulating the men and giving orders for the pursuit in the morning, McPherson was marching into the town.

"Returning from this" (the ride over the field and orders to the troops) "I found the gallant McPherson with a fresh brigade on the public square, and gave him the same notice, with orders to take the advance." This is all Rosecrans says in his official report. Staff officers, however, still have vivid recollections of the sharp passage between McPherson and his chief which preceded his first movement upon the enemy in the actual command of troops. The order sent to McPherson after Rosecrans's verbal instructions, ran thus: "The General commanding directs that you furnish your command with three days' rations and one hundred rounds of ammunition. Let your animals be well watered and supplied with forage, or turned out to graze. Be prepared to move at daylight." At daylight Rosecrans came galloping up, full of that nervous excitement that inflamed him on such occasions, and demanded why McPherson had not, in accordance with orders, moved out in pursuit. McPherson replied that he had received no such orders, and was awaiting them. "Yes, you have received them," said the impatient Rosecrans, sharply. McPherson deliberately and calmly repeated his denial, at the same time producing the written order to "*be prepared*" to move, and calling the General's attention to the fact that he was prepared. Rosecrans apologized and gave the order. It was a little thing, and, though exciting enough for the moment, ended very pleasantly; but it serves to show at this outset of his career, the combined promptness and caution of McPherson's character. Most men, breathing the air of pursuit that filled all Corinth that night, would have moved with the first streak of dawn on such orders as McPherson already had. Not so our prudent young engineer. He was ordered to be prepared to move, and prepared to move he was.*

*The facts of the above passage between Rosecrans and McPherson are derived from a MS. outline of McPherson's military services, furnished me by General Hickenlooper of his staff.

A little later he gave another taste of his quality. A flag of truce came back from the rear of the hard-pressed, retreating column, and with it a large burial-party. The manifest object was to delay the pursuit; the ostensible one to care for the wounded and bury the dead. McPherson directed it to stand aside and await orders, while with redoubled energy he pushed the pursuit. Fighting was going on, he said, and he did not propose to suspend it unless ordered to do so by the General commanding.* At the crossing of the Hatchie he struck the enemy's rear with vigor, captured a baggage-train and large quantities of war *materiel*, and scattered the retreating force in all directions.

It was his first handling of troops in action. So fully was it supposed to illustrate his ability that, a few days later, another promotion came to crown the series of his fast-growing honors. A year before he had been a Captain of Engineers. Then had come a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Volunteers; then, after Pittsburg Landing, a Colonelcy,—after the evacuation of Corinth a Brigadier-Generalship. Now, on his return from this pursuit of Price and Van Dorn, he was met with news of his appointment to a Major-Generalship! Still, he could not but feel that it was rather because of the promise of ability he had given than for actual achievements that he was thus advanced; rather because Grant believed him capable of great things than because of any great things that he had done.

Meantime, with every widening of his sphere his personal popularity had widened. Now, as he gave up his control of the railroads to enter upon his duties as Major-General, he was made to see very pleasantly the attachment and regard of his railroad subordinates. They gave him a parting supper, at which Grant, Logan, and a large number of the rising officers who have since become famous, were guests, and when the party was all assembled, presented him with a horse, saddle, bridle, and sword. He sought to reply to the compliments of the presentation speech, but the occasion was too much for him, and he came near breaking completely down. Palpably the new Major-General was no orator.

McPherson proceeded at once to the District of Bolivar, to the command of which he had been assigned. He devoted himself to the organization and equipment of his troops; kept a keen eye upon the movements along his front; and succeeded in furnishing General Grant with much of the information that went to shape the campaign upon Holly Springs and thence toward the rear of Vicksburg. Finally,† he was ordered to make a reconnoissance in force toward Holly Springs, to develop the enemy's strength. He was to be joined, *en route*, by Quimby's division, from Grand Junction. Next morning he moved out. Quimby failed to join him, but he pushed on, and, about ten miles south of Old Lamar, encountered the enemy in force. He at once disposed his infantry in front, and swung the cavalry around on the enemy's right flank and rear. As the infantry advanced in front the cavalry charged upon the rear; and the enemy, after a short resistance, broke and fled in confusion. Hoping still to hear from Quimby, McPherson now allowed the infantry to advance slowly; but

* Rosecrans's Test. Com. Con. War. Series 1865, Vol. III, p. 22. † On 7th November, 1862.

with the cavalry he pushed on in person, sharply following the retreat, and presently developing the full strength of the Rebels behind their fortified positions on the Coldwater. Then, after making a careful reconnoissance, he retired, with about a hundred prisoners as the fruits of his fighting, and such information as to the Rebel strength and positions as satisfied Grant that the time for his advance had come.

This was the first considerable action in which McPherson was engaged in prominent command. His dispositions were admirable, and the promptness and vigor of his attack dispelled the fear of excessive caution which was commonly entertained at the beginning of every engineer's career in active command. So fully was McPherson now trusted that he was given the entire right wing of the Army of the Tennessee, and assigned to the advance. In this position he led the movement down toward Jackson and the rear of Vicksburg, till, when his cavalry had reached Coffeeville and the route seemed clear, the whole army was suddenly thrown back by the surrender of Holly Springs, and the consequent loss of the supplies for the campaign. In the return McPherson held the rear through all the exhausting march over the flooded country—his troops living cheerfully on quarter-rations and patiently enduring the fatigues, when they saw their commander asking no sacrifice of them which he did not make himself. Day and night he kept the saddle. Whenever a difficulty or danger was encountered he lingered—never leaving till the last man or the last wagon was safely over; and through all the privations and dangers he continued so affable, so cheerful, with such kind words and pleasant looks for all, that on that march he fairly mastered the hearts of his command. Thenceforward its *morale* was perfect, for it believed in its General.

There now began the movement against Vicksburg by the way of the Mississippi River. While Grant, with the rest of the army, hastened down, McPherson lay at Memphis reorganizing and refitting his command. On his way thither he had narrowly escaped a great danger. He occupied the rear car, while the rest of his train was filled with the sick and wounded from one of his divisions. In a cold, disagreeable winter night, as the train was passing a sharp curve, every car save the last was thrown from the track, and hurled to the bottom of the high embankment. The poor wounded men were again horribly mangled and mutilated. McPherson did everything in his power for their comfort—then leaving them in the charge of his Medical Director, took the locomotive (which still remained upon the track) and hurried forward to send back further relief.

By the 22d of February his command was ready for the field; and on the 23d its advance arrived at Lake Providence; while he himself hurried on down to the front of Vicksburg to see General Grant, and receive his orders. Grant was now in the height of the ditch-digging campaign. The canal across the peninsula before Vicksburg was not yet a failure, and some hopes were entertained of the route through the bayous from Milliken's Bend. To McPherson was assigned a less promising route. He was to try to open a passage through the sluggish wastes of water that, at flood-time, filled the gaps and

connected Lake Providence, Bayou Macon, and the Tensas and Red Rivers. It was a project of extraordinary wildness. We find no traces of any opinion expressed by McPherson as to its feasibility; but he went to work vigorously to attempt the execution of his orders. In two weeks he had the levees cut, and the water from the Mississippi rushing at a furious rate into Lake Providence. Weeks were then spent in seeking to open the tortuous passages between and along the bayous. Meantime Grant's other projects for evading the Vicksburg batteries had failed, and he had risen to the height of the audacious conception that was to bring him the most worthily-earned honor of his career. McPherson s report as to the impracticability of his route was, therefore, all the more readily accepted; and on the 16th of April his command moved down the river to unite with the rest of the army in the movement below Vicksburg upon its rear.

Six days were spent in corduroying the roads across the peninsula and down the Louisiana bank of the river. Then, through swamps still almost bottomless, the troops began their toilsome march. McClernand had the advance; McPherson followed. On the 30th of April the column reached Hard Times Landing, and began the crossing to Bruinsburg. Next morning, as McPherson's command rapidly disembarked on the Vicksburg side, without knapsacks or encumbrances of any kind, the guns of McClernand's division could already be heard. The enemy's forces below Vicksburg were resisting the advance. McPherson pushed rapidly forward at the head of his troops.

As he approached the scene of action, Grant met him. What followed curiously illustrates the matter of fact way in which battles are apt to be fought, as contrasted with the enthusiasm and general heroics of the poets. "Mack," said Grant, "Ostherhaus is over there on the left, pegging away, but can 't quite make the riffle. Go over and see what you can do."*

In obedience to this rather vague order McPherson put in a division to support McClernand's center. With the other he moved up on the left, and speedily became severely engaged. The battle (since known as Port Gibson) lasted for several hours yet; but finally the enemy was driven, and the army pushed forward till it was stopped by Bayou Pierre. Next day the bayou was bridged, and McPherson once more took the advance. He held it, bridging Bayou Pierre at another crossing as he progressed, till he followed the flying Rebels across the bridge they had not time to burn, at Hankinson's Ferry, on the Big Black. Demonstrations and feints ensued for two or three days, while Grant got up his supplies, and was ready to push northward.

Then, while Sherman and McClernand hugged the Big Black, McPherson launched out far to the eastward. By three o'clock on the afternoon of the 12th, he had encountered a force of the enemy near Raymond. Its position gave it considerable advantage, and at the time it was thought to comprise formidable numbers; but it has been since ascertained to have consisted of Gregg's and W H. T. Walker's Rebel brigades only. McPherson deployed his advance rapidly and began the attack. The contest raged for between two and three hours,

*MS. Memorandum of General Hickenlooper.

when the Rebels retreated, Logan's division having borne the brunt of the fighting.

Just as the issue of the battle began to seem clear, McPherson's Adjutant-General approached him with a dispatch which he had prepared for General Grant, and which only awaited McPherson's signature to be sent off. It set forth that he "had met the enemy in immensely superior force, but had defeated him most disastrously, and was now in full pursuit." McPherson quietly tore it up, took the field-book of the Adjutant, and wrote instead: "We met the enemy about three P M. to-day; have had a hard fight and up to this time have the advantage."

When Grant received this, he straightway changed the direction of Sherman's and McClernand's columns, so that the whole force might converge upon McPherson's objective—Jackson. For while no fears were entertained about his ability to drive the enemy he had already defeated, yet it was known that on his front, at Jackson, Rebel re-enforcements were arriving, and that Johnston was likely to essay the offensive speedily. Meantime the next day McPherson pushed on, with only light skirmishing to impede him, and before dark had struck the railroad between Vicksburg and Jackson at Canton, capturing telegraphic correspondence between Pemberton and Johnston. The latter ordered Pemberton to move out and attack Grant's rear. Pemberton promised to obey This was immediately forwarded to Grant. Meantime the Seventh Missouri regiment was sent out along the railroad toward Vicksburg to destroy it as far as possible, with the chief engineer on the staff to supervise their labors. They worked all night, and at daybreak were back in Clinton to move with the army.

McPherson's orders were now to take Jackson without delay. The march was made through an unusually heavy rain-storm, which swelled the rivulets along the road till the ammunition had to be raised from the beds of the wagons to prevent it from being destroyed. By daylight the movement had begun; before noon it was checked by artillery firing that raked the road on which they were advancing. A little time was given to artillery firing in reply; then the skirmish line was advanced, and presently General Johnston's position was developed—along a commanding ridge in front of the town. Then Crocker's division, which held the advance, was formed in echelon, and the line moved forward to the attack—slowly at first, gradually increasing their speed till, finally, as they received the enemy's fire, they gave a wild cheer and dashed forward at a charge. The contest was short and bloody. The enemy broke. Crocker pushed hard after them. They did not even halt when they reached their breastworks surrounding the city, but pushing through them and abandoning their artillery and munitions made good their escape. The retreat was doubtless hastened by the discovery that Sherman was already upon their rear.

As the victorious troops marched in, Grant met his subordinates, McPherson and Sherman, at the hotel. A brief consultation was held, as the result of which McPherson turned westward, and, facing Vicksburg, was on his march

before daylight the next morning.* He moved all day without resistance, and at night went into bivouack near Bolton's Station. The game was now in his hands. Johnston's scattered forces were hopelessly in the rear; Pemberton, confused between his desire to stand guard over the earthworks of Vicksburg, to cut Grant's suppositious lines of communication, and to obey Johnston, who had peremptorily ordered the abandonment of Vicksburg, marched hither and thither and did nothing. And before McPherson, scarcely thirty miles away, lay Vicksburg. With the earliest dawn of the next morning, the 16th, Grant hurried him forward. Meantime Pemberton was at last striving to obey Johnston's orders by marching north-eastward to join him. But his tardy obedience was worse than his previous blundering—for his line of march led him directly across McPherson's front, and he presently found himself forced in all haste to halt and form line of battle to protect his flank. His line stretched from the heights of Champion Hills across a gentle slope southward, and terminated in a series of abrupt knolls and ravines.

Here, by eleven o'clock, McPherson had come and was sharply skirmishing. Grant wanted to bring McClernand up before the battle should begin, and sent back messenger after messenger to hasten his advance. But McPherson's troops were impetuous and full of confidence, and presently the skirmish had swelled into battle before McClernand was ready. Hovey's division attacked the hill, and though once and again re-enforced with such brigades as could be thrown in was finally repulsed. But meantime Logan had been pushing down through the ravines on the enemy's left, and presently began to threaten their rear. McPherson then sent forward again the rallying divisions which had been repulsed; and the enemy finding his position compromised, fled in a confusion which soon became utter rout. Seventeen pieces of artillery were captured and two thousand prisoners; but it was at a cost of over two thousand killed and wounded.

McClernand now took the advance, and McPherson, following in support, encountered no resistance. At the Big Black he built two bridges, one of them a floating pathway laid on cotton bales. Crossing on these,† he followed in Sherman's course, and rapidly deployed before the fortifications of Vicksburg. The next day he participated in the hasty assault; two days later in the more elaborate and determined one; and did his full share in each to beat back the inevitable failure.

Then, when the siege began, holding the center opposite the strongest works of the enemy, he called into play all his old engineering skill. In less than ten days his batteries were inflicting severe damage; he raked the enemy's intrenched lines on both flanks, and had a reverse fire upon a large bastioned fort on Sherman's front. Meantime his sharp-shooters were pushed up so close that they soon succeeded in almost entirely silencing the artillery fire from the opposing works.

By the 22d June his Chief Engineer, Captain (afterward Brigadier-General) Hickenlooper, reported to him that the sap had reached the Rebel ditch in front

*15th May, 1863. †18th May.

of Fort Hill, and that he was ready to commence mining operations. Thus far mines had not been attempted in any of the operations of the war. General McPherson pushed forward the experiment, and in two days reported to General Grant his readiness to attempt the explosion. A main gallery had been run for some sixty feet directly under the Rebel fort, and from this smaller galleries branched off on either side. In the several galleries twenty-two hundred pounds of powder were deposited.

The explosion was fixed for three o'clock on the afternoon of the 25th. An hour before that time, one watching the scene from Battery Hickenlooper would have been struck with the splendor and the death-like stillness of the scene. For miles to right and left could be seen the long lines of blue filing into the intrenchments. Beyond them came hurrying detachments with supplies of artillery ammunition. Near by stood the storming column of a hundred picked men, on whose set features was read the anxiety that the bravest must feel in such an hour of suspense. A little before three Sherman and Grant came into the battery to watch with McPherson the result.

At precisely three the match was fired. There was a moment of suspense; then the Rebel fort confronting them rose like a huge leviathan. As it entered the air it began to break into fragments; finally, at the height of about a hundred feet, it seemed to dissolve, and only the great cloud of sulphureous smoke could be seen. Through this roared thrice ten thousand muskets, and the great guns along miles of intrenchments. Through it, too, dashed the devoted hundred of the storming column, followed close by their supports. They plunged into the crater, fought right and left and hand to hand with the Rebels behind parapets on either side. Between the opponents, for that whole evening and the night that followed, was only a crest of earth scarcely ten feet in width. They took twenty-four pound shells, with five-second fuses, lighted them and rolled them over. So near were they that sometimes the Rebels caught and hurled back these shells before they exploded. They raised the butts of their muskets over their heads when they sought to fire, for it was certain death to lift their heads. All the next day this state of affairs continued; then artillery was so planted as to secure the ground that had been won, and the men were withdrawn to the ditch.

McPherson next had another gallery run out under the part of Fort Hill still held by the enemy. On the 1st of July this was exploded with considerable success. Of the garrison seven were thrown within our lines, but only one of them, a negro, lived, and, as Chief Engineer Hickenlooper said, *he* was so much astonished that whatever he had known about the situation inside the enemy's lines was driven out of his head.

The result of these several engineering operations was the possession of the work which constituted the key to the Rebel lines. Pemberton, who at any rate was nearly starved out, and who had finally despaired of aid from Johnston, became convinced that the damage was irreparable, and asked for an armistice to consider terms of surrender.

Throughout the siege McPherson had held the center and had conducted

the most important operations. It was no less a natural than a deserved compliment, therefore, that he should be awarded the honor of occupying the captured city.

In the various operations thus happily ended, General McPherson had exhibited every leading qualification of a good corps General. He had been prompt and skillful in obeying orders, judicious when left to his own resources, far-sighted and enterprising in counsel, masterly in handling his troops upon the battle-field, and in exhausting the resources of scientific engineering in the siege. He was the youngest of the corps Generals, and the least experienced. Indeed, when he marched out from Bruinsburg to take part in the battle of Port Gibson at the outset of the campaign, he was really going to the first considerable battle of his military life. In the great engagements of Grant's earlier career he had been only a staff officer; at Corinth he arrived after the battle was over; in the pursuit his attack at the Hatchie amounted to little more than a skirmish, and in the movement beyond Holly Springs his only action occurred in driving back the resistance to an armed reconnoissance. Practically, he was a beginner in the art of handling troops in battle when he began the campaign from the south against Vicksburg. At its close none would have thought of comparing him with one of his associate corps commanders, and if a comparison with the other had been suggested, it would only have been to express the doubt as to whether McPherson's lucid judgment and perfect command of all his resources, or Sherman's nervous energy and flashes of war-like inspiration were really the more desirable. In a two months' campaign he had thus risen to rank beside one who then stood second to no corps commander in the armies of the Nation.

In some quarters even higher place was awarded him. Neither among his enemies nor with his own people had General Grant at that time any large recognition. The campaign to the rear of Vicksburg was so brilliant a contrast to all his previous career that men refused to give him credit for its authorship, and in looking for the good genius that had inspired him, they settled, North and South, with considerable unanimity, upon his old staff officer whom he had raised to be one of his corps commanders. We can now see that there was very little justice in this; but it serves to show what impression the abilities of McPherson had made upon those most engaged in weighing and estimating the quality of our officers, when they were ready to believe him the author of a campaign which they considered Grant unable to devise.

General Grant himself was foremost in giving praise to the gifted subordinate whom others were thus seeking to elevate into his rival. Among the first occupations of his leisure, after the surrender, was the preparation of two letters to the authorities at Washington. One recited the services and merits of Sherman; the other the services and merits of McPherson, and each recommended its subject for promotion to Brigadier-Generalship in the regular army. The language of Grant's letter concerning McPherson was as just as it was generous.

"He has been with me," he wrote, "in every battle since the commencement of the rebellion, except Belmont. At Forts Henry and Donelson, Pitts-

burg Landing, and the siege of Corinth, as a staff officer and engineer, his services were conspicuous and highly meritorious. At the second battle of Corinth his skill as a soldier was displayed in successfully carrying re-enforcements to the besieged garrison, when the enemy was between him and the point to be reached.

"In the advance through Central Mississippi, General McPherson commanded one wing of the army with all the ability possible to show, he having the lead in the advance, and the rear in retiring.

"In the campaign and siege terminating in the fall of Vicksburg, General McPherson has filled a conspicuous part. At the battle of Port Gibson it was under his direction that the enemy was driven late in the afternoon from a position they had succeeded in holding all day against an obstinate attack. His corps, the advance, always under his immediate eye, were the pioneers in the movement from Port Gibson to Hankinson's Ferry.

"From the North Fork of the Bayou Pierre to Black River, it was a constant skirmish, the whole skillfully managed. The enemy was so closely pressed as to be unable to destroy their bridge of boats after them. From Hankinson's Ferry to Jackson the Seventeenth Army Corps marched roads not traveled by other troops, fighting the entire battle of Raymond alone; and the bulk of Johnston's army was fought by this corps, entirely under the management of General McPherson. At Champion Hills the Seventeenth Army Corps and General McPherson were conspicuous. All that could be termed a battle there was fought by General McPherson's corps and General Hovey's division of the Thirteenth Corps. In the assault of the 23d of May on the fortifications of Vicksburg, and during the entire siege, General McPherson and his command took unfading laurels.

"He is one of the ablest engineers and most skillful Generals. I would respectfully but urgently recommend his promotion to the position of Brigadier-General in the regular army."

The nomination thus warmly urged was promptly made. The confirmation, however, was for a little uncertain. During the siege no little had been said about the indecorous expression of pro-slavery sentiments by General Sherman, Admiral Porter, and others; and General McPherson was supposed to hold views in sympathy with theirs. There had been something said, too, of undue sympathy for Rebel prisoners—the whole culminating in a general charge of Rebel sympathies which seemed likely to be brought against him in the Senate when his nomination should come up for confirmation. "I never saw McPherson angry before," writes a staff officer.* "I shall never forget his appearance or his rage when for the first time he heard of such a charge." It was an officer high in rank and one of McPherson's preceptors at West Point who gave him information of this strange accusation. His reply was simple and manly. He had done nothing to justify the suspicion of Rebel sympathies, save what the dictates of humanity suggested and what, under similar circumstances, he should do again. He was not disposed to complain, however, if the Senate should

*General Hickenlooper.

refuse to confirm the high rank in the regular service to which he had been promoted. All he sought was that he might have the opportunity to serve the Government wherever and however his services might be valuable. In due time the matter passed quietly over, and the confirmation was easily secured.

Meantime a distinction, probably more valued at the time, was conferred upon him. It was the Gold Medal of Honor awarded by the "Board of Honor," composed of fellow-soldiers in Grant's army, in testimony of the appreciation in which he and his work were held by those who knew both the best.

Shortly after the surrender of Vicksburg, General McPherson sent a brigade under General Ransom to Natchez, to prevent the crossing of cattle for the Eastern armies of the Confederacy, and the return of ammunition for the Western. This expedition captured a number of prisoners, five thousand head of Texas cattle, and two million two hundred and sixty-eight thousand rounds of ammunition. Soon after this his troops began to be scattered; some were sent to General Banks; others were called for in Arkansas. The territorial limits of his department were at the same time extended from Helena, Arkansas, to the mouth of Red River.

In October he moved out toward Canton and Jackson, in the hope that a demonstration in that direction might tend a little to relieve the pressure on Rosecrans at Chattanooga. No important results, however, were attained.

With one exception, this constituted his only important military movement after the fall of Vicksburg until the opening of the Atlanta Campaign. The winter of 1863–4 he spent in the varied duties of his department, and in the earnest effort to secure the re-enlistment for the war of his command. In this he was successful—thanks to the confidence the men had in him, and to the soldierly feeling he had done so much to inspire—and when he reported to the Secretary of War that the entire Seventeenth Corps had become "veterans," he was able to make such an announcement as no other corps General in the country could then equal. By the 3d of February, 1864, he was able to issue his congratulatory order:

"True to yourselves and your country, and the dearest interests of humanity, you have nobly come forward and enrolled yourselves as veterans under the brightest banner that ever floated over the troops of any nation, with a firm resolve to stand by the flag of your fathers, which you have carried so triumphantly through many a bloody battle, until an American nationality is placed beyond the reach of designing Rebels, and high above the scoffs and insults of the proudest empire of the world.

"To men who have been so thoroughly tried, no appeal is necessary, but simply the announcement of the fact that your services are now needed. Your country calls you, and your General knows how you will respond. This expedition will be short, as your strong arms and stout hearts will demonstrate. The pledges given you will be fulfilled, and you will soon bear to your homes the accumulated honors of another campaign glorious as that in which you earned your title, the 'Heroes of Vicksburg.'

"Patient on the march, invincible in battle, let your brilliant record remain untarnished, and the Seventeenth Army Corps will thus stand proudly before the world, the pride of your General and the glory of your country."

The expedition thus referred to as of sufficient importance as to warrant

for a little a delay in giving them the veteran furloughs which had been promised, was the movement on Meridian. High things would seem to have been expected of it; but, partly because the cavalry failed to co-operate, partly also, perhaps, because very brilliant results were not attainable, it scarcely fulfilled the expectations that had been excited. McPherson's corps, however, destroyed sixty miles of railroad track, four miles of trestle-work, six bridges, twenty-one locomotives, one hundred cars, ten depots, one thousand seven hundred car wheels, three turn-tables, five mills, one hundred and fifty wagons, one thousand small arms, and considerable quantities of other property valuable to the enemy The losses in killed, wounded, and missing fell within a hundred. The troops then went home on their veteran furlough. Before they started they knew that their favorite General was promoted to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, preparatory to the great campaign soon to open.

We are approaching the close. Between McPherson at the head of a great army, ready to sweep down toward Atlanta, and McPherson borne back dead, while his name, coupled with the call for revenge, forms the watchword of his enraged men and leads them still to victory, there lies but a short campaign of less than a hundred days.

On the 25th of April, 1864, General McPherson moved over from Vicksburg to Huntsville, Alabama, where he established his head-quarters. He had a brief interview with Sherman at Nashville; there followed hurried preparations for the field; and on the 3d of May he moved down to Chattanooga with the Army of the Tennessee, twenty-four thousand strong.* Two days later he was embarked on his last campaign.

We have seen, in a previous part of this work, that the plan which General Sherman had resolved upon for forcing Johnston out of his impregnable intrenchments at Dalton was to occupy him with a strong feint on his front, while a force moving by his flank on the westward should plant itself on the railroad in his rear. Then, as Johnston should march southward to drive off this new danger, the force that was to make the feint on his front should follow after him through Dalton, unite with the column that had come in on the flank, and thus deliver the decisive battle on open ground.

But in the execution of this plan the feint was committed to Thomas, with sixty thousand; the turning movement, on which every thing depended, to McPherson, with twenty-four thousand.

McPherson moved promptly and rapidly on his detour. He passed Ship's Gap undisturbed; passed through Villanow, where Kilpatrick's cavalry joined him; pushed on to Snake Gap, below Johnston's flank, and here struck a brigade of rebel infantry. He attacked vigorously, and after two hour's fighting drove them. Before him now lay the open road to Resaca, but a few miles distant, on the enemy's railroad and line of retreat.

But he here learned that the wary antagonist had prepared for such an emergency. A new road had been cut through the woods from the enemy's

*The exact strength was: Infantry, 22,437; Artillery, 1,404; Cavalry, 624; guns, 96.

fortified position, twelve miles north, at Dalton, by which the flank or rear of any force marching on Resaca could be struck. By another road the enemy could likewise throw re-enforcements directly into Dalton. And now the scouts came in with word that Johnston was evacuating Dalton, and moving by these roads southward upon this isolated force of twenty-four thousand.

Manifestly the only safety for McPherson lay in the speed with which his movements should be executed. In this spirit he ordered General Dodge forward with all haste to make the attack upon Resaca; while with the Fifteenth Army Corps he covered the left flank of this column against the threatened attack by the roads leading down from Dalton. The movement seemed unaccountably delayed. McPherson chafed restlessly a little; then ordered a staff officer up to hasten it. The officer found General Sweeney, commanding Dodge's advance, quietly seated on a log, upbraiding some prisoners for being in arms against their Government. The importance of instant movement was explained and General McPherson's orders were delivered. General Sweeney explained that his men were re-forming and that he would move in a few minutes. A quarter of an hour passed. The staff officer again urged haste upon Sweeney and remonstrated at the vexatious delay. Still the movement lingered. Then, galloping back, he reported the facts to McPherson. In a few moments the General himself came dashing to the front. He at once started the column; then summoned General Dodge, explained to him the urgency of the situation, and ordered him to lose not a moment in the advance to Resaca, and to assault vigorously on his arrival. He then returned to prepare the Fifteenth Corps for receiving the expected attack in flank.

But he was struggling against too great odds—against not merely the inherent weakness of the plan that had been made for him, but against the tardiness of subordinates also. Dodge indeed moved forward at last, but, as a staff officer* describes it, "with little spirit, making only a weak attack, then returning to McPherson and reporting that the position could not be carried, that the enemy had more troops in position, outside of their works, than he had in his entire command." It was now nearly five o'clock. There was no time in the remnant of the short afternoon to make a new disposition of the forces; where they stood they were in imminent danger, as has been seen, of attack on the flank from Dalton; and, estopped from going forward by this failure before Resaca, there was nothing left for them but to go backward. McPherson accordingly ordered back the troops to the Gap, where they strengthened the position and went into bivouac, while he dispatched word of the result to Sherman.

With the tardy wisdom that always seems so clear of vision after the event, we can now see how it was perhaps in McPherson's power, when he first carried the Gap, by a vigorous dash with all his forces to have taken Resaca, and thus changed the whole face of the Atlanta campaign. But this would have belonged to that class of operations which, taking great risks, result either in great suc-

*General Hickenlooper, of McPherson's staff, whose account of these delays is followed throughout this notice of the movement on Resaca.

cess or in great disaster; and he may well be excused for judging that at the outset of the campaign, and in view of the instructions he had received, there was no such stress laid upon him as to justify so hazardous an experiment. Moreover, trains were constantly running between Dalton and Resaca, bringing down fresh Rebel re-enforcements for the threatened point from the moment that the guns at Snake Gap had disclosed to Johnston the danger. Even if, when the men burst through the gap, they might, by running the risk of annihilation from the flank, have swept everything before them into Resaca, it by no means follows that, after Dodge's and Sweeney's delays, and Dodge's abortive trial, the same thing would still have been possible. And besides, the initial fault of the movement lay, not in McPherson s caution, but in Sherman's plan of making the feint with the bulk of his army, and committing to this small column the burden of the real attack. So he himself seems to have regarded it; for, although, as he said, "greatly disappointed," he never uttered a word in complaint of McPherson, but, remedying his own error, he hastened down to McPherson's support with the greater part of the army

From the moment that McPherson was thus re-enforced Dalton fell without a blow, and Johnston, hastening down to Resaca, opposed a fresh front to the force thus menacingly planted upon his flank. Then followed the battle of Resaca. McPherson pushed forward against the central portion of the enemy's position, forced the line of Camp Creek (in front of Resaca), driving Polk's Rebel corps before him. He succeeded in effecting a lodgment upon the enemy's works commanding the railroad and the trestle bridge. Meantime, Thomas had formed on his left, and Schofield on Thomas's left. Both attacked vigorously, but without much success. Along a part of the line, in fact, they were driven back under a furious onset from Hood. But McPherson, holding fast all he had won, was now throwing Sweeney's division six or eight miles further down, to lay a pontoon bridge, effect a crossing (at Loy's Ferry), and strike the railroad in Johnston's rear. This was successfully accomplished. Then, once more, the circumspect Rebel commander perceived his position endangered, and hastily withdrew

Skill and good fortune combined, in these operations, to make McPherson the conspicuous figure in the battle of Resaca. It was he who forced the crossing of Camp Creek, who held fast on the Rebel fortifications, who controlled the railroad. And finally, after the others portions of the army had been substantially checked, it was he who secured the ferry below, and, planting a force upon Johnston's line of retreat, forced an evacuation. Doubtless Thomas or Schofield might have done as well with McPherson's opportunity; but it was McPherson who did it, and he fairly earned the high encomiums it brought.

Early discovering Johnston's retreat, McPherson was the first to profit by it. He pushed up under cover of the heavy artillery-fire he had ordered, and secured one of the bridges across the Oostenaula; being too late to save the other. Then, drawing back, he hastened south to his pontoon bridge at Loy's Ferry, and gaining in distance by this route, was able to strike the enemy's rear below Calhoun. He was resisted here by Hardee, and a sharp little engage-

ment sprang up, lasting long enough for the enemy to get their trains out of the way. Then, drawing off, and swinging to the right, McPherson again attacked them at a point midway between McGuire's and Kingston.

Finally Johnston made his third stand at Cassville. McPherson had meanwhile halted at Kingston for supplies. As Sherman's columns approached Cassville, Johnston, overpersuaded by Polk and Hood, who believed the position untenable, suddenly decided to abandon it and cross the Etowah without a struggle. So it came about that McPherson, moving forward after the reception of supplies, encountered no resistance till, swinging far to the westward toward Dallas, in Sherman's movement to avoid Allatoona Pass, he approached the banks of Pumpkinvine Creek.

The stage in the Atlanta campaign which we have now reached is that in which Sherman, seeking to turn Allatoona Pass, found himself confronted at Dallas, at New Hope Church, or wherever along the Rebel flank he sought to penetrate, till finally he swung in again by the left on the railroad and fairly faced the difficulties of the position by confronting Johnston at Kenesaw Mountain. As McPherson held the right, and had, therefore, been sent furthest south in the flanking movement, he thus came to meet the enemy at Dallas, while Hooker, further northward and to the left, was fighting at New Hope Church.

On 25th May, while approaching Dallas from the direction of Van Wert, McPherson struck the enemy in some force along the Pumpkinvine Creek. While the skirmishers were exchanging shots he could hear, twelve or fifteen miles to the north-eastward, the guns of Thomas's Army of the Cumberland. It was evident that a heavy battle was in progress. Pushing forward, he drove the enemy before him for some distance; then, swinging out his cavalry on the left, sought to open communication with the portion of Thomas's army (Hooker's command) whose guns he heard. But the cavalry met superior numbers, and was compelled to return.

In the existing uncertainty it was of the utmost importance to communicate at once with the army above, and with Sherman. What the whole body of his cavalry had been unable to accomplish, McPherson now therefore determined to entrust to a staff officer, escorted by a squad of four cavalrymen. To this officer he explained his designs for the next day, and instructed him in some way or another to be sure to get through to Sherman. At dark he started; soon after midnight he reached Sherman; and in a short time was hastening back with news of the battle of New Hope Church, and with urgent instructions to McPherson to attack the enemy at Dallas.

But before this officer could return McPherson had already, on his own judgment, begun the attack. After severe fighting he drove the enemy through Dallas; but, a mile to the eastward, was suddenly checked by a strongly intrenched position, which General Johnston's foresight had prepared, and behind which the Rebels now rallied. The next day, advancing from these works, they attacked McPherson; but he repelled the assault, and, in turn, drove them through their intrenchments to still stronger ones in their rear.

General Sherman, meeting with similar check all along the lines, now be-

gan a gradual movement back by the left toward the railroad—Johnston warily facing him step by step, till presently they confronted each other at Kenesaw. McPherson was ordered on 28th May to begin his share in this movement, withdrawing by the left to Thomas's position, while Thomas, moving further to the left, should approach the railroad. That evening he was about to obey the order, when the waiting columns were suddenly assailed with fury on front and right flank. So important was the action that followed considered by General Sherman, that he reported it as "a terrible repulse" to "a bold and daring assault." The enemy left upon the field two thousand five hundred dead and wounded, and besides, lost some three hundred prisoners. With his usual attention to engineering details, McPherson had so carefully covered his front with breastworks that his own loss was comparatively trifling.

The withdrawal by the left was thus delayed. On the night of the 30th, however, it was silently and skillfully accomplished; and on the morning of the 1st of June, General McPherson relieved General Thomas, while the latter pushed still further over to the left. Here he remained till, the enemy next taking the initiative, he followed their movement in the same direction on the 4th of June.

He now received two divisions of the Seventeenth Army Corps returned from veteran furlough, and one brigade of cavalry—accessions which barely made good the losses sustained by his command thus far in the campaign. Then, moving forward against Kenesaw he bore his share in the constant and sometimes severe fighting with which, until the 27th, every day was occupied. On that fatal date he shared with Thomas the bloody repulse that followed their combined assault on Kenesaw "Failure it was," says Sherman, "and for it I accept the full responsibility" He took pains, indeed, to explain that McPherson and Thomas had made their assaults exactly at the time and in the manner prescribed.

There followed the rapid flanking movements which threw Johnston across the Chattahoochie and into Atlanta. McPherson drew out from the works before Kenesaw on the night of 2d July; pushed rapidly to the right; presently, as Johnston, discovering the movement, fell back, occupied Marietta; then hastened to the Chattahoochie at the mouth of Nicojack Creek, and sough to prevent Johnston's passage. But from the time that he established himself at Dalton, that officer would seem to have contemplated and prepared for every successive step of the campaign that was to come. Even here, at the Chattahoochie, his crossing was protected by a strong *tete-de-pont*, against which McPherson's heavy assaults beat themselves fruitlessly away.

Then, however, he skillfully attracted the enemy's attention below with his cavalry, while moving rapidly by the left he reached the Chattahoochie at the Roswell Factory, above; rebuilt the bridge, and successfully planted his army on the south side. By the 17th of July he was able to move due westward through Decatur upon Atlanta.

It was here that Hood, essaying to carry out the plans of the brilliant General whom he had displaced, met the advancing army first in front of Atlanta

as it emerged from the passage of the swampy ground about Peachtree Creek—then, as this failed, drawing off southward, and apparently yielding the open road to Atlanta, lay in wait to strike the army in flank as it moved up to occupy the city Through only a part of these operations was the fated General, who had thus far so skillfully handled the Army of the Tennesse, now to oppose his weighty resistance.

The assault at the crossing of the Peachtree Creek fell upon Thomas and Schofield. Meanwhile McPherson was brought up on the left from Decatur. He moved along the railroad and along blind country paths, skirmishing heavily as he advanced. On the 21st, the morning after Thomas and Schofield had carried the Peachtree Creek, he threw his army upon the Rebel line of earthworks on his front, and carrying it, secured toward nightfall a commanding position, overlooking the interior defenses of Atlanta.

Then followed the sad end of the noble story.

About daylight came a staff officer from Sherman to report a movement of the enemy which was interpreted to mean an evacuation of the city. McPherson was suspicious. The skirmish line, however, was moved forward to the crest of the hills overlooking Atlanta. McPherson himself rode out to this crest. From the very front of the skirmishers he looked down into the interior lines of Rebel works, and through the streets of the beleaguered city. Some men could be seen in the interior lines, and a few were moving about in the streets. With these exceptions no living object was visible. The enemy, as is now known, expected him to move rapidly upon Atlanta. His commander manifestly expected the same—the rest of the army, in fact, began to move.

But the habitual caution of McPherson s nature stood his command in good stead. He doubted this sudden evacuation—would at least look into it a little more, before ordering his army pell-mell into Atlanta. To that caution we owe the salvation of the forces surrounding the besieged city

He gave some general directions to the pioneer companies. Then, riding back to General Blair's head-quarters, he heard of a suspicious appearance of Rebel cavalry in the rear, threatening the hospitals. Confirmed somewhat by this in his doubts, he gave some orders for the removal of the hospitals, and then rode off rapidly to the right to General Sherman s head-quarters.

Meantime Hood had passed completely around McPherson's left flank, and lay waiting for his expected movement. In front of him was the Sixteenth Army Corps, which had been ordered back for the destruction of the Augusta Railroad, but had been delayed by McPherson's suspicions of threatening danger. It was the reserve. In its front, overlooking Atlanta, was the Seventeenth Army Corps. Away to the right stretched the two other armies under Sherman's command. The rear was unguarded by cavalry It had been sent back on the Augusta Road by General Sherman himself. Hood was thus enabled to approaeh very close to his expected prey.

As McPherson stood conferring with Sherman—as Sherman, in fact, was expressing the belief that there was nothing left but to march in and occupy Atlanta—the storm broke. With the first scattering shots in the direction of

his rear, McPherson was off—riding with his soldierly instinct toward the sound of battle. He found the Sixteenth Corps in position, struggling manfully against an assault of unprecedented fierceness; the Seventeenth still holding its ground firmly; but danger threatening at the point where the distance between the position of the corps, lately in reserve and that on the front, had left a gap not yet closed in the sudden formation of a new line facing to the late flank and rear. Hither and thither his staff were sent flying with various orders for the sudden emergency. Finally the position of the Sixteenth Army Corps seemed assured, and accompanied only by a single orderly, he galloped off toward the Seventeenth; the troops as he passed saluting him with ringing cheers.

The road he followed was almost a prolongation of the line of the Sixteenth; it led a little behind where the gap between the two corps was, of which we have seen that he was apprised. The road itself, however, had been in our hands—troops had passed over it but a few minutes before. As he entered the woods, that stretched between the two corps, he was met by a staff officer with word that the left of the Seventeenth—the part of the line to which he was hastening—was being pressed back by an immensely superior force of the enemy. He stood for a moment or two closely examining the configuration of the ground, then ordered the staff officer to hurry to General Logan for a brigade to close the gap, and showed him how to dispose it on its arrival. And with this he drove the spurs into his horse and dashed on up the road toward the Seventeenth Corps.

He had scarcely galloped a hundred and fifty yards into the woods when there rose before him a skirmish line in gray! The enemy was crowding down into the gap. "Halt!" rang out sternly from the line, as the officer in General's uniform, accompanied by an orderly, came in sight. He stopped for an instant, raised his hat, then, with a quick wrench on the reins, dashed into the woods on his right. But the horse was a thought too slow in doing his master's bidding. In that instant the skirmish line sent its crashing volley after the escaping officer. He seems to have clung convulsively to the saddle a moment, while the noble horse bore him further into the woods—then to have fallen, unconscious. The orderly was captured.

In a few minutes an advancing column met a riderless horse coming out of the woods, wounded in two places, and with the marks of three bullets on the saddle and equipments. All recognized it as the horse of the much-loved General commanding; and the news spread electrically through the army that he was captured or killed. Then went up that wild cry, "McPherson and revenge." The tremendous assault was beaten back; the army charged over the ground it had lost, drove the enemy at fearful cost* from his conquests, and rested at nightfall in the works it had held in the morning.

Perhaps an hour after McPherson had disappeared in the woods, private George Reynolds, of Fifteenth Iowa, found some of the staff and told them that he had just left the dead body. The young fellow had been wounded, and was

* Sherman estimated the enemy's loss at eight thousand. His own, mainly in McPherson's corps, was three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two.

making his way through the woods toward a place of safety, when he came upon his General. Life was not yet gone, but he could not speak. His lips were parched; Reynolds moistened them with water from his canteen, stood over him till the last feeble breath was exhaled, and then went to seek for assistance to recover the body. His wound was still undressed, and a heavy fire was sweeping the spot where the dead General lay, but he would not rest till the body was recovered.* It was found that a musket ball had passed through the right lung, and had shattered the spine. The lack of surgical attendance was, therefore, no loss. Nothing could have saved or relieved him. The body lay about one hundred and fifty yards from the point where he had disappeared in the woods, and about thirty yards north of the road—his horse having carried him so far after the Rebel skirmish line was discovered before he fell. It had not been disturbed, and had probably not been approached by the Rebels.

General Sherman was moved to unwonted grief, when, half an hour later, word came to him that his favorite General, from whom he had so recently parted, was dead. Presently the body was brought and laid out in his head-quarters. He paced the floor, giving his orders for the battle, and turning now and again, with bitter tears, to look on the manly beauty of the departed, as he lay—to quote Mr. Hillard's elegant description of another—"extended in seeming sleep, with no touch of disfeature upon his brow; as noble an image of reposing strength as ever was seen upon earth." The next day, in words of womanly tenderness, General Sherman made his official announcement to the head-quarters of the army of the sad loss that had robbed it of one of its brightest ornaments:

"HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
"*In the Field near Atlanta, Georgia, July* 23, 1864.

"TO GENERAL L. THOMAS, *Adjutant-General U. S. A.*:

"*General*—It is my painful duty to report that Brigadier-General Jas. B. McPherson, United States Army, Major-General of volunteers, and commander of the Army of the Tennessee in the field, was killed by a shot from ambuscade about noon of yesterday.

"At the time of this fatal shot he was on horseback, placing his troops in position near the city of Atlanta, and was passing by a crossroad from a moving column toward the flank of troops that had already been established on the line. He had quitted me but a few moments before, and was on his way to see in person to the execution of my orders.

"About the time of this sad event, the enemy had sallied from his intrenchments around Atlanta, and had, by a circuit, got to the left and rear of this very line, and had begun an attack which resulted in serious battle, so that General McPherson fell in battle, booted and spurred, as the gallant knight and gentleman should wish.

"Not his the loss; but the country and the army will mourn his death and cherish his memory, as that of one who, though comparatively young, had risen by his merit and ability to the command of one of the best armies which the nation had called into existence to vindicate its honor and integrity

"History tell us of but few who so blended the grace and gentleness of the friend with the dignity, courage, faith, and manliness of the soldier.

"His public enemies, even the men who directed the fatal shot, ne'er spoke or wrote of him

* The Gold Medal of Honor was bestowed on Reynolds for this conduct, the order confirming it being read at the head of every regiment in his corps.

without expressions of marked respect; those whom he commanded loved him even to idolatry; and I, his associate and commander, fail in words adequate to express my opinion of his great worth. I feel assured that every patriot in America, on hearing this sad news, will feel a sense of personal loss, and the country generally will realize that we have lost, not only an able military leader, but a man who, had he survived, was qualified to heal the national strife which has been raised by designing and ambitious men.

"His body has been sent North in charge of Major Willard, Captains Steel and Gile, his personal staff.

"I am, with great respect,

"W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General Commanding."

Not less deep was the grief of the Lieutenant-General, under whom McPherson's rapid promotions had occurred. The public report of it led to this touching correspondence:

"CLYDE, OHIO, August 3, 1864.

"TO GENERAL GRANT:

"*Dear Sir*—I hope you will pardon me for troubling you with the perusal of these few lines from the trembling hand of the aged grandma of our beloved General James B. McPherson, who fell in battle. When it was announced at his funeral, from the public print, that when General Grant heard of his death, he went into his tent and wept like a child, my heart went out in thanks to you for the interest you manifested in him while he was with you. I have watched his progress from infancy up. In childhood he was obedient and kind; in manhood, interesting, noble, and persevering, looking to the wants of others. Since he entered the war, others can appreciate his worth more than I can. When it was announced to us by telegraph that our loved one had fallen, our hearts were almost rent asunder; but when we heard the Commander-in-Chief could weep with us too, we felt, sir, that you have been as a father to him, and this whole nation is mourning his early death. I wish to inform you that his remains were conducted by a kind guard to the very parlor where he spent a cheerful evening in 1861 with his widowed mother, two brothers, an only sister, and his aged grandmother, who is now trying to write. In the morning he took his leave at six o'clock, little dreaming he should fall by a ball from the enemy. His funeral services were attended in his mother's orchard, where his youthful feet had often pressed the soil to gather the falling fruit; and his remains are resting in the silent grave scarce half a mile from the place of his birth. His grave is on an eminence but a few rods from where the funeral services were attended, and near the grave of his father.

"The grave, no doubt, will be marked, so that passers by will often stop and drop a tear over the dear departed. And now, dear friend, a few lines from you would be gratefully received by the afflicted friends. I pray that the God of battles may be with you, and go forth with your arms till rebellion shall cease, the Union be restored, and the old flag wave over our entire land.

"With much respect, I remain your friend,

"LYDIA SLOCUM,

"Aged eighty-seven years and four months."

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
"*City Point, Virginia, August* 10, 1864.

"MRS. LYDIA SLOCUM:

"*My Dear Madam*—Your very welcome letter of the 3d instant has reached me. I am glad to know that the relatives of the lamented Major-General McPherson are aware of the more than friendship existing between him and myself. A nation grieves at the loss of one so dear to our nation's cause. It is a selfish grief, because the nation had more to expect from him than from almost any one living. I join in this selfish grief, and add the grief of personal love for the departed. He formed, for some time, one of my military family. I knew him well; to know him was to love. It may be some consolation to you, his aged grandmother, to know that every officer and every soldier who served under your grandson felt the highest reverence for his patriotism, his zeal, his great, almost unequaled ability, his amiability and all the manly virtues that can adorn a commander. Your bereavement is great, but can not exceed mine.

"Yours truly, U. S. GRANT."

The army shared to the full this regret and this admiration. He had always been regarded with affection by his troops; they now held his memory sacred and a priceless possession.

During his life he had never risen into wide personal popularity with the public. He was only a subordinate, and the popular raptures were reserved for the commanders. But he had been esteemed a skillful corps General, and a highly meritorious officer. At the South he had been appreciated even more highly. They gave him credit for the conception of Grant's campaign against the rear of Vicksburg. They attributed to his genius the success of Sherman's movements against Johnston. "If we had killed McPherson," said one of the Atlanta papers, commenting upon the battle in which he lost his life, before its results were ascertained, "and had driven Sherman across the Chattahoochie, we should have been content, without taking a gun or a prisoner." When his death was announced, the sense of loss led to a higher esteem among his own people. No place but the first, it was believed, would have held the martyr, had he lived.

History will probably fail to confirm this judgment. Reckoning what he did, rather than what he might have done; looking to his achievements rather than to his possibilities, it will renew the old contemporary verdict which held him rightly situated as a subordinate; fitter for the second than for the first place. But it will make note of his rare capacities, of the wisdom of his sagacious counsels, of his engineering skill, of his prudence, of his coolness, of his soldierly valor. It will gratefully record the signal worth of his services in the two great campaigns in which he held high command. It will dwell tenderly upon the softer and more lovable traits of his character, which endeared him to all with whom he came in contact, and mingled affection with the admiration of his soldiers. And we may confidently predict that, in the end, it will rank him high in that second class of Generals who, if not great organizers of victory, have greatly won it for their superiors—being the right arm of their strength; the efficient executors of their designs.

General McPherson's personal appearance was eminently prepossessing. He was over six feet high, of full, manly development, with graceful carriage, and most winning ways. His features were pleasing, and his high forehead and well-balanced head gave token of the large intellect of the man. His temper was unusually sunny and genial, so that all loved him who knew him. He seemed perfectly free from jealousy, and the kindred vices that so often mar a military character. His sense of honor was sensitively acute. No one ever accused him of seeking to profit by his country's woes; and not one discreditable action was ever charged to him by friend or foe.

Though rarely permitted to visit his family, he seemed to permit them rarely to be absent from his thoughts. The affectionate side of his nature was indeed the prominent one. His frequent letters to his mother, his grandmother, and other members of the family, give tenderest proof of it. Just before starting from Chattanooga, he writes to his mother to send his "love to all at home,"

and to subscribe himself her "affectionate son, James." When the army halted at Kingston he writes again, that "each day carries me farther and farther from home; but I assure you, my dearest mother, my love and affection for it increase. When this war is over I know I shall enjoy coming home and settling down in quiet for a short time, where I can feel free from care and anxiety." From Kenesaw he writes: "I pray, when the great struggle comes, that God will protect the right. I have not much time to write now; but when the campaign is over, if I do not get a chance to come home for a few days, I will write you a full account." Just a month before his death he writes to his mother again from Marietta: "I have kept well thus far, though we have had the worst weather you ever saw My love to all at home, and I hope it may be my good fortune to get to see you sometime this summer."

Before the summer ended he *was* borne home. A week after his death, a great concourse of the people who had known him from boyhood gathered about the cottage of his mother to pay the last sad honors to the memory of her soldier son. He was buried in the orchard of the old homestead. No monument was, for some years, placed over his grave, but large sums were raised by private subscription, in the army, and among his friends, to erect one suitable to his memory, and worthy of the gratitude and love in which his name is held

General McPherson was betrothed to a young lady of Baltimore, to whom he was tenderly attached. He was to have received a furlough in the spring of 1864, to go on and be married. But the exigencies of the campaign rendered it impossible, and Sherman himself wrote to the poor girl, explaining how impossible it was that her lover could then be spared from the important army he commanded. To this marriage he had long looked forward. Nothing could be more touching, now, than the few words in which, writing from San Francisco before the outbreak of the war, he described to his mother the object of his choice, and added: "You will love her as I do, when you know her. She is intelligent, refined, generous-hearted, and a Christian. This will suit you, as it does me, for it lies at the foundation of every pure and elevated character." It lay, too, at the foundation of his. In boyhood he had become a member of the Methodist Church; and though not demonstratively religious, his practice through life never disgraced his early profession.

MAJOR-GENERAL O. M. MITCHEL.

ORMSBY McKNIGHT MITCHEL, the most distinguished of the ex-officers of the regular army who returned to military life at the outbreak of the war, and a General who died too soon for the good of the service, but not for his own fame, was a native of Kentucky, and from the age of four years a resident of Ohio. The family had come from Virginia. The father of the future General at one time possessed a handsome property; but repeated reverses impoverished him. He had a genius for mathematics, and, it is added by the biographers, had a decided turn for the astronomical studies which were to make his son so famous. His wife was attractive in person, cultivated and refined, and unaffectedly pious. When reverses overtook them, they decided, like so many other Virginians in similar circumstances, to emigrate to Kentucky. Near Morganfield, in Union County, they secured a tract of land and began pioneer life. Here, on the 28th of August, 1810, was born the lad of whom we wish to write.

The spot which Mr. Mitchel had selected for his home proved unhealthy. He himself died, only three years after the birth of Ormsby, and other deaths in quick succession came to sadden the emigrant family. At last the widow decided to remove from a spot that seemed so fatal, and they started on horseback for the Ohio River—Master Ormsby riding behind his elder brother. Crossing, not without danger from Indians and from storms, at the point where the city of Cincinnati now stands, they pushed on to the little village of Miami, in Clermont County, and shortly afterward to Lebanon, in Warren County, a sleepy old village, singularly prolific, in those early days, of men that were to be distinguished. Here the rest began daily labors for a livelihood. Ormsby, too young to do much for the support of the family, was allowed to devote himself to books. With imperfect instruction, he was nevertheless reading Virgil before he was nine years old. At twelve it was thought to be time that the incipient Latinist should support himself, and he was placed in a country store as errand-boy and clerk. Here, for a couple of years, he remained, selling goods in the daytime, sweeping out the store at night, and serving in the family of his employer evenings and mornings. At last there came a rupture. Years afterward, when the boy had become a distinguished lecturer, he told the story for the encouragement of other boys:

"I was working for *twenty-five cents* a week, with my hands full, but did my work faithfully. I used to cut wood, fetch water, make fires, scrub and scour in the morning for the old lady before the real work of the day was commenced. My clothes were bad, and I had no means of buying shoes, so was often barefooted. One morning I got through my work early, and the

old lady, who thought I had not done it, or was especially ill-humored then, was displeased. She scolded me, and said: 'You are an idle boy. You haven't done the work.' I replied: 'I have done what I was told to do.' 'You are a liar,' was her angry reply. I felt my spirit rise indignantly against the charge; and, standing erect, I answered: 'You will never have the chance of applying that word to me again.' I then walked out of the house to re-enter it no more. I had not a cent in my pocket when I stepped into the world. What do you think I did then, boys? I met a countryman with a team. I boldly and earnestly addressed him, saying: 'I will drive the leader if you will only take me on.' He looked at me in surprise, but in a moment said: 'I don't think you'll be of any use to me.' 'O yes I will,' I replied; 'I can rub down and watch your horses, and do many things for you, if you will only let me try.' 'Well, well, my lad, get on the horse.' And so I climbed upon the leader's back, and commenced my teamster-life. The roads were deep mud, and the traveling very hard, and consequently slow. We got along at the rate of twelve miles per day. It was dull and tiresome you will believe; but it was my *starting-point*. I had begun to push my way in the world, and went ahead after this."

But "teamster-life" was not likely to prove the best fitted for a lad who read Virgil at nine, and knew something of Greek verbs in $\mu\iota$ before he was twelve. Among the relatives of his mother was Justice McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, then a resident of Lebanon, but already enjoying large reputation and influence. To him the disturbed mother applied in her distress; and through his aid an appointment to West Point was secured. Ormsby was not quite fifteen, but such was the desire to oblige Mr. McLean that the little obstacle of the age was passed without mention, and he was allowed to enter. "We have a good many of our boys going to West Point," said one of his mother's friends to him, shortly before he started, "but somehow very few of them get through." "I shall go through, sir," was the confident response of the under-age lad.

A little knapsack was packed for him, and he started. Part of the way he walked; for a part he secured horseback rides, and for a part he went on a canal-boat. At last, with his knapsack on his back and twenty-five cents in his pocket, the lonely little wanderer arrived at West Point. Before the examination he made the acquaintance of a cadet who told him what books he should be prepared upon. When the day came, though the youngest boy admitted, he passed as creditably as most of the larger ones.

Routine study and regular recitations were a novelty to the self-educated lad, and, precocious as he was, he had not yet acquired the self-control that could keep him always up to his best. But for this the youngest boy of the class would also have been the foremost. As it was, the records of the academy show that in the class of 1829 a nameless nobody stood first; Robert E. Lee stood second; Joseph E. Johnston thirteenth; O. M. Mitchel fifteenth, and B. W Brice (Paymaster-General in the war) fortieth. In the first class above, and an inmate with Mitchel for three years in the academy, was Jefferson Davis—of whom it may be interesting to add that *he* stood twenty-third in his class. Davis was said to have taken a fancy to the little fellow in the class below him, and to have often made him his companion.

At nineteen Mitchel kept the promise made to his mother's friends before starting. He went through. So satisfactory were his attainments and his character that he was retained in the academy as Assistant-Instructor in Mathe-

matics. "I like little Mitchel vastly," said one of the Professors, speaking of him at this period; "he is a wonderfully ingenious lad."* His ingenuity, it seems, was shown in seeking new solutions to old problems, discovering new methods, speculating and theorizing on new phases of mathematical subjects. After a couple of years of such life, he was sent, as a Second-Lieutenant of Artillery, to St. Augustine, Florida, on garrison-duty But, before this, he had won the heart of a Mrs. Trask, the widow of a young West Pointer, and the daughter of a prominent citizen of the county in which West Point is situated. His marriage soon led him to pine for the comforts of a home-life, and, setting the example which was in after years to have so distinguished a follower as Sherman, he began the study of law Finally he resigned his commission.

Only four years after his graduation, and in his twenty-third year, he removed to Cincinnati, and began the practice of law His partner, young also then, bore a name since highly renowned in Ohio. It was Edward D. Mansfield.

Clients were few in those days, and fees were small. The young lawyers lived, but did little more.† Mitchel's restless temper chafed under the delays. Once he sought to attract attention to his capacities by delivering public lectures. He chose an astronomical subject, and had the lecture announced in the newspapers. A citizen whose attention had been arrested by the statement that a young stranger from West Point was to speak, attended. There were sixteen persons present, he tells us! But both the young lawyers gradually worked their way into recognition as men of culture. Mitchel joined Dr. Lyman Beecher's church, and became somewhat prominent for his fervid zeal in prayer-meetings. Fresh friends were thus gained.

Finally, in 1834, little over a year after his arrival in the city, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy in the "College of Cincinnati," while his partner secured another of the Professorships. They were thus associated with Dr. McGuffey, Charles S. Telford, and others who were recognized in those days as constituting one of the most highly cultivated circles in the city.

Professor Mitchel soon became known as an admirable teacher. He thoroughly understood what he taught; he had a great flow of lucid language for his explanations to his classes; above all, he was an enthusiast in his favorite studies, and was capable of inspiring his pupils with the same feeling. He thus rose to rank among the foremost in his profession and to command the confidence of the community.

Presently his influence began to be felt outside the walls of the college and of Dr. Beecher's church. An interest in railroad enterprises sprang up in Ohio, and men naturally turned to Professor Mitchel as a scientific engineer, whose opinions on such subjects would be final. It was proposed to build a railroad

* Professor Mansfield, the father of Hon. E. D. Mansfield.

† "How much did you and Mitchel make practicing law?" the surviving partner of this notable firm was once asked. "I think about fifty dollars in all," was the reply.

leading out from Cincinnati up the valley of the Little Miami. The Professor warmly encouraged the enterprise. It was practicable, he said; the route was indeed a good one; it would open up a fertile region of country; and the trade thrown into Cincinnati thereby would soon pay for the cost of its construction. Within two years after his appointment to the Professorship, when only in his twenty-sixth year, he became the engineer for the proposed road. After surveying the route, and submitting his estimates of the cost, he next sought to aid in securing the money. He and Mr. George Neff united their efforts in attempting to impress upon the City Council the importance of assisting the infant enterprise. Finally they secured from the city a loan of $200,000. Presently the Little Miami Railroad became a certainty; and through the college vacations in 1836–37 Professor Mitchel acted as its chief engineer.

For three or four years railroad engineering and his duties in the college kept the Professor busy. But meantime he had realized, in all his glowing discussions of astronomical subjects with his students, the lack of any sufficient apparatus for making instructive observations. By and by, too, as he became more of an enthusiast in the science, the desire for the means of prosecuting his own studies and observations mingled with his concern for better instruction for the college classes. At length he conceived the project of raising the funds for the erection of a complete observatory. The idea, at that time, seemed chimerical enough. New York had no observatory; Boston had none. Was it likely that a raw western town, such as Cincinnati then was, not very enterprising, and certainly not much devoted to either science or literature, would pay out money—hard cash—for an institution of intangible benefits which the Eastern cities were unable to appreciate? But it is rarely men that do great things—generally a Man. Professor Mitchel was the Man. The community of Cincinnati was the tool with which he had to work, not, perhaps, the best then that the Continent afforded, but, in the hands of this workman of ours, sufficient.

He began by striving to stir up a public interest in his favorite science. To this end a series of popular lectures on Astronomy in the hall of the college was announced. This time there were more than sixteen persons present. In fact, such had now become the reputation of the young Professor, and such was the regard for him entertained by the colleagues and other associates who strove to second his plans, that general public attention was attracted, and every night the hall was filled with a crowded audience. Before this, in the class-room, in church meetings, and on chance public occasions the Professor had become accustomed to public speaking. But the oratorical graces which he now displayed astonished those who knew him best. Warmed up by an enthusiasm characteristic of the man in whatever he undertook, and fired by his subject, he threw the spell of his own interest over his audience. He spoke without notes or manuscript; but his lectures seemed the polished result of long literary labor. It was a theme in which not one in a hundred of his hearers had felt the slightest interest; but the fervor of the speaker overcame the abstractions of the speech. The last lecture attracted special admiration, and he was asked

to repeat it in one of the leading churches of the city. An audience of over two thousand gathered to hear him. At the close he developed his plan for building an observatory. Briefly, it was to be by the organization of a joint-stock company—the shares to be twenty-five dollars each—the shareholders to have certain privileges of admission not accorded to the outside public. Nothing was to be done till three hundred shares were subscribed. The audience applauded, as audiences will. When it came to subscribing they were slower. A beginning, however, was made, and for weeks afterward Mitchel besieged the solid men of the city for subscriptions.

At last the three hundred shares were taken. Then the Professor went to Europe to see what could be done in the way of securing instruments. His designs had already swelled with his success; he was now resolved to make this observatory the foremost in the United States. "Two resolutions were taken at outset," he afterward explained, "to which I am indebted for any success that may have attended my own personal efforts: First, to work faithfully for five years, during all the leisure which could be spared from my regular duties; and, second, never to become angry under any provocation while in the prosecution of this enterprise." The words give a characteristic glimpse into the mental habits of the man.

He had decided, unless his observations in Europe should determine him differently, to make the leading feature of his observatory a great equatorial-mounted, achromatic refracting telescope. There were not, at that time, in the world half a dozen such achromatic object-glasses as he sought. In London and Paris his researches were in vain. Finally, in Munich, at the establishment of M. Mertz, the successor of Frauenhofer, he found a lens over a foot in diameter, which, so far as could be judged in its unfinished state, would prove the finest object-glass yet mounted in a telescope by any maker. To finish and mount it would take ten thousand dollars and two years' time. Not so much money in all had been subscribed, when Professor Mitchel left home, for building and equipping the entire observatory. But this object-glass he must have; the people of Cincinnati must be made to subscribe more liberally. And so he closed a contract for a telescope at ten thousand dollars, when only seven thousand dollars were subscribed for telescope and other instruments, and building and grounds. Then he went to Greenwich, and spent a few weeks in the Royal Observatory, aided by the friendly guidance of Professor Airey in studying the methods of observation there adopted. He was home in time for his duties at the fall term of the college, in 1842, having spent just a hundred days in his eventful trip.

A public meeting of the shareholders assembled on Professor Mitchel's return to hear his report. His statement that, with the telescope for which he had contracted, but one observatory in the world would have a more powerful instrument than their own, gratified local pride, and secured a cordial indorsement of his action. With some difficulty—it being in the midst of the commercial depression of 1842–43—he collected enough money from the shareholders to make a remittance of three thousand dollars to Munich. This secured

the contract, and the optician at once began finishing and mounting the grea object-glass.

Meantime Mitchel renewed more vigorously the efforts to raise money t secure a building for his telescope. Nicholas Longworth was finally prevailed upon to give four acres of ground on one of the high hills overlooking the city for its site. Workmen were at once set to digging foundations and preparing material.

In these labors the spring and summer of 1843 were passed. On the 9th of November occurred the great incident in the history of the observatory Its corner-stone was laid by the venerable John Quincy Adams, who on this occasion delivered one of his last public addresses. The event gave great fame to the incipient institution, but its funds were consumed in making the final remittance to Munich, and the observatory building for a time seemed likely to stop at the corner-stone. Next spring, however, labor was resumed. Sometimes they had only money to hire three workmen; often only enough to add one or two more to the number. But Mitchel kept up his courage. Sometimes he secured subscriptions from laboring men, to be paid in work; sometimes he went up the hill to the observatory grounds and joined his own labor to that of the workmen. Mr. Longworth required the building to be completed in two years, under penalty of forfeiture of the site. By March, 1845, it was finished, and the great telescope was mounted. Professor Bache, of the Coast Survey, gave a transit instrument and a sidereal clock. Such other instruments as were needed there were still funds to purchase.*

Professor Mitchel had promised to superintend the observatory for ten years, free of charge. He had, of course, relied upon his salary in the College of Cincinnati for support, and his design had been to couple the use of the observatory with his instructions to his classes. But shortly after it was finished the college was burned down and abandoned. He was thus left without means of livelihood. But the man who had faced such difficulties, thus far was not to be discouraged now. He at once decided to continue his labors at the observatory, and to depend upon popular lectures on Astronomy for support.

He began at Boston. The hall was scarcely half-full on the evening of the first lecture. "Never mind," said the Professor to a friend, "every one that was here will bring another with him the next night." Indeed his perfect confidence in himself and his almost childlike way of showing it everywhere, would in a smaller man have seemed intolerable egotism. But his assurance was well-founded. Next night the hall was full, and with constantly increasing signs of public gratification, he continued and concluded the most popular series of scientific lectures that, up to that time, had ever been given in Boston. Thence he went to New York, and was equally or more successful. The prob-

*The observatory thus erected is eighty feet long, thirty wide, and two stories high, with an additional story over the center for the instruments. It long remained the best equipped observatory in the United States; but its great telescope is now surpassed by several others in the country; and since the outbreak of the war it has fallen into neglect.

lem of subsistence was solved, and he returned to his observations at Cincinnati.

Through the years that followed he devoted himself to the scientific duties of the observatory, and on this work his scientific reputation chiefly rests. Admirable as an observer, he was still more remarkable for the inventive genius that brought new mechanical agencies to the service of his favorite study. By the aid of the "Declinometer" and other inventions he revolutionized the system of cataloguing the stars.* Indeed his method of determining the Right Ascension and Declination of the heavenly bodies was recognized in Europe and in this country as constituting an era in that branch of the Science of Astronomy. In Europe it is still spoken of as the American method, and, in the words of the eminent M. Struve, has been adopted with signal success. To this branch of Astronomy Professor Mitchel had hoped to devote the remainder of his life. "For a long time to come," he wrote in 1848, "one principal object will engage the instruments of the Cincinnati Observatory, viz., the exploration of the heavens south of the Equator, and the remeasurement of Struve's double stars in that region." He adds somewhat sadly, "Should this work progress but slowly, let it be remembered that the Director of the observatory has no assistant out of his own immediate family, and must devote a large portion of his time to other duties, far more closely allied to the earth than to the stars."

It was in fact back to railroad engineering that his necessities, not more perhaps than his restless energy, now carried him. His scientific position became such that, when the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad was proposed, the proprietors sought to enlist the services of Professor Mitchel. He surveyed the route, and pronounced it practicable and eligible. Then he visited the Legislatures of the several States through which it passed and secured their co-operation. In all the leading towns and cities he appeared as the representative of the road, held public meetings, at which, with his remark-

*The following description of this invention of Professor Mitchel is given by the Astronomer, since his death, in charge of the Dudley Observatory:

"To the axis of a transit telescope is attached a metallic arm of sixty inches in length; in the lower end of this arm is screwed a cylindrical pin one-eighth of an inch in diameter, at right angles to the arm and parallel to the supporting axis of the telescope. This pin has a notch or groove (of the form which would be generated by placing the vertices of two isosceles triangles together and revolving about the perpendicular) cut in the middle.

"At a distance of twenty-three inches from the pin, and in the same horizontal plane, is mounted in Y's a small telescope of six inches focal length. The supporting axis of this telescope is parallel to that of the transit. Underneath the center of the small telescope, and connected with it, is a short arm two inches in length; and, by means of a joint, a rod is connected with the pin before mentioned.

"Now when the transit telescope is moved in zenith-distance, angular motion is given to the small telescope by means of the long arm and connecting rod.

"The amount of this motion is read from a scale, placed at a distance of fifteen feet, and divided to single seconds of arc. It will, of course, be understood that we must have some object in the focus of the small telescope with which to compare the divisions of the scale. We use either a cross formed by the intersection of two spider's webs, or a single horizontal wire.

"In case we wish to observe a zone of greater width than the extent of the scale (30′), we have a number of pins, at a distance of 30′ apart, mounted in the arc of a circle whose radius is equal to the length of the long arm. We readily pass from one pin to another, by lifting one

able skill for addressing popular audiences, he presented its claims for sut scriptions, and excited the liveliest interest in its success. Afterward he acte as principal agent of the Eastern Division; and three times crossed the Atlan tic to negotiate the bonds of the road. In these financial operations he di not escape reproach. He was accused of consulting his own interests mor than those of the road, and there is no doubt that he succeeded in making hi labors profitable. Much public odium thus attached to his name, and in man circles in Cincinnati he long remained very unpopular. But no spot was lei upon his integrity To his energy and capacity, at least as largely as to thos of any other one man, was the completion of the road due. Yet this was bu the occupation of his leisure, the recreation in which he unbent from the labor of the observatory.

About the same time he began the publication of a journal devoted tc Astronomical Science—the "Sidereal Messenger." This struggled on for a yea or two, but the number of persons in the United States interested in practica astronomy was too small to sustain it. Other publications more permanent in form and popular in nature, secured a larger measure of success. His first book the "Planetary and Stellar Worlds," attained considerable circulation, and wa very favorably received in Europe. His lectures on the Astronomy of th Bible, as delivered in New York, and stenographically reported, were published to the great gratification of the thousands who, there and elsewhere, had been delighted at their delivery. And, finally, in 1860, he gave to the public his "Pop ular Astronomy," the last of his works which had the advantage of his own revision.

end of a connecting rod and attaching it to a different one. The division on the scale can easily be read, by estimation, two-tenths of a second of arc.

"The time required to read the scale is much less than that employed in reading *one* microscope, since at the same transit of an equatorial star we can make from ten to fifteen bisections and readings. As I have found one reading of the scale nearly equal to four microscopes, it follows that if we employ the same time in the observation of an object with the Declinometer that we do when we use the Circle, our results in the former case will be superior to the latter in a large ratio.

"The Zone observations with the Declinometer have been made mostly for the investigation of the source and amount of error due to this method. From a comparison of the observations with those made in the ordinary way, I find the probable error, on a single observation, falls within the limits of accuracy usually assigned to observations made with the Meridian Circle. One great advantage lies in the fact that many bisections and readings can be made at the same transit, and in this way eliminating the ordinary errors of observation. You will understand the rapidity with which work can be done by this method, when I state that more than two hundred stars have been accurately observed in one hour; and were they equally distributed, twice that number could easily have been taken.

"This instrument is one of the great inventions of our late and lamented director, Professor Mitchel, and is the only one in the world.

"From observations made during the last two years, and a careful discussion of the results, I have arrived at the conviction *that there is no other known method equal to it, for rapidity and accuracy, in cataloguing of stars.*"

Another of his admirable inventions was one for making the clock of the observatory record by telegraph its own pendulum beats; while by the same telegraphic process the observer could record the instant of any phase of an astronomical phenomenon—thus adding greatly to the nicety and accuracy of the calculations. The processes by which this is accomplished are exceedingly delicate.

The merit of these works is various, but their general characteristics are the same. Their aim is to catch the broad outlines of the subject, to seize the results of the science with only so much attention to the steps by which they are attained as an average audience or ordinary reader might readily follow, and to dwell mainly upon the sublime and marvelous features of the attractive subject. The "Popular Astronomy" is intended either for the general reader or for use as a text-book. Its chief peculiarity, in the estimation of its author, was its effort to trace the path of discovery, by giving first the recital of the facts and phenomena, and then following the discoverer through the conjectures and hypotheses thereupon based to the final development of the principles of the science. The same course was adopted with signal success in the lectures. The slightly declamatory style occasionally mars the value of the text-book; but in the lectures it doubtless adds to the popular interest.

The discussions of the "Astronomy of the Bible" naturally provoke comparison with the gorgeous rhetoric of the "Astronomical Discourses," by Dr. Chalmers. Professor Mitchel is sometimes more minute, and always more precise, than his famous predecessor in the same field. He is not less daring in his acceptance of theories regarded with distrust or hotly opposed by most defenders of the Bible against the supposed attacks of science, and not less adroit in adapting his interpretations of the sacred record to the march of scientific progress. He adopts boldly the "Nebular Hypothesis," in all the extent to which La Place carried it; has no difficulty in making the Mosaic "days" of creation mean extended periods of time of indefinite duration; is dubious as to the record concerning Joshua's making the sun stand still, and is inclined to throw the burden of proof upon the translators. The theology which he learned from the stars, like that of Chalmers, was Calvinistic. In his final lecture, after tracing the influence of immutable laws throughout the universe, and the results of violation of those laws, he concluded:

"No, my friends; the analogies of nature, applied to the moral government of God, would crush all hope in the sinful soul. There, for millions of ages, these stern laws have reigned supreme. There is no deviation, no modification, no yielding to the refractory or disobedient. All is harmony, because all is obedience. Close forever, if you will, this strange book claiming to be God's revelation—blot out forever its lessons of God's creative power, God's superabounding providence, God's fatherhood and loving guardianship to man, His erring offspring, and then unseal the leaves of that mighty volume which the finger of God has written in the stars of heaven, and in these flashing letters of living light we read only the dread sentence, 'The soul that sinneth it shall surely die!'"

On the whole, it is not an unkind criticism of these discourses to say that they seem to have been modeled upon those of Dr. Chalmers, and it is high praise to add that they are worthy to be named beside those famous productions. The lectures entitled the "Planetary and Stellar Worlds" are less ambitious in their aim. No one can read them and be in doubt as to the wonderful fascination which we are told they exercise upon the audiences who first heard them. In language admirably freed from bristling technicalities, they trace the progress of mind as it grappled with the phenomena of astronomy, from the

theory of Copernicus and the laws of Kepler to the bewildering calculations of Le Verrier, and the amazing analyses by which Struve and Maedler built up the belief in a central sun, around which systems of stars, whole milky-ways of creation, revolve. The popular presentation of the sublime discoveries has tasked many able pens; but as yet no one need go further than the works of the founder of the first observatory in the United States for the most attractive embodiment of the truths and speculations of the science.

As if to complete the circle of his activities, Professor Mitchel had also been for ten years commander of a volunteer company in Cincinnati, and for two years Adjutant-General of the State of Ohio. Neither of these positions gave him any official influence at the time, but they served to keep up his familiarity with military matters.

In 1853 General Van Rensellaer, Mrs. Blandina Dudley, and some others, began the erection of an observatory at Albany, professedly on the plan of that at Cincinnati. Mitchel's advice was taken as to the plan of the building, the equipment, and the organization. He was recognized, in fact, as the most competent man in the country to direct such an institution. Unfortunately, difficulties sprang up among the persons whose generous gifts had made the Observatory, and amid their disputes its usefulness seemed likely be frittered away. Professor Mitchel was appealed to on all hands, and it really appeared that he was the only man under whose management harmony could be restored. He had been serving all this time in the Cincinnati Observatory without charge. Under these circumstances he did not feel any obligation to refuse the invitation to Albany; and so, without definitely sundering his connection at Cincinnati, he became director at Albany, and, during a few months immediately prior to the war, was spending most of his time there, striving to allay the feuds among the friends of the new institution, and to get it in good working order.

Such, in the spring of 1861, had been the career of Professor Mitchel. Beginning as an errand-boy and store-clerk, he had risen to rank among the foremost scientific men of the Nation. In the old army he had left behind him the reputation of a good officer, of high but not the highest professional attainments. He was esteemed a skillful railroad engineer and manager. He had been a college professor of high standing. He was reckoned among the most brilliant of scientific lecturers in the country, and among the most effective of popular orators. He was a successful author. His reputation as an astronomer was as high in Europe as in his own country. He had measurably outlived the odium of his later railroad operations. He had passed through all the struggles of his intensely active life with an unspotted private character. He was a fervent church member,* and a good citizen. In political matters he was somewhat conservative. The self-confidence of his nature had generated a species of egotism, not wholly unpleasant, but still so marked that men were apt to speak of Professor Mitchel's vanity as his greatest fault. He was in the fifty-first

* It has already been mentioned that shortly after the beginning of his effort to practice law in Cincinnati he joined Dr. Lyman Beecher's Church. He remained an active member of the Second (New School) Presbyterian Congregation of Cincinnati until his death.

year of his age, with a successful life behind him, a hopeful family growing up about him, and his fame secure.*

Then came the Rebellion.

That a studious, scientific man, past the meridian of life, and filling posts of high usefulness, should choose to leave the active labors of the war to younger and more vigorous soldiers, would have been natural. But Professor Mitchel was not the man to claim such reasonable exemptions. At the first alarm he recalled his old indebtedness to the Government, his military education, and his West Point oath, and flung himself unreservedly into the conflict. At the great Union meeting, in New York, after the fall of Sumter, he was, if we may judge from the rapturous reports of the newspapers of the day, the most effective speaker. In the fullness of a not ignoble pride, he could not omit longer references to his own history than a severe taste would approve; but the audience was not critical, and he wonderfully kindled their enthusiasm. Said he:

"I am infinitely indebted to you for this evidence of your kindness. I know I am a stranger among you. [Cries of 'No,' 'No.'] I have been in your State but a little while, but I am with you, heart, and soul, and mind, and strength; and all that I have and am belongs to you and our common country, and to nothing else. I have been announced to you as a citizen of Kentucky. Once I was, because I was born there. I love my native State as you love your native State. I love, too, my adopted State of Ohio, as you love your adopted State, if such you have; but, my friends, I am not a citizen now of any State. I owe allegiance to no State, and never did, and, God helping me, never will.

"I owe allegiance to the Government of the United States. A poor boy, working my way with my own hands, at the age of twelve turned out to take care of myself as best I could, and beginning by earning but four dollars a month, I worked my way onward until this glorious Government gave me a chance at the Military Academy at West Point. There I landed with a knapsack on my back, and, I tell you God's truth, just a quarter of a dollar in my pocket. Then I swore allegiance to the Government of the United States. I did not abjure the love of my native State nor of my adopted State, but all over that rose triumphant and predominant my love for our common country.

"And now, to-day, that common country is assailed, and, alas! alas! that I am compelled to say it, is assailed in some sense by my own countrymen. My father and mother were from old Virginia, and my brother and sisters from old Kentucky. I love them all; I love them dearly. I have my brothers and friends down in the South now, united to me by the fondest ties of love and affection. I would take them into my arms to-day with all the love that God has put into this heart; but if I found them in rebellion I would be compelled to smite them down. You have found officers of the army who have been educated by the Government, who have drawn their support from the Government for long years, who, when called upon by their country to stand for the Constitution and the right, have basely, ignominiously and traitorously resigned their commissions, or deserted to traitors, rebels, and enemies, without resignation.

They are no countrymen longer when war breaks out. The rebels and traitors in the South we must set aside; they are not our friends. When they come to their senses we will receive them with open arms; but till that time, while they are trailing our glorious banner in the dust, then we must smite. In God's name I will smite, and as long as I have strength I will do it. [Enhusiastic applause.]

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*"Is Mitchel a great man?" one had asked of his intimate friend. "No," was the answer; "Mitchel is a man of genius, but he is not a great man. Daniel Webster was a great man, but he was not a man of genius." The answer seems to embody a comprehensive and accurate estimate of Mitchel's character, as already seen in his scientific career, and now to be illustrated in his military performances.

"O! listen to me! listen to me! I know these men. I know their courage. I have beent among them; I have been reared with them. They are brave—do not pretend to think they are not. I tell you it is no child's play you are entering upon. They will fight with a determination and a power almost irresistible. Make up your mind to it. Let every man put his life in his hand and say, 'There is the altar of my country; I am ready for the sacrifice.'

"I, for one, am ready to lay down my life. It is not mine any longer. Lead me to the conflict. Place me where I can do my duty. There I am ready to go, I care not where it leads me.

I trust you are all ready; I am ready. God help me to do my duty. I am ready to fight in the ranks or out of the ranks. Having been educated in the Academy, having been in the army seven years, having served as commander of a volunteer company for ten years, and as an Adjutant-General of my State, I feel that I am ready for something. I only ask to be permitted to act; and in God's name give me something to do!"

"The scene that followed the close of Professor Mitchel's eloquent and patriotic remarks," continues the newspaper report, "baffles all description. Men and women were melted to tears; voices from all parts of the vast multitude re-echoed the sentiments of the speaker; and every one seemed anxious to answer the appeal and rush to the defense of the country."

But the affair was to be over in ninety days, according to the belief on which the Government then acted; and no call was made upon Mitchel. By midsummer Bull Run had come to pluck the veil from the ghastly delusion; and on the 8th of August Mitchel was appointed a Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He was assigned to the command of the Department of Ohio, with head-quarters at Cincinnati. Here he at once plunged into the new work with his old zeal and energy He placed the city in a posture of defense, supervised the erection of earthworks, took charge of the gathering troops, and strove to reduce them to discipline. He was eager to lead an expedition through Cumberland Gap, in the fall of 1861, for the liberation of East Tennessee. His plans were all formed while Sherman was still in command in Kentucky; and when Secretary Cameron and Adjutant-General Thomas made their noteworthy visit West, shortly before Sherman's removal, he laid them before the Secretary. Mr. Cameron promptly approved them; indeed, such was then the anxiety to relieve the suffering Unionists of East Tennessee, that Mitchel seemed likely to rise high in the favor of the Government by his proposal. The order was issued, and Mitchel would soon have started on an expedition that, prosecuted with the energy he subsequently displayed in not less critical and dangerous situations, might have changed the face of the war in the West. But meantime the Secretary had paid his bewildering visit to Sherman at Louisville, and presently Mitchel's order was countermanded.

Soon afterward, among the changes consequent upon the assumption of command in Kentucky by General Buell, Mitchel was relieved of his department duties, and ordered to the command of a division in the army then organizing at Bacon Creek, between Louisville and Bowling Green. He at once gave himself up to the work of drilling and disciplining his soldiers. Into this he threw all the enthusiastic energy which had hitherto characterized him in every task of his eventful life. His command was rawer than that of either of the other division generals; but he soon had it to rank with the best. Then, restless and eager to be at work, he began to urge action upon the deliberate,

circumspect soldier who commanded the department. "Sir, I have done all that drill and discipline in camp can do for my men," he said; "from this time forth there is no chance for progress in my division until it is sent against the enemy—it can only deteriorate." The nervous eagerness was such a contrast to his own phlegmatic habit as to amuse General Buell; but he contented his fiery subordinate with the promise of speedy action. Meantime jealousy of him had sprung up. Some of the division commanders—unknown captains or lieutenants before the war—conceived that the fact of their having remained a little longer in the regular service than Mitchel entitled them to superior consideration. He, in turn, was possibly disposed to rely a little too much upon his scientific reputation as entitling him to attention in military matters. In effect, it soon came about that at least two of these Generals strove in every way to thwart Mitchel's plans, and to bring him into contempt, as a crack-brained civilian theorist and star-gazer, at head-quarters and among the soldiers. They were presently to see new cause for jealousy

When the movement on Fort Donelson was begun, Buell began his movement on Bowling Green. Mitchel's energy was such as to secure his division the advance. Starting on the 13th of February, 1862, he moved out ten miles; then, the next day, made a forced march, reaching the town after dark, just as the train moved out with some Texas troops, the last of the army that had held it. The road had been obstructed by fallen timber; but on his first march in the enemy s country, Mitchel had made forty miles in less than thirty hours, had hastened the evacuation of the strongest point then held by a Rebel army in the West, had captured a number of locomotives, one gun, and some five thousand dollars' worth of commissary-stores. It was furthermore computed that the exceeding rapidity of his advance had compelled the Rebels to destroy not less than half a million dollars' worth of stores and munitions.

General Mitchel thus bore off the first laurels of the campaign. So handsome, indeed, was his performance as to draw from the unenthusiastic General commanding eulogy like this: "Soldiers, who by resolution and energy, overcome great natural difficulties, have nothing to fear in battle where their energy and prowess are taxed to a far less extent. Your command have exhibited the high qualities of resolution and energy in a degree which leaves no limit to my confidence in their future movements." In communicating this compliment from General Buell to his troops, General Mitchel betrayed the ardor of his nature. "You have executed," he exclaims, "a march of forty miles in twenty-eight hours and a half. The fallen timber and other obstructions opposed by the enemy to your movements have been swept from your path. The fire of your artillery and the bursting of your shells announced your arrival. Surprised and ignorant of the force that had thus precipitated itself upon them, they fled in consternation. In the night-time, over a frozen, rocky, precipitous pathway, down rude steps for fifty feet, you have passed the advance-guard, cavalry and infantry, and before the dawn of day you have entered in triumph a position of extraordinary natural strength, by your enemy proudly denomi-

nated the Gibraltar of Kentucky. With your own hands, through deep mud, in drenching rains, up rocky pathways next to impassable, and across a foot-path of your own construction, built upon the ruins of a railway bridge, destroyed for their protection by a retreating and panic-stricken foe, you have transported upon your own shoulders your baggage and camp equipage." Cold criticism may hold this an extravagant tone to be adopted concerning a forced march of forty miles, which met with no resistance. Doubtless Mitchel never committed the fault of underestimating his own performances. But he animated his troops with his own pride and confidence; and if congratulatory orders accomplish this great purpose, criticism is barred—they have been adapted to their end.

At the outset of Buell's advance upon Bowling Green, Halleck was more and more earnestly asking for re-enforcements up the Cumberland, and Buell detached one division after another to his aid. It thus came about that Mitchel was left to push forward overland upon Nashville, while other troops were making the easier journey to the same point, by the circuit of the rivers. On the 22d of February he set out. On the evening of the 23d—so expeditious had been his march—his advance was before Nashville. Scarcely a week ago the citizens had been rejoicing over Pillow's dispatch from Donelson, announcing, "on the honor of a soldier," that he had won a brilliant victory. Now all was confusion and alarm. In the midst of it the Mayor, anxiously awaiting the advent of Union troops, made haste to surrender to the advance cavalry regiment of General Mitchel's command. That same night a small squad of the troops pushed over into the city; but they subsequently returned, and the division went into camp on the opposite bank of the river, with batteries so planted as to rake the city in case of any emergency. The next day the advance of the troops sent around by the rivers steamed up to the city wharves.

Rebuilding the railroad and the bridges across the river, Mitchel now moved over and went into camp two or three miles below Nashville.* Here the envy and jealousy of the other division commanders were permitted one or two opportunities for trifling but malignant displays. One of them soon encamped between Mitchel and the town. The next day, as Mitchel was riding in to make some report to General Buell, he was checked by a sentry and ordered to produce his pass from General Nelson! Naturally supposing it to be simply

* In Headley's popular biography of Mitchel, the following anecdote of his stay in Nashville is given:

"General Mitchel called, in company with other officers, upon the widow of President James K. Polk, as did General Grant while there. During the interview, the dignified lady, addressing him, said: 'General, I trust this war will speedily terminate by the acknowledgment of the Southern independence.'"

The reply was prompt, courteous, and crushing:

"'Madam, the man whose name you bear was once President of the United States. He was an honest man and true patriot. He administered the laws of this Government with equal justice to all. We know of no independence of one section of our country which does not belong to all others; and, judging by the past, if the mute lips of the honored dead who lies near us could speak, they would express the hope that the war might never cease, if that cessation were purchased by a dissolution of the union of the States over which he once presided.'"

a mistake of the guard, he explained that he could not have such a pass, because he outranked Nelson, and himself commanded the advance division on that road—in fact, that he was General Mitchel. "Ah!" exclaimed the too free-spoken guard, "you are the very man, then, that General Nelson told me to stop unless you had a pass!" To such petty annoyances was the Astronomer and College Professor subjected in his new sphere.

But he was soon to soar above the possibility of their repetition. General Buell presently moved through Tennessee to co-operate with the expedition which Halleck had sent up the river to Pittsburg Landing. The disagreeable relations existing between Mitchel and some of the other generals seem to have suggested the plan of allowing him to diverge to the left of the general line of march, on a *quasi* independent command. All, save perhaps General Buell, supposed it to be equivalent to an arrangement for keeping Mitchel out of any chance for action or promotion. We shall see how he converted it into an opening for the most brilliant dash that had thus far illumined the war.

The task set before General Mitchel was to gain a foothold on the great Memphis and Charleston Railroad, the leading line of communication between the eastern and western portions of the Confederacy It was the same purpose that had drawn Halleck's advance to Pittsburg Landing. Determination to protect the same railroad had brought Johnston and Beauregard to Corinth. The opposing hosts here confronted each other, but the whole stretch of the road east of Corinth, along the southern border of Tennessee to Chattanooga, was practically undefended. While all eyes were centered upon the great armies of Pittsburg Landing, Mitchel saw his opportunity The nature of his instructions was such that he was enabled to act with comparative independence, and he used his liberty to the full.*

He had been stationed below Nashville, at Murfreesboro' Almost due south of him, on the coveted railroad, lay the beautiful little town of Huntsville, in the rich champaign country of Northern Alabama. It was not a railroad junction, and was not, therefore, guarded with the care due a supposed strategic point. But it was near the important junction of the road from Nashville with the great East and West line at Decatur; it was also within striking distance of the junction with the Nashville and Chattanooga Road at Stevenson; and there was reason to hope that it might prove near enough for a quick blow at Chattanooga itself.

To Huntsville, therefore, as a point likely to be ill-defended, and yet offering him control of the great railway for more than a hundred miles of its length, Mitchel was to hasten his column. But how? He had only transpor-

*Mitchel acted under instructions from General Buell, which marked the outline of the campaign. By this time Buell had been placed under Halleck's command; but his subordination to that officer was never much more than nominal, and it happens that General Halleck disapproved of the plan assigned to Mitchel. In a dispatch from St. Louis, 26th March, 1862, to General Buell, he says: "Your letter of the 14th is this moment received. It is perfectly satisfactory. We agree in every respect as to plan of campaign, except, perhaps, the column on the diverging line to Stevenson. I doubt its expediency. If made very strong it divides your forces too much." This, of course, refers to Mitchel's column.

tation sufficient to supply his army at a distance of two days' march from his base, and Huntsville was quadruple that distance.

A bend in the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad passed near Shelbyville, and a little branch track ran up to the town. Shelbyville was about half way to Huntsville. Thus far, therefore, he determined to move along the railroad, repairing the bridges and track as he went. It was the first work of the kind which his soldiers had ever been called on to perform (excepting of course the repair of bridges at Bowling Green and Nashville), and it was the first serious effort made during the war to supply an army by a thread of railroad through a hostile country. The verdict of army officers was against its feasibility But Mitchel had been a railroad man as well as an army officer, and he cared littlo for the verdict.

There were twelve hundred feet of heavy bridging to be rebuilt. In ten days the task was accomplished, and the army moved forward to Shelbyville. It was now barely possible for the wagons of the division to haul as far as Huntsville rations enough to keep the army from starving—no more. But that was enough for Mitchel. He at once began accumulating supplies at Shelbyville, while he threw his advance perhaps twenty-five miles further forward to the little village of Fayetteville.* The enemy was still in doubt as to the intended point of attack. It might be the railroad junction at Decatur; it might be the scarcely less important one at Stevenson. And meantime the movement was at any rate supposed to be trivial, and attention was concentrated in the direction of Pittsburg Landing.

On the 10th of April Mitchel was ready. His advance brigade, commanded by Colonel Turchin, moved at six o'clock in the morning. By nine at

* The following story of Mitchel's advance is to be found in the newspapers of the time:

"General Mitchel having occasion to send into the Rebel lines two Confederate officers who had accompanied Parson Brownlow into Shelbyville, on his delivery to our forces, sent an escort of several Fourth Ohio cavalrymen with them to Fayetteville. When the party arrived at Fayetteville, one of the Rebel officers very cooly dismissed the escort, telling them he did not wish their services any further. While standing in the streets of the town the escort was surrounded by a mob of the citizens of the place, who heaped upon them every imaginable insult. At last one, considering himself licensed by the forbearance of our men, advanced to Lieutenant Johnson (in command), took hold of his beard, pulled it, and with the grinning malice of a devil exclaimed: 'You're a specimen of the d—d Yankees they're sending down here, are you?' It is matter of surprise that Lieutenant Johnson did not cut him down in his tracks, but he remembered that his mission was one of peace, and determined to go to the very verge of human forbearance rather than commit any violence. The next morning the escort started back toward Shelbyville and met the advancing columns of our forces. General Mitchel was highly indignant when he heard of the outrages that had been committed upon the flag of truce. He rode rapidly into the town, and found a large number of the citizens assembled on the public square to witness the entrance of our army. 'People of Fayetteville,' cried the General, 'you are worse than savages! Even *they* respect a flag of truce, which you have not done. Yesterday, the soldiers whom I sent to your town upon a mission of courtesy and mercy were shamefully insulted in your streets, and it was you who gave the insult. You are not worthy to look in the face of honest men. Depart to your houses every one of you, and remain there until I give you permission to come forth.'

"At the conclusion of this speech they scattered to their houses like frightened rats to their holes, and kept within doors until permission was given for them to come forth again."

night it was within eleven miles of Huntsville. Here bivouacking for a few hours' rest, they started again at one o'clock. By six in the morning the spires of Huntsville and the groves of cedar that surround them were in sight.

Such remarkable energy—remarkable at any period in the history of the war, but amazing in those days of deliberate and circumspect movement—could not fail of success. The few soldiers about Huntsville seemed almost ignorant that they were in danger. The section of a battery which had hurried up, stopped some railroad trains that, on the first alarm, had sought to escape. The infantry was sent out on either hand to tear up a little of the track and prevent any further attempts at escape. Then they marched in and took undisturbed possession. The first squad that entered found a hundred and seventy soldiers still sleeping about the cars at the depot, and incontinently captured the lot. As they explored further they found seventeen locomotives—all but one in fine running order—and about a hundred and fifty cars.

Thus fairly planted upon the coveted railroad, in the heart of the enemy's country, Mitchel took in at once the importance of the position and the necessity of energy to secure it. Columns were instantly detached, right and left, to secure the track. Eastward a force hurried to Stevenson and Bridgeport, to seize the junction with the Chattanooga and Nashville Railroad, and to burn the great bridge over the Tennessee at Bridgeport. Westward a force hurried to Decatur to seize the junction with the Nashville Road there, and to destroy the bridge over the Tennessee. Thus protected east and west by the destruction of the bridge, the position at Huntsville would be secure from any Rebel concentration upon it by rail.

The danger from the east was considered the greater. There were apprehensions of a diversion from the Rebel army about Richmond, or at least of the coming from that direction of re-enforcements for Beauregard at Corinth. Accordingly General Mitchel himself accompanied the expedition eastward. They ran out by rail toward Chattanooga. So complete was the surprise of their coming that no resistance to this novel mode of exploring an enemy's country was attempted. They took possession of the junction at Stevenson without resistance. Then their locomotive pushed on toward Chattanooga. Within six miles of Bridgeport they came to a bridge eighty feet long, the destruction of which seemed to promise as effectual a breakage in the road, for immediate purposes, as could be secured by the more hazardous attempt at Bridgeport itself. It was accordingly burnt, and, perfectly unmolested, the train returned to Huntsville.

Meanwhile the westward expedition had been equally fortunate. A small Rebel force stationed at Decatur began to retreat as soon as Mitchel's troops were heard of. The bridge over the Tennessee they sought to fire as they started. Just then the advance of the expedition came up. It had been instructed to burn this bridge. But the moment the Colonel commanding saw that the Rebels were doing his work, he leaped to the conclusion that it ought not to be done. If they were anxious to destroy communication, it argued his interest to preserve communication. He therefore ordered the troops forward in hot haste,

and the bridge was saved. In a day or two, having, by the bridge-burning beyond Stevenson, protected his eastern flank, Mitchel came hurrying westward, along the road to Decatur. Under his eye the line was at once carried forward, till from Tuscumbia he was able to communicate with our forces before Corinth.

The spirited congratulations which Mitchel now addressed to his troops were more than warranted by the delight of the country at his brilliant achievements. He said:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, THIRD DIVISION,
"*Camp Taylor, Huntsville, April* 16, 1862.

"SOLDIERS: Your march upon Bowling Green won the thanks and confidence of our commanding General. With engines and cars captured from the enemy, our advanced guard precipitated itself upon Nashville. It was now made your duty to seize and destroy the Memphis and Charleston Railway, the great military road of the enemy. With a supply-train only sufficient to feed you at a distance of two days' march from your depot, you undertook the herculean task of rebuilding twelve hundred feet of heavy bridging, which, by your untiring energy, was accomplished in ten days. Thus, by a railway of your own construction, your depot of supplies was removed from Nashville to Shelbyville, nearly sixty miles in the direction of the object of your attack. The blow now became practicable. Marching with a celerity such as to outstrip any messenger who might have attempted to announce your coming, you fell upon Huntsville, taking your enemy completely by surprise, and capturing not only his great military road, but all his machine shops and rolling stock. Thus providing yourselves with ample transportation, you have struck blow after blow with a rapidity unparalleled. Stevenson fell, sixty miles to the east of Huntsville. Decatur and Tuscumbia have been in like manner seized, and are now occupied. In three days you have extended your front of operations more than one hundred and twenty miles, and your morning gun at Tuscumbia may now be heard by your comrades on the battle-field made glorious by the victory before Corinth. A communication of these facts to head-quarters has not only now the thanks of our commanding General, but those of the Department of War, which I announce to you with proud satisfaction. Accept the thanks of your commander, and let your future deeds demonstrate that you can surpass yourselves."

Thus planted in the heart of the South, and on the vital channel of communication between the east and west of the Confederacy, with a single division not fifteen thousand strong,* General Mitchel's position was sufficiently precarious. The inhabitants of the country looked upon his presence as a sort of dare-devil exploit, having in it no probability of permanence. They were sometimes sullen, oftener openly contemptuous or abusive. But the General presently made them understand the value of respect for the Government. Those were the days of tender concern for the property of Rebels, of returning slaves, buying supplies, and taking them only when the Rebel owner was entirely willing to sell and entirely satisfied about the price. But Mitchel, even at that early day, had the wisdom to see the folly of such policy, and the courage to abandon it. He adopted what was, for the time and place, perhaps the very wisest course. Lists of active Rebels and of Rebel sympathizers were made out, together with accurate statements of their possessions. Whatever was needed

* General Buell ("Statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission" on his case, p. 13) says there were about sixteen thousand men scattered through Tennessee and Northern Alabama, mainly under Mitchel's command. And, in a review of Buell's campaigns (Philadelphia *Age*, 25th August, 1864), understood to have been revised by him, it is said, "General Mitchel had one division of about eight thousand under his immediate command, and, contingently, as many more."

for the support of the army was then equitably levied upon these men in proportion to their ability; while, for whatever was taken, the average price of the country was paid. Several hundred bales of cotton were found, which the Rebels had used in the fortifications. This cotton was sold, and the proceeds were more than sufficient to pay for the purchased supplies. Slaves were not encouraged to enter the camps, but whenever needed, they were used, and no slave who had done a service to the army was ever suffered to be returned to his master. General Buell's order forbade any protection to any slaves within the army lines. Against this General Mitchel earnestly protested; and it is safe to say that it was at no time very zealously obeyed. "I organized these negroes into watchful guards," he once said, "throughout the entire portion of the territory of my command. They watched the Tennessee River from Chattanooga entirely down to Tuscumbia and Florence. To every negro who gave me information of the movements of the enemy, who acted as guide to me, or who piloted my troops correctly through that unknown country, I promised the protection of the Government of the United States, and that they should never be returned to their masters. I found them extremely useful. I found them *perfectly reliable*, so far as their intention was concerned; not always accurate in detail, but always meaning to be perfectly truthful."

Meantime his bearing toward the masters was at once just and severe. In this respect again we are able to give his own views of his course. "In my treatment of the people," he says, "I adopted a very simple policy at the outset. I have studied the great platform of the rebellion to the best of my ability, and made up my mind that no cause existed for the South raising its hand against the United States—not the slightest; that it was a rebellion, a downright piece of treason all the way through; and that every individual in that country who was either in arms, or who aided and abetted those in arms, was my personal enemy, and that I would never break bread or eat salt with any enemy of my country, no matter who he might be; and I have never done it up to this day. In the next place, I determined I would show them I was honest, and had an object in view; and while I treated them with the most perfect justice, I determined to make every individual feel that there was a terrible pressure of war upon him, which would finally destroy him and grind him to powder, if he did not give up his rebellion."

But in the precarious position which he held, General Mitchel was at any time liable to be cut off. His main attention was, therefore, given to the utmost watchfulness upon the movements of the enemy. Guerrillas became troublesome, and against these frequent expeditions were organized, the vigor of their movements being generally such as to keep the marauders at safe distance. Toward the close of April the menaces from the direction of Chattanooga became more frequent. General Kirby Smith was at the head of a considerable force in that region, and he had five regiments of infantry and eighteen hundred cavalry posted at Bridgeport. From this point incursions began upon the eastern extremity of General Mitchel's lines near Stevenson.

Finally, one night, an attack was made upon a brigade at Stevenson, and

the telegraph wires between that point and Huntsville were cut. Mitchel then determined to push his line up to Bridgeport itself, and thus protect his flank by the Tennessee River. Running up on the railroad from Huntsville, he placed himself at the head of the column. At the creek near Bridgeport, where, on first entering the country, he had destroyed the bridge, he now encountered the enemy. Here a small force was brought up, and an artillery fire was opened upon the enemy's pickets. This force was to make as much noise as possible, and to create the impression that a direct attack was to be speedily made. Meantime, at the head of the main column, Mitchel now plunged into the swamp near the creek, heading across the country in such a way as to strike an old road leading to Bridgeport. The guns were dragged along by hand. Whole regiments fell upon the rail fences by the roadside and carried them through the swamp to mend the bridges. Mitchel was everywhere encouraging the men and hastening the march. While the column was thus hurrying down upon Bridgeport, the Rebel force was still awaiting the attack at the creek bridge, where the feint had been made. A part of their strength lay there to resist the attack; the rest was in reserve in the town. Over this last part Mitchel now looked down from the crest of a wooded hill within five hundred yards of the great bridge over the Tennessee. His line of battle was formed in quiet, and the opening of artillery with grape and canister, at short range, was the first notification to the enemy that his rear was in danger. They flew to their arms, but the apparition of Mitchel's line of battle suddenly rising over the crest, and rushing down upon them at a charge, dissipated all idea of resistance, and they broke for the bridge. When Mitchel reached the spot it was in flames. The men succeeded in saving the end next the town. A pier on the other side, however, was blown up, and that portion of the bridge was rendered impassable.

By this time the Rebel force back at the destroyed creek bridge had discovered its danger. As it came rushing in, hoping still to cross the river on the great bridge, it was met by a volley from Mitchel's triumphant column. The men broke almost at once, scattering in all directions. Pursuit was promptly made, and some three hundred and fifty prisoners were captured, with two pieces of artillery * The success was complete, and in justifiable pride Mitchel was able to telegraph to the War Department: "The campaign is ended, and I now occupy Huntsville in perfect security; while all of Alabama, north of Tennessee River, floats no flag but that of the Union."

But if the campaign having as its end the successful occupation of the great line of railroad through Northern Alabama was ended, there was another one to which the General's attention was immediately bent. Thirty miles from

*An elaborate statement in the Philadelphia *Age*, 25th August, 1864, reviewing General Buell's operations (sanctioned by himself), says that through Mitchel's entire campaign he never captured fifty armed men, nor killed twenty. This, of course, conflicts with the statement in the text, in which I have followed the account of the engagement at Bridgeport furnished to the Chicago *Tribune* by its correspondent on the spot. Rebellion Record, Vol. IV, p. 531. General Mitchel's official report, however, makes no mention of such a number of prisoners.

Bridgeport lay the veritable "Hawk's Nest,"* Chattanooga itself. Whoever held it held the key to the whole central belt of the Confederacy Among the first to recognize its importance, Mitchel came near being the first to secure it.

As early as the 10th of April, when about himself to move upon Huntsville, he had sent out a small expedition to cut the railroad between Atlanta and Chattanooga. The plan was one of singular boldness, and it very narrowly missed success.† Had the bridges been destroyed, he might have occupied Chattanooga within a couple of days after his entry into Huntsville, and the whole face of future campaigns in that region, as Judge Holt says, might have been changed. The attempt failed, but General Mitchel did not withdraw his eyes from Chattanooga.

The action at Bridgeport was on the 30th of April. Within a couple of weeks guerrillas were giving some trouble at Rogersville, near Decatur, and one of Mitchel's Brigadiers, General Negley, had shown praiseworthy energy in routing them. This officer was now, therefore, detached toward East Tennessee, to check the outrages of guerrillas upon Union men in one or two of the counties north of Chattanooga, and, in the language of one of the newspaper accounts of that day, "to call at Chattanooga, if possible, and Mitchel seldom deems anything impossible in his department." It is hard even yet to see that this was.

Falling upon the Rebel General Adams's cavalry, General Negley routed and pursued them through Jasper to Chattanooga. There now began a strange hesitation. On 5th of June General Negley reported to General Mitchel his capture of men from Chattanooga, appearances that it would not be defended, and a determination "to push on there to-morrow" On the 7th he was before Chattanooga, was convinced that the "enemy's force is about three thousand, with ten pieces of artillery," and was throwing shells across the river into the town. On the 8th he was "going to make another demonstration." Still he regarded it "almost impossible to construct sufficient pontoons to cross the river in force." He did "not consider the capture of Chattanooga very difficult or hazardous." But he was troubled about the power to hold it; and he was disposed to cast frightened glances at "the exposed condition of both front and rear of our lines to Pittsburg Landing." And so he announced that the objects of the expedition were accomplished, and marched away again. He had shelled the town twice, and, as one of his subordinate brigade commanders claimed, had silenced the Rebel batteries, and driven them to evacuate the town and destroy railroad bridges behind them. As it would now seem, he might certainly have taken it. Had Mitchel been there, it is scarcely doubtful that the town would have fallen

Not long after this movement, General Mitchel was recalled from the command of his division and ordered to Washington.

Of the remarkable campaign which he had conducted, it may be said that

* The Indian name of the place.

† See *post*, close of Part II, for a fuller account of this expedition.

it displayed dash and spirit in the midst of the prevailing caution; skill in handling raw troops at a time when commanders, now the most noted in our army, were learning in the rude school of disaster the elements of their art; fertility of resources, before others had ventured beyond the precedents of the war with Mexico; and a remarkable appreciation of the new conditions with which war has been surrounded by the vast extension of telegraphs and railroads. That it encountered no formidable opposition does not destroy the credit which the display of these qualities justly secured. Two years before Sherman, Mitchel showed how armies might depend on single lines of railroad through great tracts of the enemy's country for supplies. As early as Butler, he showed how Rebels should be made to support the war. Eighteen months before Rosecrans, he fastened upon the strategic point of the whole central half of the Southern States. Almost three years before Sherman, he showed how the shell of the Confederacy might be pierced, and how little resistance was to be expected when once this shell was passed. Much of his success, doubtless, he owed to the utter surprise which his movements proved to an enemy not then accustomed to expect such energy and audacious boldness. Many of his movements, doubtless, at another stage of the war, or under other conditions, would have been impracticable. But it was his sagacity which perceived that to be the time for audacious movements. Of high credit, therefore, for a campaign second in brilliancy to scarcely any in the war, no fair criticism can deprive General Mitchel.*

The Government in its delight over the occupation of Huntsville, made him a Major-General. The country pronounced him among the ablest of our commanders. When he had been commissioned there were some doubts in the city where he was best known as to the success which this impulsive theorist and scientific speculator would meet with in the practical business of war. When he was recalled he was thought our fittest General for bold ventures, and great undertakings which neither energy alone nor skill alone could make successful. But he was no more popular among his brother officers; and there were special causes for disagreement between himself and the chief who overshadowed and chilled him.

When it was found that General Buell and General Mitchel could not act harmoniously in the same department, that Mitchel chafed under the policy of his superior, and was finally driven to such dissatisfaction that he was on the point of resigning his commission, the War Department interposed and ordered him to Washington. General Buell behaved handsomely. He interfered em-

* Readers will be interested in comparing with the above the estimate placed upon Mitchel's campaign by his cautious, undemonstrative commander. In his "Statement in Review of Evidence before the Military Commission" on his case, General Buell says (p. 13): "That force, mainly under the command of General Mitchel, has been generally awarded praise for the service it performed, and very justly; yet not more than two thousand men ever appeared on the field of operations to oppose it. It was not the numbers of the enemy that made its service difficult and creditable; but it was the large extent of country it occupied, the length of the lines it had to guard, and the difficulty of supplying it."

phatically to prevent Mitchel's resignation, and declared that if, because of their disagreement, one or the other must leave the service, he would himself resign.*

Mitchel found on his arrival in Washington that the faith of the Government in his capacity was unshaken. Indeed the plan was for a little entertained of assigning to him the work which Fremont had once proposed, and which Halleck had been expected to accomplish—the work of sweeping down the Mississippi Valley and restoring the Great River to commerce. But it was determined to do nothing in the matter till General Halleck, now fresh on his stool as "General-in-Chief," could be consulted. Halleck, like all men of mere routine, had a profound contempt for success won in such irregular methods as Mitchel had employed and a profound distrust for the men who employed them. He considered Mitchel reckless and Quixotic—lucky perhaps, thus far, because his own warlike genius had been engaging the enemy's attention elsewhere—but utterly unsafe. His influence was for a time great enough to keep Mitchel out of any command.

Meanwhile a swarm of slanders had been started by the busy enemies he had left behind him in Buell's army. Presently a newspaper attack appeared, declaring in mysterious vagueness that General Mitchel had been summoned to Washington to answer to the gravest charges. It pronounced his conduct "not only injurious to the Government but disgraceful to humanity," declared that he had "perpetrated deeds of cruelty and guilt, the bare narration of which makes the heart sick," demanded "swift justice," hoped "for the country's sake there would be no delay and no clemency," and reached its climax in pronouncing the foremost astronomer of the country and the hero of the North Alabama campaign "an epauletted miscreant." The organ of these slanders was a newspaper remarkable partly for decayed genius, partly for mediocre but malignant treason—the Louisville *Journal*. The reputation it had once enjoyed still gave it some credit; and the very vagueness of its charges added, for a little time, to the apprehensions felt even by General Mitchel's friends, as to the possibility of his having committed some unusual indiscretion. With the most, however, they excited only amazement and incredulity. But they were taken up by the Associated Press and scattered broadcast over the country. Mitchel made no reply, save in a private dispatch to deny their truth, and to demand either proof or retraction. Of this demand the newspaper never took any notice.

Presently it appeared that the whole charge grew out of some excesses committed by Colonel Turchin's brigade of Mitchel's command, in re-occupying the town of Athens,† whence they had been driven by a superior force of the Rebels. General Mitchel had himself sought to bring the individual offenders to justice, but had failed to secure proofs; General Buell had been subsequently attempting the same thing, and up to that time had encountered similar failure.

*These statements are made on the authority of General Mitchel himself. He communicated them to the writer in Washington, in July, 1862.

†The outrages at Athens were trifling compared with those which subsequently marked famous campaigns in the South, and passed not only unrebuked but actually applauded by the commanders and by the country. Those were days, however, when the war was conducted—not

Mitchel's enemies sought to hold him responsible, and even forwarded charges to Washington, but no notice was taken of them. The General, however, remained for some months out of command, and the public was left to the conclusion that for this, or for some other reason, he was in disgrace with the Government.

Both the Cincinnati and the Dudley Observatories were still under his directorship. He improved the leisure which he now had to inquire into their operations, and to send instructions to the assistants in charge.

He was ordered from his command in Alabama on the 2d of July, 1862. On the 12th of September he was assigned to a new department. The Government had not insisted upon the Mississippi scheme in opposition to Halleck's disapproval; but it had never given up the belief that Mitchel would be of signal service again in an independent position, commensurate in importance with the rank he had won and the military genius he had displayed. Great things had been hoped of the Department of South Carolina, but with the brilliant achievement of Admiral Dupont in the harbor of Port Royal, success seemed to have ended, and one unfortunate failure after another had followed. The position was thought especially fitted for a man of Mitchel's adventurous spirit, and he was assigned to it.

He set out at once for his new command. His coming infused fresh life into military affairs. Within the week of his arrival he visited all the camps, on Hilton Head, at Beaufort, and at Fort Pulaski, and addressed all the regiments. Within another week an expedition to St. John's Bluff was organized, which took a fort and several heavy guns. In the same week another expedition burnt the salt works, a quarter of a mile long, at Blufton. A reconnoissance up the Savannah was made. A force was sent to Pocotaligo to break the railroad connection between Charleston and Savannah. And amid these varied enterprises he found time to mature a plan for the relief of the crowded contraband barracks. The negroes were set to work building a village of comfortable cabins for themselves.* He had already gained the confidence of all; his preliminary operations had been attended with success, and it was believed that a graver movement was in contemplation.

In the midst of his plans, only five weeks after his arrival in the department, on the 26th of October, 1862, he was attacked with yellow fever. He lingered, with scarcely a hope of recovery, from the outset till the 30th; when, in the full possession of his faculties, and shortly after an effort to repeat his expressions of confidence in the consolations of the religion which he had so

perhaps as successfully, but—on principles more creditable to our humanity and civilization, as well as to the discipline of our armies. And, though Mitchel was not responsible for the excesses at Athens, it must be confessed that he might have been more energetic in his efforts to bring the offenders to justice. But, though not so loose in his ideas on the subject as Sherman subsequently became, he was still disposed to look on the offense as quite venial.

* The grateful negroes called their village Mitchelville—a name which bids fair to be permanent. Before the close of the war the village had a regular municipal organization, with self-elected officers.

long professed, he died. By no single stroke, thus far through the war, had so great a sum of ability and zeal been taken from the National service.

He was buried, with the honors of war, in the village cemetery at Beaufort, South Carolina, among the residences of the Barnwells and the Rhetts. Two sons, on his staff, were so low at the same time, with the same disease, that the attendants dared not inform them of their father's death. Their mother, worn out with her apprehensions for her husband, had died suddenly, almost at his entry into the service.

The military career thus too soon ended suggests in its incipiency some points of resemblance to that of a famous soldier of English history A great writer has sketched the portrait: "His courage had all the French impetuosity and all the English steadiness. His fertility and activity of mind were almost beyond belief. They appeared in everything that he did, in his campaigns, in his negotiations, in his familiar correspondence, in his lightest and most unstudied conversation. He was a kind friend, a generous enemy, and, in deportment, a thorough gentleman. Repose was insupportable to him. Scarcely any General had ever done so much with means so small. Scarcely any General had ever displayed equal originality and boldness. He was adored by the Catalonians and Valencians; but he was hated by the Prince whom he had all but made a great king, and by the Generals whose fortune and reputation were staked on the same venture with his own. The English Government could not understand him. He was so eccentric that they gave him no credit for the judgment which he really possessed. One day he took towns with horse-soldiers; then again he turned some hundreds of infantry into cavalry at a minute's notice. The ministers thought that it would be highly impolitic to intrust the conduct of the Spanish war to so volatile and romantic a person. They therefore gave the command to Lord Galway, an experienced veteran—a man who was in war what Moliere's doctors were in medicine—who thought it much more honorable to fail according to rule than to succeed by innovation. This great commander conducted the campain of 1707 in the most scientific manner. On the plain of Almanza he encountered the army of the Bourbons. He drew up his troops according to the methods prescribed by the best writers, and in a few hours lost eighteen thousand men, one hundred and twenty standards, all his baggage, and all his artillery."*

These are the words of Lord Macaulay in describing Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Petersborough; but in more respects than one they present a suggestive parallel to the history we have been tracing, and to the disasters that speedily followed. It will be seen, then, that we do not think the military character of General Mitchel far to seek. He had genius rather than talent. He was bold, adventurous, wonderfully energetic, fertile in resources. He had a keen eye for strategic advantages. He managed the executive business of war with skill. He was penetrated with a fervid enthusiasm, which communicated itself to his soldiers, and counted more than many re-enforcements in accomplishing his

* War of the Succession in Spain. Edinburg Review, January, 1833.

undertakings. This enthusiasm led to an appearance of eccentricity and nervous excitability that, outside the range of his personal influence, engendered a distrust of his stability and judgment.

But if we seek to pass beyond these obvious characteristics, and estimate the actual breadth and depth of his military capacity, we find ourselves checked on the threshold. He was comparatively untried. A brief period of subordinate service; a four months' campaign with an army of less than fifteen thousand, brilliantly managed but inadequately opposed; and five weeks of work preparatory to a campaign—in these short phrases his career in the war of the rebellion is told. Amid the stumblings of those earlier years his was a clear and vigorous tread. While the struggling Nation blindly sought for leaders, his was a brilliant promise. But he never fought a battle,* never confronted a respectable antagonist,† and never commanded a considerable army. Yet what he did had so won the confidence of the troops, and the admiration of the country, that his death was deplored as a public calamity, and he was mourned as a great General.

* Of course it will be understood that the affairs at Bridgeport and elsewhere did not rise to the rank of battles.

† Unless for the few weeks that he might have been said to be pitted against Beauregard. In his Northern Alabama campaign the whole force opposed to him scarcely amounted to two thousand.

Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, Cincinnati & New York

MAJOR-GENERAL Q. A. GILLMORE.

QUINCY ADAMS GILLMORE, Major in the Corps of Engineers, Brevet Major-General in the regular army, Major-General of volunteers, and the great artillerist and engineer of the war, was born at Black River, Lorain County, Ohio, on the 28th of February, 1825.

His parentage was of mingled Scotch-Irish and German extraction. His father, Quartus Gillmore, was born in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in 1790, on the farm of two hundred acres which *his* father continued for many years to cultivate. This farm was finally exchanged with one of the Connecticut speculators in Western Reserve lands, for a tract of one thousand acres in Lorain County, and, at the age of twenty-one, Quartus Gillmore thus came to be one of the Reserve pioneers. He reached the township in which his father's tract of wild land lay, on the shore of Lake Erie, in 1811, and immediately began his "clearing." He remained on it during the war of 1812, though most of the other inhabitants fled to the interior, and, before Perry's victory, the danger to the residents along the coast from British cruisers was supposed to be imminent. In 1824 he was married to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith. This lady was a native of New Jersey, where she was born in 1797. Her father, Mr. Reide, was also a native of that State, but his parents came from Germany. In 1807 the family removed to Lorain County, and at the age of sixteen Elizabeth was married to Mr Smith. He lived but four years after the marriage; and after seven years of widowhood she was married to Quartus Gillmore, he being at that time thirty-four years of age, and she twenty-six. Neither of them had any advantages of education, save such as could be obtained from the rude schools of the time and place. Both were hardy, vigorous pioneers, and the wife was accounted a beauty. Both have lived to see, in a hale old age, the fame and honors of their first-born.

At the time of his birth the country was agitated with the prolonged excitement of the famous Presidential contest of 1824, between Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Crawford, and Henry Clay. Quartus Gillmore, true to his Massachusetts ancestry and teachings, belonged to the Adams party. His favorite was finally elected by the House of Representatives on the 9th of February, and the news of the election reached that remote portion of the frontier on the very day on which the son was born. In the fullness of his joy at the election and at the birth, the happy father declared that his boy should bear the name of a President, and forthwith named him Quincy Adams.*

The lad grew up in the hearty life of the pioneers. Through the summers

* These facts are derived from an unpublished sketch of General Gillmore's youth, by L. A. Hine, Esq., of the Cincinnati Times. He gives a list of the other members of the family, as fol-

he assisted on the farm, as soon as he was able, and continued at farm labo until his eighteenth year. Each winter he received what the good people of those times were wont to call "a quarter's schooling." He came to rank well both among the farmers and in the country school-house. He was strong, active and, as the farmers said, "a good, willing hand." In the school he soon reached the "Double Rule of Three," long the high-water mark of rustic school-teachers' acquirements, and began to perplex his masters by prying into the hidden mysteries of the latter half of the Arithmetic.

So, by the time he was twelve or thirteen years old, it was discovered that he had gone as far as the teachers could carry him. Then came a piece of good fortune. He was sent for a winter to the Norwalk Academy, twenty-five miles away from home. The glimpse of the outside world which he thus caught, not less than the teachings of the Academy, served to inspire him with a longing for something beyond the life of the farm-boy. He bought all the books he could get money to pay for, and borrowed all that the village and neighborhood afforded. In his seventeenth year his acquirements were so well recognized that he was offered a situation himself as country school-teacher. For three successive winters he now taught school—studying through two of the intervening summers at a high school in Elyria. Some of his old schoolmates became his pupils, and there was much in his position to gratify the aspirations of the smart boy of the neighborhood. But he was ill-satisfied, and, as he said to his mother, did not believe he was made to be a school-teacher all his life.

To this feeling his success at the Elyria High School doubtless contributed. He had been noted for a remarkable aptitude for mathematical studies, had stood high in Natural Philosophy, and had been among the foremost in English Composition. In the spring of 1845 the pupils of the school gave an exhibition, in which young Gillmore's performance was considered by far the most promising. It was a poem entitled "Erie," which attracted considerable attention among a graver class of critics than those who usually devote themselves to school exhibitions. It was published in the local newspaper, and at the time had a considerable run in the journals of the surrounding country.

Strangely enough, it was to this poetical effusion that we are indebted for the services which our great artillerist was to render during the war of the rebellion. After his success at the school exhibition, young Gillmore decided to seek a profession. That of medicine seemed, in his circumstances, the most attainable, and so he began its study in the office of Dr. Samuel Strong, of Elyria. Meantime Mr. E. S. Hamlin, then the Congressman of the district, was casting about for a suitable person on whom to bestow the warrant for West Point. He had appointed a young man named Boynton, but, on examination, it proved

lows: Sophia Gillmore, born in 1828; Roxana, in 1830; Edmund, in 1833; Alice, in 1835: Elizabeth, in 1836; Quartus, in 1838; and Cornelius, in 1841. Nearly all these children still reside in the old neighborhood. Edmund became a shipwright, was injured by an accident, and has since been a hopeless cripple. Quartus manages the homestead farm. Cornelius lives with his father and is a shipwright. Elizabeth became Mrs. James O. Sennott; Sophia, Mrs. Captain Leslie; and Alice, Mrs. Conway. Roxana alone was carried far away from the family circle, having married Mr. Spooner, now a farmer in Oregon.

that he was some months too old to be admitted. He had then offered it to the son of a Mr. Baldwin, one of his influential constituents, but he had declined. Mr. George G. Washburn, the editor of the Elyria Democrat, was then asked who would be a good person for the vacant appointment. He called Hamlin's attention to the poem from one of the high school scholars which he had lately published, and asked if a boy who, with very limited advantages, had come to write so well, would not make a creditable representative of the district at the Military Academy. Mr. Hamlin was much interested, and at once sent to inquire if the author of "Erie" would like to go to West Point. The young man asked a few hours to consider it; then decided to accept. But by this time the persons through whom Mr. Hamlin's message was sent had left town. Not to be swerved from his purpose when once his mind was made up, Gillmore at once mounted a horse and rode off to Amherst, where they were gone; then, by their advice, pushed on to Charitan, where Mr. Hamlin was attending court. He was just in time—if the nomination had been delayed a few days longer, the Representative's power to appoint would have lapsed, and the President would have filled the vacancy. Gillmore received the warrant, and at once set out for his father's residence.

His parents supposed him to be at Elyria, hard at work making a doctor of himself, and were not a little surprised at his appearance, with the announcement that, if they were willing, he meant to go to West Point. It was an abandonment of the hopes they had formed for his future. Neither was very well pleased; and the mother, in particular, was not at all disposed to forgive the friends who had been putting such ideas in her boy's head. The father was more readily won over. Then Quincy asked for some money to fit him for the journey and to carry him to the Academy. "I will give it to you, if you will promise to come out at the head of your class," said Mr. Gillmore.

The class contained several whose names have since risen to prominence. John G. Parke, subsequently Major General commanding the Ninth Corps, stood second in it; Absalom Baird, subsequently Division General under Rosecrans, was ninth; Chauncey McKeever, of the Adjutant-General's staff, was fourteenth; Rufus Saxton, subsequently Major-General in charge of the negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia coast, was eighteenth; R. W Johnston, of Kentucky, subsequently Division General in the Army of the Cumberland, was thirtieth. At the end of the first year Cadet Gillmore stood fourth. The next year he did better; and when his graduation came it was found that he had kept his promise. He had "come out at the head of the class." But he had written no more poetry; and from that day forward, if he was ever guilty of the weakness, he was successful in concealing it.

His poetical tendencies, however, had taken another turn. In the year of his graduation, at the age of twenty-four, he was married to one of the fair belles of West Point, Miss Mary O'Magher,* only daughter of the Academy Treasurer of Cadets. She was two years his senior.

Cadet Gillmore's position at the head of his class determined, in accordance

*The family is the same from a branch of which Thomas Francis Meagher sprang.

with the well-known academic rule, his assignment. He was made a Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, and was ordered to duty as an assistant on the fortifications at Hampton Roads. After three years' service here he was ordered back to West Point, to serve as an instructor in the department of practical military engineering. For three years he held this position, and for another he was treasurer and quartermaster of the Academy

It was during this stay at West Point, in the years 1852–56, that Lieutenant Gillmore, now a rising young engineer, whose talents had begun to attract the attention of the superior officers of his corps, had an opportunity to study the effects of cannon projectiles on masonry forts—a study that was to yield to the country and to science such fruits as the breaching of Fort Pulaski and the destruction of Fort Sumter from distances at which they had been considered impregnable. The series of breaching experiments on masonry targets which he here conducted, gave him his first ideas as to the capabilities of rifled cannon. His views went far beyond those of the older members of his corps, and it was not till the fall of Pulaski that he convinced them.

On July 1st, 1856, he was promoted to a First-Lieutenancy of Engineers, and ordered to New York City, to assume charge of the Engineer Agency there established. His duties were to superintend the purchase and shipment of material used in the construction of forts, light-houses, and other works committed to the corps. In this position he remained until the outbreak of the war.

In addition to these duties, however, he was engaged upon an elaborate series of experiments with the limes and hydraulic cements of America and Europe—with special reference to their use in masonry fortifications. This resulted in the preparation of a work, which has since become the standard authority among engineers, on "Limes, Hydraulic Cements and Mortars."* During the same period, as another result of these experiments, he contributed to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its session in Albany, a paper on the practicability of making a cement from quartz that, on hardening, would assume the original characteristics of that rock, and prove as indestructible. Some mathematical speculations which he published about the same time attracted the attention of the authorities of Oberlin College, and drew from them the complimentary degree of Master of Arts. He had also contributed to the Cleveland papers suggestions on the defense of the lake coast, which attracted the notice of the scientific, and received the attention of the War Department.

Thus the young engineer gradually rose in his profession. He was still only a First-Lieutenant, but he was marked as one of the promising men of the *corps d'elite* of the army. He was engrossed in its duties, was devoted to its advancement, and was noted for the thoroughness and value of his investigations. At the outbreak of the war he was in his thirty-sixth year, and was once more alone in the world, having lost his accomplished wife in 1860. She left him four promising boys, the care of whose education was undertaken in his wife's old home at West Point.

* 300 pp. octavo; published by Van Nostrand, New York.

In August, 1861, Lieutenant Gillmore applied for active field duty. Chief-Justice Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, warmly recommended him to Governor Dennison. The Governor at once offered him the command of one of the Ohio regiments. This he declined. Members of the Engineer Corps are wont to attach a high importance to their position, and Gillmore preferred his place in the Engineers to a Colonelcy of volunteers. But he desired, if possible, to organize a brigade of Sappers, Miners, and Pontoniers for service in the Western armies. Governor Dennison at once fell in with this idea, and urged upon the President his appointment as a Brigadier-General of volunteers. Professor Mahan of West Point, and Wm. Cullen Bryant united in the recommendation. Mr. Lincoln was not unwilling, but the War Department objected. It was then organizing an expedition under T. W Sherman to make, in conjunction with Admiral Dupont, a descent upon the coast of South Carolina. Lieutenant Gillmore's experience in the Engineer Agency in New York peculiarly qualified him for the work of fitting out this expedition, and the Department would not sanction any promotion by which his services therein would be lost. He was accordingly promoted to a Captaincy in his corps, and made Chief Engineer to General T. W Sherman, then about to set out for Port Royal.

This was on the 3d of October, 1861. A month later he was present with the staff, when, after Admiral Dupont's splendid bombardment, the troops made their descent upon Hilton Head Island. Through November and December he was engaged in fortifying the positions thus secured.

Meantime the country impatiently awaited some more important results from the great coast expedition than the establishment of schools among the contrabands on Hilton Head. Finally the General commanding directed his attention to Savannah.

Fort Pulaski stood in the way. Situated on one of the marshy islands along the coast, neither land nor water, that yet offer to military movements the special obstacles of both, it seemed secure against land attacks. But it covered both the channels of the Savannah River, and, while it stood, the way to the threatened city was closed. Late, therefore, in November Captain Gillmore was ordered to make a thorough reconnoissance of the locality. On the 29th he set out; on the 1st of December he made his report. The one feature of the report was this: "I deem the reduction of Fort Pulaski practicable by batteries of mortars and rifled guns, established on Tybee Island."* And five days later, in another communication, he specified the armament he would ask for the undertaking: "Ten ten-inch sea-coast mortars, ten thirteen-inch do., eight heavy rifled guns, and eight Columbiads."

The assumption of the young engineer was to the older members of his corps, and to the officers of the army generally, a matter of astonishment. The site for his proposed breaching batteries was an island seventeen hundred yards distant from the fort. The limit for practicable breaching of masonry forts was supposed to be one thousand yards; and, except under peculiarly favorable circumstances, no one thought such an effort advisable at a distance greater than

* "Gillmore's Siege of Fort Pulaski," p. 55.

six hundred or seven hundred yards. Since the invention of gunpowder, in no war and by no general, had the reduction of hostile forts been attempted by means of batteries even one thousand yards distant. Here was a young Captain of Engineers, absolutely without experience in war, proposing to reduce a fort which had been recently pronounced by a competent military critic (Mr. Russell, of the London Times) impregnable to land attack, by batteries located nearly three times as far away as in any successful bombardment on record.

The standard authority of the army had this verdict on the possibility of such an undertaking: "An exposed wall may be breached with certainty at distances of from five hundred to seven hundred yards, even when elevated one hundred feet above the breaching battery; and it is believed that, in case of extreme necessity, it would be justifiable to attempt to batter down an exposed wall from any distance not exceeding one thousand yards, but then the quantity of artillery must be considerable, and it will require from four to seven days' firing, according to the number of guns in battery, and the period of daylight, to render a breach practicable." Captain Gillmore proposed to go seven hundred yards beyond this extreme limit fixed by the authority then regarded as final on all such engineering questions.

Save his own experiments, however, and the theoretical views they had suggested and confirmed, he could point to no authority to sustain him. Breaching at five hundred to seven hundred yards had been the limit to the undertakings of European armies against masonry forts. Absolutely no tangible progress had been made, in actual practice, since the second siege of Badajos in the Peninsular war, when an exposed and weak castle wall was breached at the unheard-of distance of eight hundred yards. Some noteworthy English and Prussian experiments, however, had seemed to point to the greater capacity of rifled artillery. In 1860, a condemned Martello tower on the coast of England had been battered down by Armstrong rifled guns, at a distance of one thousand and thirty-two yards. General Sir John Burgoyne, in reporting the fact to the British War Department, added: "Trials were subsequently made to breach a similar tower from smooth-bored sixty-eight and thirty-two-pounders at the same range of one thousand and thirty-two yards, and the result may be deemed altogether a failure, both accuracy of fire and velocity of missiles being quite deficient for such a range." In the same year the Prussian Government had conducted similar experiments on certain old fortifications at Juliers, which were to be demolished. The guns used were rifled breach-loaders. At six hundred and forty yards they had breached a brick wall three feet thick with twelve-pounders. At fifty paces they had breached the same wall with six-pounders. And, at sixty yards, they had breached a wall six and a half feet thick with twenty-four pounders; while subsequently, with the same guns, at a distance of ninety yards, they had breached a wall twelve feet thick.

Practically, this was the sum of what military science had to teach on the subject of the power of artillery against masonry forts. Beyond this Captain Gillmore had progressed a little, by reason of his own experiments at West Point. He believed that the capacity of rifled guns had not been fully appreciated. But

he did not yet give them credit for their enormous superiority over the clumsy Columbiads and other heavy smooth-bores in which the chief reliance was still placed. The English Martello tower had been battered down by rifled eighty-two and forty-pounders, at one thousand and thirty-two yards. He believed the American Parrotts, and other rifles, at least equal to the famous English gun; he was able to secure eighty-four-pounders, sixty-four pounders, forty-eight-pounders, and thirty-pounders; and with these, relying on his belief that rifles might do more than they had ever yet been called upon to do, he was willing to undertake the reduction of Fort Pulaski from a distance more than a third greater than in the English experiments. But he asked a weight of metal, in smooth-bores—Columbiads, mortars, etc.—double as great as that of his rifles.

We have seen how contrary to the maxims of the books Captain Gillmore's proposition was. Some of the leading officers of his own corps united in their condemnation of the wild scheme which the young engineer presented. General Totten himself, the venerable head of the corps, was very decided in his disapproval. Conspicuous engineers furnished written opinions, enforcing the folly of the project. But the General commanding was of a temper that was ready to accept daring innovations. It does not appear that he was himself fully convinced of the wisdom of his engineer's proposal, but he was fully resolved to let him try. He accordingly endorsed the plan, and forwarded it to the Department at Washington for approval. Here it was some time delayed, and even after the final consent had been obtained, the necessary artillery and ordnance stores were tardily supplied.

But about the middle of January, six weeks after the scheme was first proposed, matters had progressed so far that operations began for the investment of Fort Pulaski, preparatory to the establishment of the proposed batteries for its reduction. There were several tortuous and uncertain passages by which, at high tide, gunboats of light draft might evade Pulaski and enter the Savannah River. Through some of these it was determined to convoy the flats on which artillery was floating, for batteries above Pulaski, to cut off its intercourse with Savannah and with the coast. One cause of delay intervened after another, till, on the 10th of February, 1862, after waiting nearly a month on the navy, it was determined to attempt transporting the guns for these blockading batteries by land.

Up the river a few miles from Fort Pulaski lies Jones's Island, the southern shore of which forms for several miles the northern bank of the stream. Near the middle of this stretch rose the trifling elevation of Venus's Point, on which it was proposed to erect a battery. This would isolate Pulaski. The nearest spot where the soil was sufficiently solid to permit the encampment of troops was Dafuskie Island, four miles distant. From this place there was water communication between New, Wright, and Mud Rivers to the shore of Jones's Island opposite Venus's Point. Thence, across the oozy, shaking marsh of the island the artillery must be transported by hand. What was the nature of the route may be inferred from Captain Gillmore's description of the island: "It is nothing but a mud marsh, covered with reeds and tall grass. The general sur

face is about on a level of ordinary high tide. There are a few spots of limited area, Venus's Point being one of them, that are submerged only by spring tides, or by ordinary tides favored by the wind; but the character of the soil is the same over the whole island. It is a soft unctuous mud, free of grit or sand, and incapable of supporting a heavy weight. Even in the most elevated places the partially dry crust is but three or four inches in depth, the substratum being a semi-fluid mud, which is agitated like jelly by the falling of even small bodies upon it, like the jumping of men or ramming of earth. A pole or an oar can be forced into it with ease, to the depth of twelve or fifteen feet. In most places the resistance diminishes with increase of penetration. Men walking over it are partially sustained by the roots of reeds and grass, and sink in only five or six inches. When this top support gives way, they go down from two to two and a half feet, and in some places much further."

Across this uncertain slime, a wheelbarrow track of plank was laid. Poles were cut on Dafuskie Island and taken by boats into Mud River to make a wharf for the landing of the guns, and bags filled with sand were carried over by the batteries. Finally, on the 10th of February, the hope of aid from the navy being abandoned, the flats on which the guns were loaded were towed out through the sluggish rivers by row-boats, against the tide, and landed at the wharf. At the same time another party on the opposite side of the island, at Venus's Point, was at work on the platforms for the battery. First bags of sand were laid down on the oozy soil, till the whole surface was raised five or six inches. Then over these went a flooring of thick planks, nearly but not quite in contact with each other. Across these at right angles other planks were laid, till, finally, the platform was raised some twenty inches above the natural surface. All the while this work went on, the unsuspicious Rebel gunboats were plying up and down the Savannah River, in full view Then at daylight the work was left, and all hands went back to Dafuskie.

The next night came the hardest task. Over the twelve-feet-deep mud of Jones's Island were to be dragged, from the wharf back on Mud River to the site for the battery at Venus's Point, three thirty-pounder Parrotts, two twenty-pounders, and a great eight-inch siege howitzer. The Captain shall tell us how this seemingly impossible task was accomplished:

"The work was done in the following manner: The pieces, mounted on their carriages and limbered up, were moved forward on shifting runways of planks (about fifteen feet long, one foot wide, and three inches thick), laid end to end. Lieutenant Wilson, with a party of thirty-five men, took charge of the two pieces in advance (an eight-inch siege howitzer and a thirty-pounder Parrott), and Major Beard and the Lieutenant, with a somewhat larger force, of the four pieces in the rear (two twenty and two thirty-pounder Parrotts.) Each party had one pair of planks in excess of the number required for the guns and limbers to rest upon, when closed together. This extra pair of planks being placed in front, in prolongation of those already under the carriages, the pieces were then drawn forward with the drag-ropes, one after the other, the length of a plank, thus freeing the two planks in the rear, which, in their turn, were carried

to the front. This labor is of the most fatiguing kind. In most places the men sank to their knees in the mud; in some places, much deeper. This mud being of the most slippery and slimy kind, and perfectly free from grit or sand, the planks soon became entirely smeared over with it. Many delays and much exhausting labor were occasioned by the gun-carriages slipping off the planks. When this occurred, the wheels would suddenly sink to the hubs, and powerful levers had to be devised to raise them up again. I authorized the men to encase their feet in sandbags to keep the mud out of their shoes. Many did this, tying the strings just below the knees. The magazines and platforms were ready for service at daybreak."

When day dawned, therefore, the Savannah river was closed. But now a fresh peril arose. The artillerists, as they stood about their newly-planted guns, presently perceived a foe creeping up, around, and upon them, against which their Parrotts and mortars were of no avail. The tide rose within eight inches of the surface! A high wind would have sent it over. And the worst was not yet, for the spring tides were approaching. Captain Gillmore met this new danger by constructing a levee entirely around the battery, sufficient to secure it against ordinary seas. If storms should come, it must take its chances.

A few days later and other batteries were planted to co-operate with this one in completely investing Pulaski below, and blockading Savannah above. Then Captain Gillmore was ordered down to undertake his greater work.

On the 21st of February the first of his required artillery and ordnance stores for the siege arrived. General Sherman* now determined that his hopeful young engineer should have all the honor of success, or bear all the burden of defeat; and he accordingly authorized him to act as a Brigadier-General (pending the appointment to that rank, which he had solicited for him from the President), and to assume command of all the troops required for the siege. Thenceforward he had matters entirely in his own hands.

The point on which batteries were now to be erected was not unlike that at which General Gillmore had recently been laboring. Tybee Island, like Jones's Island above, is a mud marsh. Several ridges and hummocks of firm ground, however, are to be found upon it; and along Tybee Roads, where the artillery was to be debarked, stretched a skirting of low sand-banks, formed by the action of wind and tides. From this place to the proposed site of the advanced batteries was a distance of about two and a half miles. The last mile was in full view of Fort Pulaski, and within the range of its guns. It was, besides, a low marsh, presenting the same obstacles to the transportation of heavy artillery that had been encountered in the work at Venus's Point.

The first difficulty was met in landing the guns. The beach was open and exposed, and often a high surf was running. The guns were lowered from the vessels on which they had been sent down from the North upon lighters, over which a strong deck had been built from gunwale to gunwale. Then at high tide row-boats towed these lighters to the shore. Ropes were then attached to

*T. W. Sherman—distinguished sometimes from the present Lieutenant-General W. T Sherman, by the *soubriquet*, "Port Royal Sherman."

them, and the men on shore careened them, thus rolling the heavy masses of iron overboard in the surf. When the tide receded they were left dry, and the troops then seized upon them and dragged them by main strength up the sand-bank, out of reach of the next high tide.

Then came the task of planting them in battery in the yielding marsh, in sight of Pulaski without being discovered. "No one," says General Gillmore, "except an eye-witness, can form any but a faint conception of the herculean labor by which mortars of eight and a half tons weight, and Columbiads, but a trifle lighter, were moved in the dead of night, over a narrow causeway, bordered by swamps on either side, and liable at any moment to be overturned, and buried in the mud beyond reach. The stratum of mud is about twelve feet deep; and on several occasions the heaviest pieces, particularly the mortars, became detached from the sling-carts and were with great difficulty, by the use of planks and skids, kept from sinking to the bottom. Two hundred and fifty men were barely sufficient to move a single piece, on sling-carts. The men were not allowed to speak above a whisper, and were guided by the notes of a whistle."

The work went on without discovery, and apparently without even arousing the suspicions of the fort. Its seeming impracticability was its safeguard. The batteries nearest the fort were carefully screened from observation by gradual and almost imperceptible changes in the appearance of the brushwood and brushes in front of them—no sudden alteration of the outline of the landscape being permitted. Thus, in silence and in darkness, eleven batteries, mounting heavier guns than were ever before used in the United States service, gradually arose before the unsuspicious fort. As the dangerous part of the work was completed less care was taken about discovery, and the enemy finally learned the location of two of the less important batteries; of the very existence of the others he would seem to have had no conception.

By the 1st of April a change in the command of the department had been made. The popular impatience at the lack of results under General Sherman's management had led to his removal. General Hunter, on taking command, found the investment of Pulaski complete, and the preparations for opening the bombardment well advanced. He inspected the work, but made no change whatever. General Gillmore was left in command, and eight days later was ready to open fire.

For eight weeks the troops had been engaged, day and night, in the most exhausting labor, at an inclement season, and in the most malarious of localities. They had completed eleven batteries along the coast of Tybee Island nearest Pulaski, at a distance from the fort ranging from three thousand four hundred to one thousand six hundred and fifty yards, and had mounted thirty-six heavy guns, of which ten were rifles, as follows: Two eighty-four pounder-James, two sixty-four-pounder James, one forty-eight-pounder James, and five thirty-pounder Parrots. The smooth-bores were, twelve thirteen-inch mortars, four ten-inch siege mortars, six ten-inch Columbiads, and four eight-inch Columbiads. It was soon to be seen that this whole array of smooth-bores, on

which three-fourths of the time and labor had been spent, was useless. The whole length of the line formed by these batteries was two thousand five hundred and fifty yards. In front of it, with seven and a half foot thick brick walls standing obliquely to the line of fire, on a separate little marshy island a mile or more distant, stood Pulaski, isolated from Savannah by the batteries up the river, but still able to keep up frequent communication by courier through the swamps.

On the evening of April 9, 1862, General Gillmore issued his general order for the bombardment. It was remarkable for the precision with which every detail was given. The directions for the three breaching batteries will illustrate:

"Battery Sigel (five thirty-pounder Parrotts and one forty-eight-pounder James) to open, with four and three-quarter second fuses, on the barbette guns of the fort at the second discharge from Battery Sherman. Charge for thirty-pounder, three and one-half pounds; charge for forty-eight-pounder, five pounds. elevation four degrees for both calibers. As soon as the barbette fire of the work has been silenced, this battery will be directed, with percussion shells, upon the walls, to breach the *pancoupé* between the east and south-east faces, and the embrasure next to it in the south-east face; the elevation to be varied accordingly, the charge to remain the same. Until the elevation is actually determined, each gun should fire once in six or eight minutes; after that, every four or five minutes.

"Battery McClellan (two eighty-four-pounders and two sixty-four-pounder James) to open fire immediately after Battery Scott. Charge for eighty-four-pounder, eight pounds; charge for sixty-four-pounder, six pounds; elevation for eighty-four-pounder, four and one-quarter degrees; for sixty-four-pounder, four degrees. Each piece should fire once every five or six minutes after the elevation has been established; charge to remain the same. This battery should breach the work in the *pancoupé* between the south and south-east faces, and the embrasure next to it in the south-east face. The steel scraper for the grooves should be used after every fifth or sixth discharge.

"Battery Scott (three ten-inch and one eight-inch Columbiads) to fire solid shot, commencing immediately after the barbette fire of the work has ceased. Charge of ten-inch Columbiad, twenty-pounds; elevation four and one-half degrees. Charge of eight-inch Columbiad, ten pounds; elevation five degrees. This battery should breach the *pancoupé* between the south and south-east faces, and the embrasure next to it in the south east face; the elevation to be varied accordingly, the charge to remain the same. Until the elevation is accurately determined, each gun should fire once in ten minutes; after that, every six or eight minutes."

These instructions, with few exceptions, were adhered to throughout. For their striking illustration of the unerring as well as pre-estimated results of applied science, engineers and artillerists will hold them not among the least remarkable features of the siege. They were addressed to raw volunteer infantry, absolutely ignorant of artillery practice till the siege commenced, and taught what little they knew about serving the guns in the intervals of leisure

from dragging them over the beach into battery. Plainly, if the young engineer should succeed, it would only be because adverse circumstances could not hinder him.

On the morning of the tenth General Hunter decided to delay the bombardment till the garrison should be summoned, in his felicitous phrase, to surrender, and restore to the United States the fort which they held. The commanding officer tersely enough replied that he was there to defend and not to surrender it. General Hunter quietly read the response; then, stepping to the door of his head-quarters, said: "General Gillmore, you may open fire as soon as you please." In a moment a mortar from Battery Halleck flung out with a puff its great globe of metal, and the bombardment had begun. The enemy opened vigorously, but rather wildly, in reply.

It soon became evident that the fire of the mortars, comprising nearly one-half of the artillery bearing upon the fort, was comparatively useless. Not one shell in ten fell within or upon the fort. The Columbiads did not seem to be particularly efficient, but the rifles soon began to indent the surface of the wall near the south-east angle. Neither the garrison nor our own soldiers saw much in the bombardment promising decisive results; but by one o'clock General Gillmore was convinced that the fort would be breached, mainly by the rifled projectiles, which the telescope showed to be already penetrating deeply into the brick-work. It was also evident that on breaching alone, with perhaps an assault when the breach was practicable, could dependence be placed. The garrison could stand the mortar fire far longer than the assailants could keep it up.

At dark the bombardment ceased, three mortars and a rifle, however, keeping up a five-minute discharge through the night, to prevent the garrison from making repairs. Ten and a half hours of heavy firing from the whole armament of the batteries had apparently resulted only in a somewhat shattered appearance of the wall about the angle on which the firing had been directed, and in the dismounting of two barbette guns, and the silencing of three in the casemates. But, in fact, the breach was almost effected, although the garrison does not seem to have been aware of it. General Gillmore had selected the point for the breach with special reference to his knowledge of the location of the magazine. The moment his rifled balls passed through the wall of the fort they would begin to strike the rear of the magazine on the opposite side.

On the morning of the 11th the bombardment was resumed. The damages to the wall soon became conspicuous, and the heavy shots from the Columbiads now served to shatter and shake down the masonry which the rifled projectiles had displaced. By twelve o'clock two entire casemates had been opened, and in the space between them the rifle balls were plunging through to the rear of the magazine. The danger of being blown up became imminent, and the commandant hastened to call together a council of his officers. They voted unanimously for surrender, and just as their flag came fluttering slowly down, General Gillmore was giving his directions for opening upon another embrasure. He passed over at once and received the surrender.

The loss on our side was but one man killed, so perfect had been the engi-

neering skill that directed the construction of the defenses along the line of batteries. The garrison of the fort lost several killed and wounded. Three hundred and sixty were surrendered.*

The immediate result of these operations was the total blockade of the port of Savannah, and the reduction of the principal defense of the city against attack from the sea. But their remote consequences were far-reaching, and constituted an era in military science. General Gillmore himself has set forth some of them. "It is true, beyond question," he says, "that the minimum distance, say from nine hundred to one thousand yards, at which land batteries have heretofore been considered practically harmless against exposed masonry, must be at least trebled, now that rifled guns have to be provided against."† And he confidently adds: "With heavy James or Parrott guns the practicability of breaching the best-constructed brick scarp at two thousand three hundred to two thousand five hundred yards, with satisfactory rapidity, admits of very little doubt. Had we possessed our present knowledge of their power previous to the bombardment of Fort Pulaski, the eight weeks of laborious preparation for its reduction could have been curtailed to one week, as heavy mortars and Columbiads would have been omitted from the armament of the batteries, as unsuitable for breaching at long ranges." In short, he had shown the enormous power of the new heavy rifled artillery at unprecedentedly long ranges; and in those thirty-six hours' firing had unsettled the foundations of half the fortifications of Europe and America.

The man that did this was a young Captain of Engineers who had never seen a gun fired in battle till on this expedition, and had never commanded the firing of one till in this siege—who had nevertheless staked his success in his profession on the soundness of his theories about artillery, and in doing so, had faced the opposition of the talent and experience of the entire brilliant corps, of which he was one of the younger and less known members.

Within a fortnight after the surrender his provisional appointment as Brigadier-General was confirmed by the President. His long exposure to the malaria of the marshes, brought on a fever which now prostrated him, and kept him out of the field till the ensuing August.

On his recovery from the malarious fever of the Georgia swamps, General Gillmore went to Albany, under the orders of the Department, to assist the Governor of New York in equipping and forwarding to the seat of war the troops then being raised in that State. After a month of such service, about the time of the invasion of Kentucky by Bragg and Kirby Smith, which threw Buell back from north Alabama to the Ohio River, General Gillmore was suddenly ordered to Cincinnati; and on the 17th of September was assigned to the command of the advance moving down from Covington after Kirby Smith. But about this time the invasion of Kentucky was abandoned. Meanwhile our

*The loss of the garrison might be inferred to be twenty-five, since it is known to have numbered three hundred and eighty-five, and only three hundred and sixty were taken prisoners.

†Gillmore's Siege of Fort Pulaski, p. 52.

forces had sustained a defeat in the Kanawha Valley, and the need of an experienced officer to reorganize the troops as they came out at Point Pleasant was severely felt. General Gillmore was hurried up; then, ten days later, on the arrival of General Cox to assume command of the Department, was sent back to the troops he had lately been leading in Kentucky. On the 27th of October he was placed in command of the post of Lexington, and then, three months later, he relieved General Gordon Granger in the command of the District of Central Kentucky.

The period of General Gillmore's service in Kentucky was marked by no achievements of special importance. The main Rebel army had been pushed beyond Stone River in Tennessee; and the quiet of Central Kentucky was only disturbed by small parties of foragers or marauders, and by the natural turbulence of the disloyal elements. The most formidable of the Rebel raids was that commanded by General Pegram, which was finally beaten back at the battle of Somerset. Pegram crossed the Cumberland River at Stazall's Ferry, in the latter part of March, with a mounted force variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to three thousand, with six pieces of artillery. He drove in the advanced posts at Somerset and Danville, and pushed boldly up toward Lexington, until he reached the Kentucky River. Meantime he had proclaimed that his force was only the advance of a large column under Breckinridge that was to "redeem" the State, and had issued a high-sounding manifesto, declaring that every young Kentuckian who now hesitated to join the "liberating" army must forthwith leave the State. These loud pretences seem to have imposed upon the officers commanding the posts in the line of Pegram's advance, and all fled before him.

But when he halted at the Kentucky River, it began to be suspected that he did so because he lacked the force to go further. The mounted men in the Department were then mostly away in North-eastern Kentucky, in pursuit of another Rebel raiding party commanded by Colonel Clarke. General Gillmore however promptly checked the retreat of the infantry, ordered it back to the south side of the Kentucky River to confront Pegram, and made haste to gather together such mounted troops as remained accessible. With these, on the 28th of March, he set out to join the infantry, and press down upon Pegram. Altogether he was able to advance with about twelve hundred and fifty men of all arms, while other troops rapidly followed.

The force he was to encounter can not be definitely stated. The Rebels declared it was inferior in strength.* Gillmore believed it to outnumber him two to one.† A few miles north of Somerset, on Dutton's Hill, it turned to give him battle. He had considerable infantry forces a day's march in the rear, but, rather than fall back upon them, he resolved to accept battle with the twelve hundred and fifty then up. Dismounting his cavalry, he sent the horses to the rear of the artillery in the center, where they presented the appearance of a strong cavalry reserve, and deceived the enemy into the belief that there was momentary danger of a cavalry charge. The troops then advanced upon the

*Pollard's Southern History of the War, p. 602. †Gillmore's Official Report.

enemy's position, and a spirited fight of several hours' duration ensued. Finally, Gillmore perceived that his rear was about to be attacked by a strong force of cavalry, just detached from his front. Leaving the rear to take care of itself, he straightway ordered a charge of the whole command up the hill upon the body remaining to hold the enemy's position. Weakened as it was by the detachment just made for the rear attack, it was unable to resist the impetuous onset. The enemy was thus driven; the Rebel attack on the rear was easily brushed back, and the line rapidly advanced. The main body of the routed enemy escaped across the Cumberland River during the night. Gillmore's loss was about fifty. He reported Pegram's loss at nearly five hundred, including eighteen officers. The Rebels only acknowledged a loss of one hundred and fifty; and some of our newspaper accounts doubted whether even that were not an exaggeration.* The action, however, was handsomely managed, and its success was complete.

The battle of Somerset practically ended General Gillmore's career in Kentucky. Burnside presently arrived with the Ninth Army Corps, and Gillmore received a short leave of absence. At its close he was to be called to more congenial work, on the theater where he was to win his most brilliant and enduring fame. His operations in Kentucky did not add to his reputation. Somerset was well enough, but it was a small affair compared with the reduction of Pulaski. The other movements were trifling, and the whole campaign—if it could be called by so imposing a name—was inconsequential. Gillmore was not at all to blame for this; he did all he was ordered and all that his means would allow; but he gained no applause by his performance in Kentucky, and won little admiration from the raw volunteers whom he commanded. He was, however, brevetted Colonel of Engineers for his conduct at Somerset.

From the outset of the war two goals had fired the ambition of the East. As beyond the mountains they could see no hopeful issue to the struggle till the Great River, the symbol of the Union, went unvexed to the sea; so in the East, they counted the successes of the hour but little worth, while Richmond remained the capital of the Confederacy, and the Rebel flag floated in the harbor of Charleston. Against Richmond great armies were, from time to time, set in array. But the popular impatience had not been gratified by a similar show of effort against the cradle of rebellion. One expedition, which had been expected to replace on Sumter the flag that Anderson hauled down, stopped short on the North Carolina coast. Another, more formidable and more promising, contented itself with seizing the harbor of Port Royal. Another rested satisfied with sinking old hulks in the outer channel of the coveted port. These great military preparations resulted in the fall of Pulaski and the defenses of Savannah. But the defenses of Charleston, the hotbed of the treason,

*Pollard, *ubi supra*. Greeley's Amer. Conflict, Vol. II, p. 428. A brief statement of the share of one of the leading cavalry commands in the fight may be found in the sketch of the Seventh Ohio Cavalry, Vol. II, of this work, p. 798.

the spot of all in the limits of the rebellion most odious to the country, stood unharmed and unthreatened.

Finally, Admiral Dupont, with inefficient support, made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt with the iron-clads upon Fort Sumter. Repulse only heightened the popular demand for the reduction of "the spot where treason was hatched." Military men were accustomed to question the importance of Charleston as a strategic point in the prosecution of the war. But the people and the Government were wiser. They rightly reckoned Charleston second to no strategic point within the Confederacy; for its possession would inspire the North, would discourage and demoralize the Southern people and the Southern army; would give assurance to menacing Europe that the Government was able to open its own ports and protect its own coasts.

General Gillmore had just been relieved in Kentucky when word came of Admiral Dupont's failure. He employed his leisure in submitting to the War Department his views of what might be done by a combined land and naval attack. He dwelt largely on the lessons which Fort Pulaski taught, and, basing his confidence upon the performance there, maintained that Fort Sumter could be reached and reduced without any increase to the forces on the spot.

These views fell in remarkably with the wishes of the Department. General Halleck, then General-in-Chief, protested that he could spare no more troops for a side-issue like that of Charleston. Yet popular impatience and the desire of the Government united in the demand that the undertaking against Charleston should not be abandoned. If then Gillmore could make this undertaking effective without any increase of force, he was the wanting man. So, within a few weeks, he was summoned to Washington for consultation. His standing as an engineer had been vastly heightened by his reduction of Pulaski; and he found the Department ready to accept his statements on engineering questions as final authority.

The Navy Department had represented its desire to undertake another movement upon Fort Sumter, but had notified the military authorities that its success required "the occupation of Morris Island, and the establishment of land batteries on that island to assist in the reduction of the fort."* To this General Gillmore's attention was particularly invited, and his opinions on all the points involved were solicited. He found the naval authorities regarding Fort Sumter as the key to the position. They affirmed their ability to remove the channel obstructions, secure control of the entire harbor, and reach the city as soon as the offensive power of Sumter was destroyed. They especially dreaded, however, its barbette guns, whose plunging fire was very dangerous to the monitors.† General Gillmore at once renewed the declaration of his belief in the possibility of reducing Fort Sumter with the forces then on the spot. He added that beyond the occupation of Morris Island and the reduction of Sumter, the land forces could not be expected to accomplish much, unless largely re-enforced. But, inasmuch as the navy professed its ability to do the rest, this cau-

*General Halleck's Annual Report for 1862.

†Gillmore's "Engineer and Artillery Operations against Charleston," p. 16.

tion went for little, It was speedily decided that General Gillmore should be given the command of the department, to which, not yet a year ago, he had started, a young, unknown engineer, for his first sight of actual war; and that Rear Admiral Foote should succeed Dupont in command of the naval squadron. We now know, also,* that the following plan of operations was then agreed upon:

"First. To make a descent upon and obtain possession of the south end of Morris Island, known to be occupied by the enemy, and then being strongly fortified by him, offensively and defensively.

"Second. To lay siege to and reduce Fort Wagner, a heavily-armed earthwork of strong plan and relief, situated near the north end of Morris Island, and distant about two thousand six hundred yards from Sumter. With Fort Wagner the work on Cummings's Point would also fall.

"Third. From the position thus secured, to demolish Fort Sumter, and, afterward, co-operate with the fleet, when it was ready to move in, by a heavy artillery fire.

"Fourth. The monitors and iron-clads to enter, remove the channel obstructions, run by the batteries on James's and Sullivan's Islands, and reach the city"

Of these four distinct operations the army was to take the lead in executing all but the last. That—to which all the others were preparatory—the navy professed its full ability to accomplish. We are now to see how faithfully and thoroughly Gillmore executed his portion of the programme.

First, The Descent on Morris Island.—The nearest point to Fort Sumter held by the National forces, on General Gillmore's arrival, on the 12th of June, 1863, was Folly Island. This narrow sand spit borders the channel on the south side, running up toward the city. It is terminated by an inlet of the sea, communicating with the creeks and lagoons through the marsh back of it, known as Lighthouse Inlet. Just across this begins Morris Island, another narrow sand spit on the bosom of the marsh, which runs up, almost like a prolongation of FollyIsland, till its upper extremity is within one thousand three hundred and ninety yards of Fort Sumter. It was known to be held in force by the enemy; and the fort at its upper extremity was known to be formidable, although its real strength was scarcely suspected. An abortive attempt to reach this point by means of the approaches on the large island (James's Island) back of it, had ended in the disastrous slaughter of Secessionville. General Gillmore wisely decided not to repeat that experiment. He was able to muster only about eleven thousand five hundred men. General Beauregard, defending Charleston, had a considerably larger force at his command. On open ground, then, his inferiority in numbers would reduce him to the defensive. But on the narrow sand-bank of Morris Island he could deploy a front as formidable as it would be possible for the enemy on that ground to array against him; and he was, moreover, made entirely secure by reason of being under the guns of the navy.

Yet the descent presented grave difficulties. With the ordinary hazard of an assault upon fortified positions were coupled the unusual danger of an ap-

*Gillmore's "Engineer and Artillery Operations against Charleston," pp. 16, 17.

proach in full view in open boats, of disembarking under fire, forming on the beach under fire, and then advancing to the attack under the combined fire of artillery and small arms. The reduction of these hazards was sought in various ways. With a secrecy that must always remain a marvel, forty-seven pieces of heavy artillery, with suitable parapets, splinter-proof defenses and magazines, were planted on the extremity of Folly Island, within speaking distance of the enemy's pickets, without discovery or suspicion. These were to cover the crossing of the storming parties and to silence the works they were to assault. A considerable force was ostentatiously sent around by Stono River to make a demonstration upon James's Island. This was to create the impression that in imitation of the Secessionville blunder, the main attack was to be delivered there, and thus draw off troops from the fortifications of Morris Island. Finally, a body of troops was sent up the South Edisto to cut the railroad between Charleston and Savannah. This was to prevent the passage of re-enforcements to Charleston, if the operations about to be developed should seem to threaten its speedy fall. This last precaution failed. The others were completely successful, and largely aided in securing the greater success on Morris Island.

On the morning of the 10th of July, within less than a month after General Gillmore had assumed the command, the concealed batteries which he had erected on the upper end of Folly Island suddenly opened upon the unsuspicious enemy—across the Inlent. Believing the danger to be on James's Island the Rebel commander had transferred thither a considerable portion of his force. The rest, astonished by the sudden outburst of a danger they had believed impossible (for none had dreamt that heavy batteries could thus be secretly established under the very eyes of their pickets), made an inadequate resistance. The storming party which, after a couple of hours of the bombardment, pulled up in small boats to the beach of Morris Island, landed with little difficulty, and speedily swept up and into the nearest fortification. The Rebels fell back, but maintained a sharp resistance at each successive earthwork. Out of each in turn they were driven by the flushed and eager troops. By nine o'clock they had carried three-fourths of the island, and their skirmishers were within musket range of Fort Wagner, the strong work at the upper end, while on this the heavy guns of the navy were pouring a severe artillery fire. The heat being intense, and the troops being exhausted, General Gillmore now thought it well to suspend further operations for the day *

It was probably an unfortunate delay It is possible that the exhaustion of the troops might have made the attempt to bring them to an immediate assault of Fort Wagner hazardous. But it is certain that, when they were repulsed, they found, next morning, that the surprised enemy had profited by the delay as well as themselves. The troops then made a gallant assault, but from the very summit of the parapet which they had gained they were hurled back in bloody disorder. Still, so great was the strength of this unimposing sand-heap subse-

* Eleven pieces of heavy ordnance were captured in these operations. The loss was one hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing; and the enemy's loss was estimated at two hundred.

quently found, that it will never be held more than a bare possibility that by a continuance of the attack on the morning of the descent upon the island, Wagner might have been carried. The failure to carry it then enforced slower operations, and thus brought General Gillmore to the second feature of the plan he had concerted with the navy before his departure from Washington.

Second, The Siege of Fort Wagner.—The position in which General Gillmore now found himself was this: He was planted upon the enemy's late position on Morris Island. He held three-fourths of the four hundred acres comprised in the Island; on the other fourth the enemy maintained a foothold by means of a formidable work—externally nothing but a sand-bank heaped up in the form of a fortification—internally a powerful work, with subterranean bomb-proof shelters for its entire garrison. He found the island narrowing from the width of a thousand yards at the points where he landed to scarcely twenty-five yards in front of Fort Wagner—a space that seemed too contracted for any possibility of siege approaches by means of the regular parrallels and zigzag saps. Every foot of ground which he held was under the constant and searching fire of the enemy's guns from Fort Wagner, Cummings's Point, James's Island, Sullivan's Island, and Fort Sumter. Parts of the ground that he occupied were but two feet above ordinary high water, and any unusually high tide, accompanied by wind, dashed over; the greatest ridge on the island of which he could avail himself was only thirty-four feet higher. The surface of the island was a fine, almost white, quartz sand, on which the fiery sun of those latitudes beat with furnace heat. It proved to be the most valuable material for fortifications ever used; while, flying in clouds over the muzzles of the guns and filling the barrels, it became a most serious difficulty in the way of satisfactory artillery practice.

Eight days after the descent upon the island General Gillmore was prepared to make another attempt upon Fort Wagner. Heavy rain-storms, which flooded the batteries and destroyed the powder, had prevented an earlier movement. About noon all the batteries which had been planted on the lower end of the island, opened upon Wagner. The navy then moved up alongside, joined in the bombardment. At first the fort returned a sharp and severe fire; but it presently ceased altogether. Supposing the fort to be effectually silenced, an assault was now ordered. The mistake was soon discovered. The moment the head of the storming column debouched from the first parallel, about sunset, it was met by a heavy fire from the fort. An instant afterward, from every quarter, there poured upon the devoted column a storm of shot. Sumter opened; Gregg opened; the batteries on James's Island to the left, and on Sullivan's Island across the channel to the right, opened. Through it all the troops gallantly advanced—Colonel Shaw, with the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts, leading the way. At last they approached so near the work that the fire from our batteries and from the navy on the fort had to be suspended, for fear of hitting our own men. Then suddenly uprose along all the parapet a cloud of musketry. Through the bombardment the garrison of Wagner had been quietly and safely ensconced in the bomb-proof beneath—only enough men being left out to serve

the guns. The moment the bombardment ceased, they swarmed up into the fort fresh and unaffected by the terrible fire, and opened with murderous volleys upon the advancing column now within close range. Through even this it swept on. It reached the wet ditch, plunged through it, clambered up the parapet, fought hand to hand with the garrison in the quickly-descending darkness, made good its position on the south-east bastion. But the darkness and the perfect knowledge of the interior arrangements of the fort possessed by the garrison gave them a great advantage. After a three hours' struggle the assailants felt compelled to relinquish their hold upon the bastion they occupied and fall back to their parallels.

Two-fold failure thus rested upon the efforts to possess the upper end of Morris Island. To most officers this would have suggested abandonment of the effort, or a call for re-enforcements.* To General Gillmore it suggested that, if he were delayed in capturing the upper end of Morris Island, from which to reduce Fort Sumter, he might, perhaps, reduce Fort Sumter without it. He thus advanced to the simultaneous execution of the third feature of the plan concerted at Washington, while still engaged upon the unfinished work of the second.

Third, The Reduction of Fort Sumter.—The defensive line on the island, now held by General Gillmore, was between four and five thousand yards distant from Fort Sumter. We have seen that before Pulaski, one thousand yards was believed to be the extreme limit at which breaching operations against masonry forts should be attempted, and then only under a combination of the most favorable circumstances and the most absolute necessity. At Pulaski General Gillmore had enlarged this distance to seventeen hundred yards, and in his report he expressed his belief that breaching might even be attempted, with the best of the new artillery, at two thousand to twenty-five hundred yards. So rapidly had he progressed that he was now about to attempt it at double this maximum distance laid down by himself, over the heads of the enemy in an intervening earthwork, against whom the resources of his artillery and of two successive assaults had thus far proved ineffectual. Meantime he proposed to push his regular approaches against Wagner. Should he succeed in reducing Sumter by firing over Wagner, then the great obstacle to the entrance of the navy into the harbor would be removed. But, should the navy hesitate, the ultimate possession of Wagner would enable him to draw a shorter line across the entrance to the harbor, and make the blockade of the fort hermetical.

On the night, therefore, of the failure of the second assault on Wagner, the energetic commander gave orders for the conversion of the batteries employed during the day into a strong defensive line, capable of resisting any sortie the enemy might make. Behind this, and next the marsh on the left, the first battery for use against Sumter was erected—at a distance from that work of four thousand two hundred yards, or over two and one-third miles.

In five days this work was completed; and on the succeeding night, by

*Throughout the operations in Charleston harbor General Gillmore never asked for any re-enforcements, except to replace those lost by disease and exposure.

means of the "flying sap," a second parallel was established six hundred yards further up the island. On the left it ran across to the creek, which here separates the island from the adjacent marsh, and across which two booms of floating timber were constructed, to keep off Rebel sorties in boats. On the right it ran down to the sea, and was extended clear out to low-water mark, where by means of crib-work of stone a battery was established, that for half the time was cut off by the rising sea from the rest of the line, and was completely surrounded by the breakers of the surf. In three days this work was accomplished. Behind the new line other batteries of heavy rifled cannon were then erected for breaching Fort Sumter—in full view of more than one Rebel parapet, and under constant fire from Wagner and from James's Island. The accomplished officer of engineers to whom the General assigned this work, expressed the decided belief that it was impracticable, but he was soon enabled to prove his predictions erroneous by his own performance. The batteries here erected against Sumter were at a mean distance from it of three thousand five hundred and twenty-five yards—a few feet over two miles. During the same period still other breaching batteries had been ordered further down the island, a considerable distance below even the first parallel. In these, at a distance of not quite two and a half miles, were placed some of the heaviest guns used against Sumter, one three hundred-pounder Parrott, two two hundred-pounders, and four one hundred-pounders.

By the 9th of August the work on these various undertakings had progressed so far that General Gillmore was able to take another step toward Wagner. On that night, therefore, the third parallel was established, with the flying sap, about three hundred and thirty yards in advance of the second. The enemy now began to take a more serious view of the position. Thus far his defense had proceeded upon the theory that he would be able, by means of the powerful works of Wagner, stretching clear across the upper end of the island from the sea to the marsh, to maintain his hold and protect the flank of Sumter; and on this theory no defense of the lower part of the island had been made at all commensurate with its importance. It was now seen that the steady advance of Gillmore's parallels and zigzag approaches had become menacing. A terrific fire was thereupon kept up from Wagner, Gregg, and Sumter. On the first day, after the establishment of the third parallel, this fire became so severe that the advance was entirely checked; and grave apprehensions began to be entertained as to the possibility of pushing the approaches much farther under such formidable opposition.

But by this time General Gillmore was ready to suspend the approaches against Wagner; for he was now nearly prepared to fire over Wagner and reduce Sumter. Some difficulties about powder delayed him a day or two. Finally, on the 16th of August, he issued his orders to the several batteries for opening the bombardment in the morning. The navy was relied upon for assistance in keeping down the fire of Wagner upon the guns that were now so audaciously to pass over its ineffectual obstruction, and pour their bolts upon the fort it was meant to secure.

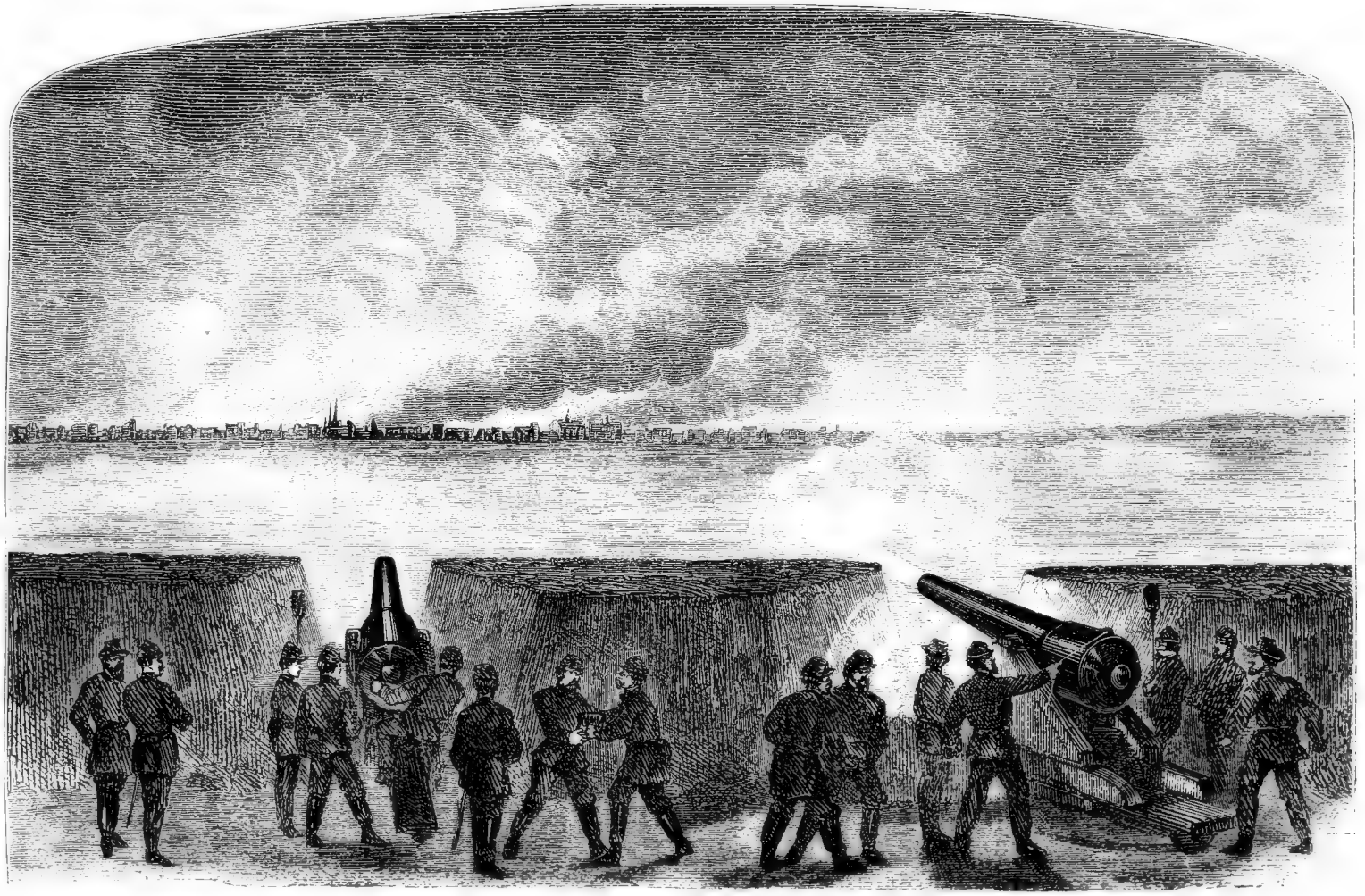
At daybreak the work began. Eighteen heavy rifles, throwing balls ranging from three hundred pounds weight down to eighty, opened upon the doomed fort. It kept up a gallant response; while from Wagner, Gregg, Sullivan's Island, and James's Island came a converging fire of fearful severity, intended to destroy the breaching batteries. The navy moved up and did its share in striving to silence the fire of Wagner. From the 17th to the 23d the bombardment went steadily on. Sometimes the batteries in the second parallel were compelled to turn upon the pertinacious garrison of Wagner, whose fire indeed came very near dismounting several of the most valuable guns. Once or twice these batteries were for a time completely silenced. But none were seriously injured, and by the 21st the result was already plain. Great gaps were rent in the wall of the haughty fortress that had played so conspicuous a part in the war; the barbette guns were mainly dismounted; casements were shattered, and the exposed faces of the fort began to present the appearance of shapeless ruins.

At this juncture General Gillmore felt warranted in calling upon General Beauregard for a surrender of Sumter and the whole of Morris Island. "The present condition of Fort Sumter," he said, "and the rapid and progressive destruction which it is undergoing from my batteries, seem to render its complete demolition within a few hours a matter of certainty" He added the startling warning that if compliance with this demand were refused, or indeed if no reply was made within four hours, he should open fire on the city of Charleston from batteries already established within easy and effective range of the heart of the city! General Beauregard, it would seem, considered this an idle boast. At any rate, taking advantage of the fact that in the haste of preparation, in the midst of the bombardment, General Gillmore had forgotten to affix his signature to the fair copy of his letter which the clerk had made out for transmission, he chose—notwithstanding the date of the letter at Gillmore's headquarters, and its official delivery under flag of truce by an officer of his staff—to consider it an informal and irresponsible communication, and to return it.

True to the promise, a little after midnight the citizens of Charleston were startled by the explosion of a heavy incendiary shell in the lower portion of the city adjacent to the battery, among the residences of the wealthiest and most aristocratic class. Another and another followed in quick succession, and the terror of the city presently rose to a frantic height. Hitherto she had watched the contest in her harbor from afar Now, at last, at the most unexpected moment, and from an utterly mysterious quarter, came the shells of the Avenger, bursting in her streets and shattering her costly habitations.

But whence came they? General Gillmore was away beyond Fort Sumter, his heavy batteries nearly two and a half miles from that work, and scarcely less than eight from the city. The navy ventured no nearer. The Confederate line of defenses stretched beyond Sumter. Whence came these ill-omened messengers, bursting through a line that for eighteen months had held armies and great fleets at bay?

General Beauregard did not know, when he scornfully returned General Gillmore's warning, that through all the energy of the engineering and artillery



GILLMORE SHELLING CHARLESTON.

combat on Morris Island, the latter had been carrying on a distinct experiment far off to his left, in the oozy marsh, abandoned as impracticable by the troops of either side. As early as the 15th of July, reconnoissances had been made to ascertain whether there was any possibility of making this semi-fluid mud, over which men could not march, sustain a gun of ten tons weight, within shelling distance of Charleston. The mud was found even deeper and more treacherous than had been expected. It was so soft that the weight of the iron sounding-rod would carry it down half the depth by its own weight, and it varied in depth from eighteen to twenty-three feet. A plank thrown down on its surface would shake it for hundreds of square yards around as if it had been jelly. On this surface experiments were conducted to discover its sustaining power. For it was an essential element of the plan that the gun must be mounted without any use of obvious expedients like the common pile-driver; since these would inevitably disclose the attempt and bring down the enemy. Finally, a bed of round logs was laid down directly on the surface of the mud. Across these, at right angles, was placed another layer of logs, bolted down to those below The interstices were filled with sand. On this foundation was built up a massive parapet of sand-bags. The platform for the gun was given a totally separate foundation. Through both layers of logs a rectangular opening had been left of the proper size for the platform. This was now shut in by a circumference of sheathing piles forced down, by the exertions of the soldiers themselves, to the bottom of the mud. Within the space thus inclosed the mud was covered with layers of the long, coarse grass which grew over the marsh. When this was thoroughly trampled down, two thicknesses of heavy tarpaulins were spread over it. Upon these in turn was placed a layer of sand, well rammed down, and fifteen inches thick. In this was laid a flooring of three-inch pine plank. Across these two more layers of similar flooring were placed, and on the last was built the platform for the gun. Thus the parapet and the gun were independent. If the jar of the gun's recoil should cause its foundation to sink, the parapet would stand. Through all manner of practical difficulties these arrangements were completed, and when Beauregard chose to laugh at the threat to bombard Charleston, the shaking marsh over which his soldiers had not thought it worth while to venture, suddenly cast forth fire.*

*General Beauregard complained of this bombardment of Charleston as without sufficient notice and unprecedented, saying to Gillmore that it would "give him a bad eminence in history, even in the history of this war," and dwelling on the fact that he was absent from his headquarters when Gillmore's note was received. This, Gillmore responded, might "be regarded as an unfortunate circumstance for the city of Charleston," but he insisted that it was one for which he was not responsible. He called Beauregard's attention to the well-established principle that "the commander of a place attacked but not invested, having its avenues of escape open and practicable, has no right to expect any notice of an intended bombardment, other than that which is given by the threatening attitude of his adversary. If, under the circumstances, the life of a single non-combatant is exposed to peril by the bombardment of the city, the responsibility rests with those who have first failed to remove the non-combatants or secure the safety of the city, after having held control of all its approaches for a period of nearly two years and a half, in the presence of a threatening force, and who afterward refused to accept the terms upon which the bombardment might have been postponed." Only thirty-six shots, however, were fired from this

It was on the 21st that this marsh battery opened. The bombardment of Sumter over the heads of the garrison in Wagner continued till, on the 24th, General Gillmore was able to report as the result of the seven days' work "the practical demolition of Fort Sumter." The barbette fire of the fort, which the navy had specially dreaded, was completely destroyed. Not a mounted gun was left in serviceable condition. The walls were battered into ruins; the interior of the fort was half filled up with the shattered brick; the casemates were battered; and but a single serviceable gun remained in the fort. It owed its safety to the fact that it was on the city side and pointed, not down but up the channel. And this had been done from a distance of over two miles, in the face of the *dictum* of the books that breaching efforts must be limited to about two-thirds of a mile, and in defiance of the intervening and powerful Rebel earthworks, over which the fire was delivered.

And now comes the gloomy ending of the story—the frittering away of great opportunities.

We have seen that at the outset the navy held Fort Sumter to be the key of Charleston harbor. With it reduced, they would have no fear of their ability to remove the channel obstructions and lay their ships alongside the wharves of the city. Fort Sumter was now practically reduced. Its offensive power was destroyed; it could not bring a gun to bear upon the ironclads as they should steam up; it was solely an infantry outpost. But at this auspicious moment there sprung up an ill-omened series of excuses for protracted delays.

On the night of the 21st Admiral Dahlgren proposed to attack. In the morning he signalled Gillmore that the attack was unavoidably postponed, but that he would go up the next night. Gillmore replied, assuring him that, even in daylight, the fort could not fire a gun at him. The Admiral replied that his fear was no longer of Sumter but of Moultrie! That night he would attack if the weather would permit. Next morning it was reported that the weather had been so foggy that little could be done. Then, on the evening of the 23d General Gillmore gave the navy formal notice that the offensive power of Sumter was destroyed. Till the 26th the navy would seem to have remained torpid. Then the Admiral proposed to "operate on the obstructions," and asked for the renewal of Gillmore's fire on Sumter. He did not fear heavy guns from the fort, he said, but wanted "to keep down the fire of small guns." But, alas! next morning came the notice, "My attempt to pass the forts last night was frustrated by the bad weather, but chiefly by the setting in of a strong flood tide." And then, the next afternoon, "Not being able to complete my arrangements, I shall not move up to-night." And the next afternoon, "My chief pilot informs me a gale is coming on, and I am coming into the creek." The next afternoon—after six days and nights of time thus lost, came the announcement, "I shall move up again with the monitors to-night." But, five hours later, at nine in the evening, there came a change: "It has just been reported that Sum-

battery, or "Swamp Angel," as the soldiers loved to call it, when the gun burst. Firing on Charleston was not resumed till after the fall of Wagner and Gregg.

ter has fired several shots to-day, and operations were based on the supposition that Sumter was silenced. My movement is postponed."

To this Gillmore responded: "Sumter has not fired a shot to-day. My look-out, who has been on the watch all day, is positive on this point." Then, again, an hour later, "The officer commanding the trenches kept several men on the look-out all day, in order to warn his men to cover whenever a gun is fired. He says Sumter has not fired to-day." But the doubting Admiral was of little faith: "Your look-out may be correct, but if he is in error, it would be fatal to my plans. My chief pilot, who was up the harbor to-day, reports that he saw guns mounted on Sumter, and that they were fired." Whereupon General Gillmore, still maintaining that no guns had even yet been remounted there, promised, nevertheless, to open a heavy fire on the ruins in the morning. The Admiral was rejoiced: "All your fire on Sumter materially lessens the great risk I incur." But he still took good care not to incur it. After the day's bombardment for which he had asked, we find him at eight forty-five in the evening, reaching this conclusion: "It is so rough that I shall not move up with the monitors to-night." And then, the next morning: "I understand from my chief pilot that you will be able, day after to-morrow, to open and sustain a heavy fire on Sumter. I shall, therefore, postpone, at least for to-night, an intended movement."

Eight days of precious time had now been consumed in half-hearted preparations to move, abandoned each night almost as soon as formed, in fright at the ghost of artillery firing from the ruined fort. Meantime the gallant little garrison that still clung to the ruins had improved its opportunity by remounting four or five small guns on the heaps of shattered brick and mortar where once had been the parapet. On September 1st General Gillmore opened once more, and by noon was able to report that three of these guns were disabled, and the remaining one or two soon would be. The Admiral was overjoyed: "I now intend to be in action to-night if nothing prevents." And so at last he went up. On his return General Gillmore eagerly sought to know if Sumter had offered any resistance—to the extent, even of firing a single gun—to this naval attack that, with Sumter silenced, was to sweep up to the city wharves. The Admiral was too much exhausted with his labors to reply, but his signal officer answered, "Not to my knowledge."*

Ten days had now passed since Sumter had been effectively silenced. The golden moments were flitting fast. In all his official or private statements on the subject General Gillmore has cautiously avoided censure; but it is evident enough that he had now despaired of the navy.† With Sumter out of the way

*Correspondence between General Gillmore and Admiral Dahlgren; Eng. and Art. Operations against Charleston, pp. 322 to 332.

† In his report General Gillmore says: "The period during which the weakness of the enemy's interior defenses was most palpably apparent was during the ten or fifteen days subsequent to the 23d of August; and that was the time when success could have been most easily achieved by the fleet. The concurrent testimony of prisoners, refugees, and deserters represented the obstacles in the way as by no means insurmountable." And in a foot-note to these sentences he comments on any implication involved in Admiral Dahlgren's report to the effect that Fort

it was to have entered the harbor and laid the city under its guns. It had utterly failed; and, of course, the garrison in Sumter, which ensconced itself far below the exposed portions of the fort during fire, was ready enough to mount fresh guns at every opportunity. General Gillmore therefore resolved to push his operations against Wagner, complete the occupation of Morris Island, and so cover the channel with his guns in such manner that, with or without Sumter, the blockade would be perfect, and the navy could have the protection of the guns on the extreme point for whatever less hazardous undertaking it might still have spirit enough to adventure. And so we return to

The Conclusion of the Siege of Fort Wagner.—As an operation against Charleston, or against Sumter as preparatory to Charleston, it has now lost its importance; but it still possesses a scientific interest of its own, and in spite of the short-comings of the navy, it may still be made valuable.

During the bombardment of Sumter the approaches to Wagner had been steadily pushed, till the third and fourth parallels were opened. This brought the works up to a point where the island had narrowed to a width of only a hundred and sixty yards, while beyond it grew rapidly narrower still. One hundred yards in front ran a little ridge across the island, where in the earlier days of the siege the sharp-shooters from Wagner had been accustomed to post themselves. Here Gillmore determined to establish his fifth parallel. The position was carried at the point of the bayonet on the 26th of August.

Two hundred and forty yards in front stood Fort Wagner. The strip of the island yet to be crossed narrowed to a width of only twenty-five yards, over which in rough weather the sea swept into the swamp on the left. The sand was so shallow that it was with the utmost difficulty that the works could be constructed. The whole front was covered by the fort (many times wider than the island on the approach to it), which, subtending an angle of ninety degrees, fairly enveloped the head of the approaches with its fire. From James's Island on the left a flank fire was poured in, which grew more accurate and destructive the nearer the works approached. To push forward the sap on that narrow strip of shifting sand in the daytime proved impossible. In the night a brilliant harvest-moon made the difficulties almost as great. The men grew discouraged, and even to the most hopeful the prospect seemed gloomy.

But the mind of the commanding officer was of a temper that difficulties could not break. He was encountering a problem new to engineering science—

Wagner had still been in the way of the projected naval operations. He says: "The fleet in entering Charleston Harbor need not necessarily go within effective range of Wagner at all." And again: "Some days elapsed (after the silencing of Sumter) before any of its guns were mounted by the enemy at other points in the harbor. These were the decisive days, when the enemy was comparatively weak and unprepared, for he had no idea that an attempt would be made, or that if made, it would be successful, to demolish Sumter at the distance of two miles, and he was in no condition to meet such a result. The failure of the fleet to enter immediately after the 23d of August, whether unavoidable or otherwise, gave the enemy an opportunity, doubtless much needed, to improve their interior defenses." And he adds, somewhat maliciously: "Of the actual strength of these improvements we had no reliable information, as they were never tested or encountered by the iron-clads." Report (N. Y. Edition), pp. 65, 66.

to conduct siege approaches over a *terrain* too narrow to admit of parallels. As he had believed that artillery could be made to do more than the books allowed, so now he conceived approaches possible without the conditions which the books required. Moreover, he found the ground on his front mined and seamed with an ingenious system of torpedoes. The discovery which alarmed the soldiers quieted his own alarm. Over ground thus filled the enemy would not dare to make sorties; and thus the only vital danger against which he could not now protect himself was averted.

Now, therefore, he determined to devote the whole power of his enormous artillery strength on two objects. With a curved fire from siege and Coehorn mortars he would so search with exploding shells the interior of the fort before him as to silence its guns, and drive its garrison to the bomb-proof for shelter. With his powerful rifles he would strive to breach the bomb-proof itself. The conditions for a successful assault would then, beyond question, be secured.

On the morning of September 5th these final operations were inaugurated. For the forty-two hours next following there was presented a spectacle of such sublimity in war as had never before been witnessed on the continent. Seventeen mortars unceasingly puffed out, on their curved tracks, the great globes of metal that, falling and bursting within the fort, scattered destruction throughout its limits. Thirteen of the heaviest rifles—three hundred-pounders, two hundred-pounders, one hundred-pounders—none less—sent their whirling bolts into the sand that covered the bomb-proof. Besides the track of the rifle balls beneath the curve of the mortar shells, the pioneers pushed on the sap, and the guards manned the zigzag trenches, to which, in lieu of parallels, they were now reduced. From the sea the Ironsides sent skimming in over the water in graceful ricochet, an incessant stream of eleven-inch shells that slowly took their last bound over the parapet of the fort, and exploded above the heads of its defenders. When the beleaguered garrison looked to nightfall for relief, powerful calcium lights from the parallels turned night into day; and amid a brilliancy that left the assailants in gloom, and illuminated the minutest details of the fort, the terrific bombardment went on.

In a few hours the fort became absolutely silent. The sappers now pushed on their work like men delirious with a sudden freedom from great danger. The reliefs off duty exposed themselves fearlessly to view on the very *glacis* of the fort, climbed their parapets to watch the progress, explored the ground on their front to fish out torpedoes, approached the ditch and took a deliberate view of the fort and its surroundings. The sap was pushed by the south face of the fort, and it finally masked all the guns of the work save those of one flank. The Rebel batteries on James's Island and elsewhere were compelled to suspend their annoying flank fire; they could no longer trust the accuracy of their aim for the narrow limit that divided friend and foe.

Then, selecting the hour when low tide would give a broad beach on which to debouch the column, General Gillmore ordered an assault. But Wagner was not to be so taken. It had twice repelled gallant assaults with sad slaughter. It was now to fall without assault and without a blow. The movement was

ordered for nine o'clock on the morning of 7th September. But in the night deserters came in with the report that the Rebels were evacuating. When, at daybreak, the troops moved forward, they marched into Wagner unopposed.* The whole north end of the island was immediately occupied; the batteries were directed across that channel toward Sumter, and lastly toward the doomed city itself.

With this brilliant success General Gillmore's operations practically ended. He sought, indeed, to take possession of Sumter by a storming party sent over in boats, but Admiral Dahlgren had, without his knowledge, determined upon the same effort for the same night, and was unwilling that the two parties should co-operate under whatever officer present, naval or military, might have the highest rank. General Gillmore's party was accordingly withdrawn. The Admiral's failed. Then, when the little garrison improved its opportunities by mounting more guns, General Gillmore once more dismounted them for the navy. Finally, he even proposed to take up the harbor obstructions in boats with his land forces, if only then the Admiral could be induced to take in his iron-clads, when thus the open pathway for them was prepared. But by this time the dread of torpedoes in the channel, of fire from Moultrie and Johnson, of unknown and mysterious obstructions, had grown upon the naval commander, and nothing could be done. By and by the rifled guns were trained on Charleston, and the artillerists kept themselves in practice by shelling its aristocratic mansions. The army had accomplished its part of the programme, and all that lay within its power, and it rested.

To the brilliancy of the engineering and artillery exploits of General Gillmore in Charleston harbor, the whole world testifies. The General-in-Chief thought them worthy of such commendation as this in his Annual Report: "General Gillmore's operations have been characterized by great professional skill and boldness. He has overcome difficulties almost unknown in modern sieges. Indeed, his operations on Morris Island constitute a new era in the science of engineering and gunnery." The Department indorsed this praise by raising him to the rank of Major-General of volunteers. Not less emphatic was the admiring testimony of Professor Mahan, the General's old instructor in engineering at West Point, and a critic of siege operations not surpassed by any living military authority: "The siege of Fort Wagner forms a memorable epoch in the engineer's art, and presents a lesson fruitful in results. In spite of these obstacles; in spite of the shifting sand under him, over which the tide swept more than once during his advances; in spite of the succor and relief of the garrison from Charleston, with which their communications were free, General Gillmore addressed himself to his task with that preparedness for every eventuality, and that tenacity which are striking traits of his character. . . . This remarkable exhibition of skill and industry, the true and always successful tools with which the engineer works, is a triumph of American science of which the nation may well be proud; and General Gillmore, in the reduction of Fort Pulaski, the demolition of Sumter, and the capture of Wagner, has fairly

* Thirty-six pieces of artillery were found, most of them large.

earned the title of *Poliorcetes.*"* British and French military critics united in similar applause; while the estimate of the masses of his fellow countrymen may be fitly represented in this concluding paragraph from a leading editorial of the New York Tribune on the subject: "Pulaski, Somerset, the landing at Morris Island, the demolition of Sumter—WAGNER: 'The greatest is behind!' Whatever may be thought of the many deeds which may illuminate the sad story of this Great Rebellion, the capture of Wagner by General Gillmore will be regarded as the greatest triumph of engineering that history has yet recorded."

In all this praise there was justice. General Gillmore had accomplished brilliant results in the face of difficulties which military science had pronounced insuperable. In demolishing Sumter he had revolutionized all previous ideas as to the capacity of rifled artillery against masonry forts—obtaining a power at long ranges of which even Pulaski had not given a conception. In carrying his parallels up to Wagner on a front only one-eighth as wide as the front of the fort itself, under flank and reverse fire, he had at least greatly modified all previous ideas as to the conditions under which siege approaches are possible. He was pitted throughout against a skillful antagonist; for whatever was thought of General Beauregard's ability in the field, the Confederate authorities seemed to unite in regarding him as their ablest engineer.

But the achievements in Charleston harbor lacked the crown of final success. The harbor was not occupied; the city, on the capture and humiliation of which the Country had set its heart, was not taken. These circumstances are unimportant, as regards the verdict of the scientific world on the brilliancy of the actual performance. But they are of vital consequence as regards any proper estimate of the worth of that performance as a means to the accomplishment of what was sought to be done. Did General Gillmore so reduce the obstacles in the way that the navy could have entered the harbor and laid the treasonable city under its guns? The naval authorities say he did not. General Gillmore thinks he did.

It is his good fortune, however, since the close of the war, to be able to give a definite settlement to the question, by the testimony of the only competent witnesses.

When at last the city against which so many efforts had failed, fell without a blow, General Gillmore was once more in command of the Department of the South. He moved directly up the channel—himself a passenger on the second vessel that adventured upon the path which the naval officers thought so studded with horrors. Without encountering any accident or obstruction of note the vessel was laid alongside the wharves.

What then had stood in the way of the navy from the 23d of August, 1863, when the destruction of the offensive power of Sumter was complete? Admiral Dahlgren said, not specially Forts Moultrie and Johnson, against which, at

*The good Professor is an unsurpassed judge of engineering, but he might have left out his musty classics. The somewhat alarming title which he bestows upon General Gillmore means simply "the taker of cities." It was known in Greek literature as the surname of Demetrius, the son of Cassander, a fact which the Professor doubtless acquired from the Academy Plutarch.

least in the earlier stages of the campaign, he professed entire readiness to conduct his iron-clads. The channel obstructions he pronounced the real danger. But the channel obstructions seemed mythical, when Gillmore, sailing directly over their alleged locations, anchored before the city When had they been removed?

An interesting correspondence sprang up between General Gillmore and General Ripley, whom Beauregard had in command of Charleston. General Gillmore asked this question: "Was there anything except the shore batteries to prevent the passage of our fleet up to the city and above it (at the time of the demolition of Sumter) by the channel left open for and used by the blockade-runners at night?" General Ripley answered, "No." General Gillmore then asked: "What were the relative condition and efficiency of such obstructions and torpedoes as were used in Charleston harbor in the autumn of 1863, as compared with their condition in February, 1865, when the city came into our possession?" General Ripley answered: "The efficiency of the obstructions and torpedoes in the harbor was as great in January, 1865, as in the autumn of 1863. The torpedoes were more efficient just previous to the evacuation;" and he went on to say that the ideas prevailing in the fleet as to the dangerous nature of these obstructions were due to exaggerated reports purposely circulated by the defenders of the city The correspondence from which we have quoted is of some length, but it all goes to show that, in the estimation of the enemy themselves, the channel was practically free from any obstructions or torpedoes that ought to have delayed the passage of a fleet.*

Yet on these obstructions Admiral Dahlgren seems to rest the greater part of his delay—finally resulting in the abandonment of offensive operations. We think, therefore, that the navy is clearly responsible for the failure; that General Gillmore handsomely kept the promise made in Washington, and silenced the only opposition which the Navy Department then professed to dread; that the engineer and artillery operations on Morris Island opened the way for the navy to Charleston; and that only unsailor-like timidity prevented the squadron from entering it.†

After the surrender of Fort Wagner, on the 7th of September, 1863, General Gillmore did little before Charleston, beyond the renewed fire on Sumter, which the navy requested, and the shelling of the city

But in February, 1864, having an available force of five thousand to six thousand, which could be spared from the works in the harbor, he forwarded

* To this emphatic testimony should be added the statement of General Elliott, who was in command of Sumter from the 4th of September. He said to General Gillmore, after the close of the war, that there were no mounted guns in the fort from the 23d of August until the ensuing October. This would seem to rebut Admiral Dahlgren's complaints about the fire from Sumter as emphatically as General Ripley's statement does his complaint about the channel obstructions.

† Of course there is no design in the above sentences to reflect on the many gallant officers in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. On Admiral Dahlgren rests the full responsibility of the delay. Nor is there any disposition to question the skill or courage of that officer. But he lacked the warlike disposition that was required in the post he filled; and would have been better employed at his old work—casting great iron smooth-bores at the Washington Navy Yard.

them to Florida, to occupy a portion of the interior of the State. A double motive prompted the disastrous little campaign thus inaugurated. A large supply of beef cattle found its way, over roads which General Gillmore now proposed to cut, from the interior of Florida to the commissariat of the Confederate armies. And a large tract of country seemed open to occupation, over which Mr. Lincoln was very anxious to establish the National authority, with reference to the approaching Presidential election. General Gillmore's plan was to occupy Jacksonville, push up to Baldwin, the junction of the two railroads of Florida, and fortify and hold it. He accompanied the column until Baldwin was occupied. Then, giving directions for the fortification of both places, he returned to South Carolina.

Thereupon General Seymour decided upon an advance toward some important roads beyond Olustee, to the Suwanee River—a movement directly across the peninsula, in a country where the enemy could concentrate two to his one. He encountered General Finnegan, of the Rebel army, with a force not quite equal to his own, near Olustee.* But he was in marching order—only the head of his column was up—and he was disastrously defeated. General Gillmore, in reporting the matter, simply quoted the written orders he had given. The movement was in direct violation of them.

No vindication, however, was needed. Nothing could be more unlike his habitual caution and careful style of movements than the ill-advised advance, and the public indignation was never directed toward him. Mr. Lincoln himself, one of whose private Secretaries accompanied the march, with instructions looking to the registry and reorganization, was severely censured—with an intemperance which most of the journals concerned soon afterward saw reason to regret.

It was now evident that the navy would make no adequate effort to enter Charleston Harbor, and that, by consequence, operations there were practically ended. Chafing at the enforced idleness in which he was thus compelled to be a mere spectator of the great campaigns, which, under the stimulus of Grant's recent appointment to the Lieutenant-Generalship, were then being organized, General Gillmore applied to be ordered, with the Tenth Corps (then a part of the force in his Department), to some other theater of war. He thus voluntarily gave up his position as an independent Department Commander; and, as it soon turned out, exchanged it for a subordinate place under one of Grant's immediate subordinates, in which he was speedily to encounter a dangerous hostility. He was ordered to Fortress Monroe, to report to General Butler, then

* Finnegan had about the same number of infantry as Seymour; but he had only four pieces of artillery, while Seymour had sixteen.

Gillmore's order to Seymour said: "I want your command at and beyond Baldwin concentrated at Baldwin without delay." After the receipt of this, Seymour wrote to Gillmore that he proposed to move clear across the peninsula to the Suwanee River. Gillmore at once sent peremptory orders forbidding such madness, but before the messenger sent post-haste with the orders could reach him, he had fought and lost Olustee—losing two thousand out of his five thousand men. The battle displayed conspicuously his personal bravery and his amazing incapacity.

about to move up the James against Richmond and Petersburg, in co-operation with Grant's advance through the Wilderness.

On the 4th of May General Gillmore reported with the Tenth Army Corps at Fortress Monroe. The next day he moved up the James, in rear of General W F Smith's corps, and on the night of the 5th both corps landed at Bermuda Hundred. On the 6th they advanced to the line stretching from the James to the Appomattox, and established themselves across the neck of the peninsula inclosed within the bends of the two rivers. No enemy had thus far been encountered. Before them, within easy striking distance, lay Petersburg. But the next day was spent in an unimportant reconnoissance; the next seems to to have passed inactively, and it was not until the evening of the 8th that General Butler ordered the troops out to the railroad between Petersburg and Richmond. Already, however, there would seem to have sprung up an asperity of manner in the intercourse between the commander and his distinguished subordinate. In ordering the movement upon the railroad, General Butler chose to use this language: "The enemy are in front with cavalry (five thousand men), and it is a disgrace that we are cooped up here. This movement will commence at daylight to-morrow morning, and is imperative. Answer if you have received this order, and will be ready to move."

The order was promptly obeyed. The enemy was now met, for the first time, but in spite of his resistance, the road was torn up, and the advance was pushed forward to Swift Creek, a short distance in front of Petersburg. Here the line of the creek was found to be held by the enemy in some force, and there appeared to be no available crossing. Under these circumstances, Generals Gillmore and Smith, supposing the object of the movement to be an advance upon Petersburg, united in a note to General Butler, advising that the army draw back from Swift Creek, cross the Appomattox, swing around to the south of Petersburg, cut all the railroads, and enter the city. They submitted that all this could be accomplished in one day, that the route was easy, and that there was no probability of severe losses. General Butler's reply was—to say the least—tart: "While I regret an infirmity of purpose which did not permit you to state to me, when I was personally present, the suggestion which you make in your written note, I shall yield to the written suggestions, which imply a change of plan, made within thirty minutes after I left you. Military affairs can not be carried on, in my judgment, with this sort of vacillation."

From this point we must date the open appearance of the personal hostility which subsequently led to General Gillmore's leaving the Department. It must be confessed that the documents embraced in the official reports exhibit no sufficient justification for the tone General Butler had chosen to adopt. He had not explained his plans to his Corps Commanders. They imagined that he was seeking to isolate Petersburg. Having cut the connection with Richmond, and having then encountered a formidable line of defense, they thought it wiser to draw away from this, swing southward and cut the other connections. General Butler doubtless somewhat influenced by the natural jealousy between a vol-

unteer commander and regular army subordinates, preferred to regard this suggestion as offensive. He rebuked it in a manner which necessarily limited future intercourse with his Corps Generals to the dryest official forms, and which effectually cut him off from any probability of receiving further advice from these experienced officers in the conduct of the campaign. The evils that resulted are not far to seek.

When General Butler landed at Bermuda Hundred he could have marched into Petersburg almost without firing a gun. When, three days later, he advanced, the capture of Petersburg was still within his power—possibly by the approach over Swift Creek, which he seemed to wish—certainly and easily by the movement which Generals Gillmore and Smith suggested. But he was misled, as he states, by his information from General Grant, into the belief that his demonstration ought to be toward Richmond, rather than Petersburg. And in the same way he was led to believe that General Kautz's cavalry had already cut the railroads below Petersburg.*

So, after his tart note to his Generals, he ordered the troops back from Swift Creek, for a demonstration on Richmond. But he conducted this so slowly that, beginning on the morning of the 10th, he only had his troops back in their intrenchments at Bermuda Hundred the next morning. There, for the whole day, they lay inactive; and it was not till the evening of the 12th that they moved out toward Richmond and confronted the fast-gathering Rebel force under Beauregard† at Proctor's Creek. Meantime, in the withdrawal, a portion of General Gillmore's command had fallen into a sharp little engagement. Colonel Voris of the Sixty-Seventh Ohio, commanding a detachment from Terry's division, had been suddenly attacked and almost overpowered. Re-enforcements were speedily sent in, and the enemy was driven back with an acknowledged loss of nearly three hundred. They had taken two pieces of artillery from Colonel Voris, which were recaptured. The action had a horrible ending. The shells fired the woods, and a large number of the enemy's dead and wounded were consumed in the flames.

But now, on the evening of the 12th, Beauregard stood across the path of the proposed demonstration on Richmond at Proctor's Creek. General Butler's orders here were judicious. He directed Gillmore to move off to the left (westward) and turn the flank of Beauregard's intrenched line. This flank was found on the commanding eminence of Wooldridge's Hill, half a mile west of the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad. Gillmore left a detachment on the railroad to assault the line then in front, so soon as the sound of his guns should give notice of his attack on the flank. These dispositions made the enemy apprehensive. The storming party sent against the hill was repulsed, but before another could be sent up it was seen that the enemy was rapidly evacuating.

* General Butler's reply to joint note of Generals Gillmore and Smith, dated Head-quarters Dept. of Va. and N. C., Bermuda Hundred, May 9, 1864.

† The Rebels were taken by surprise by Gillmore's departure from Charleston; and, even with the advantage of railroads, had not begun to detach their surplus troops thence until after his landing at Bermuda Hundred. But the inconsequential movements that followed gave Beauregard the needed time, and now he was up with the bulk of his command.

Gillmore thereupon moved into the deserted intrenchments, and following them down (eastward) toward the James River, had occupied over a mile of the Rebel works when the night fell. Next morning he moved still further toward Drury's Bluff, whither the enemy's concentration tended, occupying a mile and a half more of the intrenchments, and forming a junction with the rest of Butler's army, which had been moving up on the front. The line then moved forward, the enemy gradually falling back to his main line in front of Drury's Bluff. Thus the 14th and even the 15th were spent, with no more vigorous efforts than skirmishing. General Butler had proposed to assault on the 15th, but he had so disposed his line that the requisite force was not at hand, and the assault was postponed till the 16th. By that time Beauregard was ready to take matters out of his hands.

The morning of 16th May was damp and foggy Before daylight there came bursting through the fog a fierce fire of artillery and musketry upon the long thin line of General W F Smith's corps. Between the end of this line and the James River lay a stretch of over a mile of open country, covered only by a picket of one hundred and fifty cavalry Through this also Beauregard sought to break; while another assault was shortly after delivered upon one of Gillmore's divisions, far to the left.

At the first alarm, General Butler awoke to the perils of his thin, ill-protected line. He hastily sent orders to Gillmore to assault on his front, and thus relieve the attack that was bursting with such fury on Smith's front and flank. With the characteristic deliberation of the engineer, Gillmore replied that he would as soon as the troops were ready. Meantime the attack, already mentioned, on one of his own divisions, had just been received and repulsed. While the troops were—not very rapidly as General Butler thought—getting ready for the assault he had ordered, this division had received two more attacks, and Gillmore was become apprehensive. An hour had elapsed since Butler had hastily sent his order to assault instantly; and we now find Gillmore writing: "The assaults on General Terry's front (in his corps) were in force. If I move to the assault and meet with a repulse, our loss would be fearful." Half an hour later he writes again: "I have just heard the report that General Brooks's right (of Smith's corps) is turned, and a twenty-pounder battery taken. I am ready to assault, but shall wait until I hear from you, as I may have to support Smith. Please answer soon." Presently the note came back with this indorsement: "No truth in report. Send reply, and use discretion as to assault. B. F. B." He used the discretion by still delaying. Then came orders to move by the right flank—the object being to shorten the line, and concentrate upon the point where Smith was so heavily assailed. By thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock Gillmore was able to send word that his whole command was in motion as directed—but not until renewed and anxious orders to that end had been received.

He now decided, in the exercise of the discretion which General Butler's note had granted him, to make an attack upon the enemy's flank and rear with Terry's and Turner's divisions. But while the troops were beginning the en-

gagement, word came from Butler of Smith's having to fall back, and of the danger about the line of retreat, unless Gillmore hastened to cover it. Presently the anxiety about the road back to the intrenchments became greater. "If you don't reach the pike at once," wrote Butler, "we must lose it. Press strongly. This is peremptory. We will lose turnpike unless you hurry."

Two hours after the issue of this final order Gillmore reached the turnpike. The army at once retired to the intrenchments of Bermuda Hundred. On the 20th Gillmore's pickets were driven in, and a part of his rifle-pits taken. The men rallied, however, and the enemy was finally driven out with considerable loss.* On June 9th General Gillmore was ordered, with the inadequate force of four thousand men, to make a reconnoissance of Petersburg and burn the bridge there over the Appomattox. He found the enemy in strong force in front of the bridge, behind earthworks. On the other side were strong works, with artillery sweeping the approaches. Doubting his ability to carry the works in front, and believing that, even if they were carried, it would still be impossible to burn the bridge under the fire from the other side, General Gillmore retired without attack.

On his return he was relieved from the command of his corps, and ordered to report at Fortress Monroe. General Grant, hearing of this, and doubting whether Gillmore had been justly treated, ordered him out of Butler's command altogether.

The justice of these measures has since been the subject of acrimonious dispute between the friends of the respective Generals. We do not propose to add much to the discussion. It is plain that, whatever may have been General Butler's dislike of General Gillmore's military performance, his feelings against him were much aggravated by the publication of a letter from Chaplain Hudson, of Gillmore's command, wherein Butler's indefensible conduct of the unlucky battle of Drury's Bluff was severely criticised. Butler accused Gillmore with having inspired the letter. Gillmore averred that he knew nothing whatever of it until he saw it in print.†

Aside from this, Butler's complaints against Gillmore were of general slowness and apparent unwillingness in the execution of orders, and particularly of the return from Petersburg without firing a gun in any attempt to execute his orders.

Now these complaints touch upon a general truth, which should have been remembered by the authorities that assigned two such officers of engineers as Gillmore and Smith to command under a volunteer officer like Butler.

The business of engineers is to devise means for making war safely. When in command of troops they rarely abandon the ideas of their old profession. They accustom themselves to look critically upon the orders even of officers

*The losses in this affair were seven hundred and two; in the previous fighting on the lines about Drury's Bluff, three thousand three hundred and eighty-seven.

†The Chaplain was known to literary men as the editor of a popular edition of Shakspeare. Butler kept him imprisoned for some months. The Chaplain charged that he was treated with gross cruelty. The matter was finally carried to Grant, and was thought to have something to do with Butler's removal.

whom, by the West Point standards, they conclude to be skillful; and it rarely happens that they do not act as a check rather than a spur upon the prosecution of an aggressive campaign. Under officers of whose capacity to conduct war scientifically they have doubts, their honest hesitation to execute orders which seem to them to offer only a wanton waste of life, often appears to their commanders to approach the verge of insubordination. It was so with Warren at Five Forks. In a less marked degree, and without complaint from his commander, it was so with McPherson at the outset of the Atlanta campaign. It was so with Weitzel (with reference to Grant's orders) at Fort Fisher. And it was so with Gillmore and Smith in the operations we have been tracing.

At the outset they were cautious. Accustomed to reason upon large operations, they concluded that Butler's intention must be to take Petersburg, and they took the responsibility of telling him what they thought the easiest and safest way to do it. General Butler apparently looked upon this as unwarrantable interference, administered a sharp rebuke, and thus insured his deprivation of assistance from their sound judgments and skilled comprehension of topographical difficulties again. They considered his line before the enemy, near Drury's Bluff, as too long, ill-supported, and without reserves; and General Gillmore took the liberty of protesting against it. General Butler neglected the warning, and regarded the author of it with an evil eye. In the ensuing battle General Gillmore was undoubtedly slow in obeying orders—the slower possibly because he could not fail to see the little wisdom that controlled some of them. His subsequent hesitation before the bridge at Petersburg was amply vindicated by the events of the campaign that followed.

On the whole we may conclude that General Gillmore was harshly judged, because of the course which his engineering bias had led him to adopt from the outset; and that if he committed any errors, they were the natural errors of the engineer, who is unwilling to sacrifice lives, if he sees any way by which he can accomplish the end without such sacrifice.

Soon after General Grant had rescued Gillmore from the enforced idleness to Fortress Monroe, to which General Butler ordered him, and had sent him at Washington, Early made his advance through Maryland upon the capital. Gillmore was at once seized upon, and placed in command of two divisions of the Nineteenth Corps the moment they arrived. While leading these in pursuit of Early, three days after assuming the command, he was severely injured by the fall of his horse, and was necessarily relieved. He remained on leave of absence from 16th July to 21st August, 1864.

When he was able to report for duty again, Mr. Lincoln was sorely harassed by the disputes and quarrels of the manufacturers of great guns with each other and with the authorities of the War and Navy Departments. Mr. Horatio Ames had constructed a wrought-iron rifled gun which neither Department was willing to adopt. He defied them to burst it, and claimed for it far greater durability and longer range than could be attained with any gun in the service. Mr. Lincoln finally thought that General Gillmore's great experience with rifled

guns, made him the highest authority on the subject in the army, and ordered him to act as President of a Board for testing it. In this capacity he acted through the months of September, October, and November.

The experiments were careful and severe. One of them was to load an imperfect fifty-pounder gun with sixteen pounds of powder and a three hundred-pound bolt, with the view of bursting it. This charge failed to injure it. Then twenty pounds of powder were used, and a four hundred and fifty-pound bolt. This caused the gun to recoil thirty feet, and sent the bolt through two mounds of earth ten and twelve feet thick respectively, and then eighty rods beyond. Finally, the gun was loaded with twenty pounds of powder and a two hundred-pound bolt, so inserted that the end of the bolt projected an inch beyond the muzzle of the gun. Against this projecting end was firmly placed a block of cast-iron weighing two thousand eight hundred pounds. The gun recoiled sixty feet. The cast-iron block, 36 inches $\times$ 20 $\times$ 20, went through a bank of earth twelve feet thick, and flew forty feet beyond it. The gun seemed absolutely uninjured, and the attempts to burst it were abandoned.

The process of manufacturing this remarkable gun is simple. It is built up of disks and rings of wrought-iron, separately heated and welded together. Two disks are first welded for the breech. Against these other disks are welded, until a sufficient length of breech is obtained. Then rings are welded on wide enough to give the requisite size of bore, one after another being added until the desired length is attained. The gun is then bored out and rifled, the vent is drilled, and trunnions are screwed into the sides for mounting it. General Gillmore's report, finally made, was favorable, but the great expense of the gun has hitherto been urged as a sufficient reason for refusing to adopt them in the service.

At the close of this work, Gillmore was appointed Acting Inspector-General of Fortifications for the Military Division of the West Mississippi. The months of December, 1864, and January, 1865, were spent in a tour of inspection, which extended from Cairo, Illinois, to Pensacola, Florida.

At last the Government decided to return General Gillmore to the department in which his fame had been won, and in which his administration had been more satisfactory than that of any predecessor or successor.

On the 30th of January the appointment was made; on the 9th of February he assumed command. Nine days later, leaving the navy afar off at the outer bar to watch his adventurous course, he steamed up in a transport, over the obstructions they had found so formidable, entered the harbor, and, anchoring at the half-rotten wharves, occupied without opposition the city so long the object of so much hate and so many attacks. He had made its capture possible eighteen months before; it was fitting now that he should be privileged first to enter and take possession.

He continued in the command of his large department, uninstructed as to the changes which the sudden coming of peace upon the land might involve,

until the reorganization of the military departments. Meantime he reduced the entire region to order. He established provost courts in every town in Georgia and South Carolina, associating the local magistrates with his officers in the discharge of judicial duties. After thus giving an efficient government for immediate purposes, to the country under his command, he addressed an elaborate letter to the authorities at Washington, recommending the policy of establishing for some time a military government over the seceded States

After the re-assignment of departments, he was given the command of South Carolina. His rule here was judicious and acceptable. He had little taste, however, for such military duties in time of peace. At his own request he was mustered out of the volunteer service, and assigned to the old familiar work in the Corps of Engineers. He bore back with him to his grade in this brilliant corps the clustering honors of the four highest brevets in the regular army, in reward for his achievements during the war.

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, United States Army, "For gallant and meritorious conduct at the capture of Fort Pulaski, April 11, 1862."

Brevet Colonel, United States Army, "For gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Somerset, Kentucky, March 31, 1863."

Brevet Brigadier-General, United States Army, "For gallant and meritorious services in the assault on Morris Island, July 10, 1863."

Brevet Major-General, United States Army, "For gallant and meritorious conduct in the capture of Forts Wagner and Gregg, and the demolition of Fort Sumter."

General Gillmore's military standing is clearly defined by his career during the war. He never displayed remarkable merits as a leader of troops in the open field. He was a good, but not a brilliant, corps General. If he committed no grave faults, on the other hand he never shone conspicuous above those that surrounded him. He was prudent, judicious, circumspect, not dashing, scarcely enterprising. It is only fair to add that he was never tried on a large scale or under favorable circumstances.

But in his proper province as an engineer and artillerist, he was as bold as in the field he was cautious. He ignored the limitations of the books. He accepted theories that revolutionized the science, and staked his professional standing on great operations based upon them. He made himself the first artillerist of the war. If not also the foremost engineer, he was second to none; and in the boldness and originality of his operations against Wagner, he surpassed any similar achievements, not only in this war, but in any war; so that now, notwithstanding the more varied professional operations around Richmond, and Atlanta, and Vicksburg, when men speak of great living engineers, they think as naturally of Gillmore in the New World as of Todleben in the Old.

General Gillmore is among the handsomest officers of the army. He is above the medium height, heavily and compactly built, with a broad chest and general air of physical solidity His features (shaded, not concealed, by his full beard) are regular and expressive. The face would be called a good-humored

one, the head is shapely, and the forehead broad and high.* He speaks with nervous quickness, the more noticeable because of a slight peculiarity in the enunciation that gives a suggestion of his having sometimes lisped or stammered. He is an excellent talker, and is familiar with a wide range of subjects outside of his profession. In social life he appears as an elegant and accomplished gentleman. He was often remarked during the war for his apparent indifference to physical danger. His head-quarters on Morris Island were pitched under fire, and his soldiers used to tell of him that during the slow siege approaches he often whiled away the tedium by reading novels or magazines while the enemy's shells were bursting in inconvenient proximity.

His personal affiliations at Washington have been mostly with Republicans, but he inclines a little to conservatism in his political views. He was never very emphatic in his approval of the policy of negro recruiting; and his relations with Colonel Higginson, of Massachusetts, who commanded a negro regiment in his department, were scarcely kind. He sustained General Saxton in all his efforts for the good of the refugees on the Sea Islands, but it was known that he did not fully agree with that earnest and humane officer in his belief in the enlarged capacities of the negro race.

Long after the close of the war, General Gillmore was still a widower. His four boys were at West Point, under the care of their maternal grandparents. He had bought the old farm on which he was born, and had converted it into a vineyard, which he still found time to visit on his occasional leaves of absence.

*Elsewhere I have described the General's personal appearance thus: "Fancy a fine wholesome-looking, solid six-footer, with big head, broad, good-humored face, and a high forehead, faintly elongated by a suspicion of baldness, curly brown hair and beard, and a frank, open face, and you have him. A quick-speaking, quick-moving, soldierly man he is." After the War, p. 131.

MAJOR-GENERAL IRVIN McDOWELL.

IRVIN McDOWELL, Brigadier and Brevet Major-General in the regular army, Major-General of volunteers, the earliest to occupy high command in the field at the East after the outbreak of the war, one of the best military scholars in the army, and one of the most unsuccessful of its officers, was born in the village of Franklinton, near Columbus, Ohio, on the 15th of October, 1818.

The McDowell's were of Scotch-Irish descent. They had been driven out of Scotland by the religious persecutions. Finding an asylum in the north of Ireland they remained there until shortly after the siege of Londonderry (in which they took part), and then emigrated to the United States, settling first in the valley of Virginia. Some of them, including the branch from which the future General sprang, removed thence to Kentucky Abram McDowell served through the war of 1812 in his uncle's regiment of Kentucky volunteers. At its close he removed to Ohio, and settled near Columbus. His wife, Eliza Lord, was a member of the Starling family, one of the most influential in that county. Mr. McDowell is still spoken of by old citizens of Columbus as a perfect specimen of the type of Kentucky gentlemen of the old school. But he was a victim to the convivial habits of those early times, and though he was always highly respected his last days were not happy. One other quality of his is described by those who remember him, which doubtless had much to do in shaping the character and history of his noted son. He was an intense aristocrat, priding himself on his culture, his social position, his refinement, and keeping haughtily aloof from the large mass whom he held to be beneath him. But he was never wealthy, and at one time was very much reduced in circumstances.

His son, Irvin McDowell, grew up a warm-hearted, affectionate, outspoken boy But little by little, home influence and educational advantages began to change these characteristics. He was at first sent to the Columbus schools, where his old playmates remember him as being such a lad as we have described above. Then a French teacher, who had spent some time in Columbus, prevailed on Mr. McDowell to send his boy abroad for an education, and finally succeeded in taking young Irvin with him to Paris. The boy remained in a French school for a year or more. When he returned to his native country his father had procured for him a warrant for West Point, where he was accordingly admitted in 1834.

On his return from France his playmates had observed the beginning of a change in his free, warm-hearted ways. At West Point the repressing influence seems to have continued. Socially he stood among the first in the Academy;

but in his classes he did not rank so high. P. G. T. Beauregard was graduated second in that class; Irvin McDowell was as low down as the twenty-third. But between these noted names was but one which the country now recognizes—that of Wm. F. Barry, the able Chief of Artillery to the Army of the Potomac; while three places below McDowell was Wm. J Hardee, and two below him was R. S. Granger. Fellow-students in the Academy with McDowell were Braxton Bragg, Jubal Early, E. D. Townsend, B. H. Hill, Wm. H. French, John Sedgwick, John C. Pemberton, Joseph Hooker, and Wm. H. T. Walker, of the class above; and Henry W. Halleck, E. O. C. Ord, E. R. S. Canby, Wm. T. Sherman, George H. Thomas, R. S. Ewell, and H. G. Wright of those below him. Among these are some of the most noted leaders on both sides in the war of the rebellion.

On his graduation young McDowell was at once assigned to the Artillery, and ordered on duty on the Niagara frontier, where the "patriot difficulties" were then exciting apprehensions. These settled, he was next ordered to the north-eastern boundary, during the progress of the controversy with Great Britain as to the disputed territory. A short interval of recruiting duty followed; then he was again on the Maine frontier; finally, in 1841, he was sent back to West Point as Assistant Instructor in Infantry Tactics. Here he remained for the next four years—one year teaching Infantry Tactics, and the other three serving as Adjutant of the Academy.

Through this time he had grown to be a man of the world, reserved, formal, and polished. He had also devoted himself to the study of his profession, and had more than made up any of his deficiencies when a cadet.

Such was the favorable impression which he now made upon the leading officers of the army, that he was selected as an Aid-de-Camp on the personal staff of General Wool—one of the positions then reserved for the most promising and presentable of the younger officers. There thus began a long career of staff-duty (continued with few interruptions till the outbreak of the war of the rebellion) that gradually shaped the whole character of the man. Under its influence he became almost a martinet, rigid, precise, devoted to the routine methods, intolerant of innovations, little capable of accommodating himself to outside ideas. But he became at the same time thoroughly familiar with the whole theory of the art of war, and with the literature of his profession; while socially he was held to be one of the most polished and charming of men.

From October 6th, 1845, to May 13th, 1847, he was Aid-de-Camp to General Wool. At Buena Vista he behaved handsomely; and for "gallant and meritorious conduct" there he was brevetted Captain. On May 13th, 1847, he became Assistant Adjutant-General, first for General Wool's division; then, on December 9th, 1847, for the Army of Occupation, which last position he continued to hold till the end of the Mexican war.

In June and July, 1848, he was engaged in mustering out the volunteers as they returned from Mexico; then for a year he was kept on duty in the War Department. By this time General Scott had fixed upon him for one of his staff. He was now thirty years of age; and his mental habits began to be

settled. Under the immediate supervision of General Scott, they were not likely to change. He remained on staff-duty with the General-in-Chief of the army (with brief intervals of staff service with Albert Sidney Johnston and General Twiggs) until the outbreak of the war.* He was given, however, leave of absence for a year, which he spent in traveling in Europe. Through all this time he very rarely visited his old home. It was thought by his former associates that the shadow on the home circle had something to do with his absence, and that he had thus grown colder and more reserved. It had certainly shaped his own habits in an important particular; he was known among his comrades as the most faultlessly pure and temperate man in all things in the army. He never played cards; never joined the drinking bouts of his comrades; never tasted even wine with them, and abstained so rigorously from all stimulants that he never drank even tea or coffee.

When the war came, McDowell, now a Brevet Major, was on duty in the War Department. Secretary Chase, whose residence at Columbus while Governor of Ohio, had made him acquainted with his history, at once sought out the young Ohio officer. To every member of the Government military matters were a mystery. Yet a military system was a thing of instant demand. On Mr. Chase, far more than would have been expected from the nature of his office, fell the burden of organization. He has since repeatedly declared that he owed more to the clear head and admirable executive faculties of Major McDowell than to any other source. The Major was consulted about almost everything—about the calls for troops, the assignment of regular officers, the number of Generals needed for the new troops, the organization, pay—in a word, about the multifarious details of a complex military organism, into the midst of which the perplexed and bewildered authorities found themselves suddenly plunged. On Lieutenant-General Scott, as the nominal head of the army, everything depended. But the veteran was old and bowed down with infirmities; and he gladly left much to the vigorous and accomplished young officer who had been in his military family so long, and in whose professional knowledge he had learned to place confidence.

Thus trusted by the General at the head of the army, and consulted by the leading civil officers of the Government as authority on all matters concerning the war, McDowell had for the time, perhaps, the most potent influence exercised by any of our military men. He was found on all hands prompt, judicious, singularly clear-headed, and earnestly desirous to do whatever might aid the cause.

* For those who may desire an exact statement of his service, it may be added that from June, 1849, to January, 1851, he was with General Scott; from January to May, 1851, with General Clarke; from June, 1851, to March, 1853, with General Twiggs; from May, 1853, to November, 1856, with General Scott; from December, 1856, to May, 1857, with Albert Sidney Johnston in Texas; from June, 1857, to November, 1858, with General Scott; from November, 1858, to November, 1859, on leave of absence in Europe; from November, 1859, to January, 1860, with General Scott; from February to April, 1860, with Sidney Johnston; then as Inspector-General in Minnesota, Missouri, and Kansas, from September, 1860, to February, 1861; and, finally, sent by Scott, and practically under him to the War Department, whence he was taken in 1861 for the command of the army to invade Virginia.

Meanwhile at his old home diverse interests were busy with his fortunes. The Governor of Ohio was his relative by marriage, and was disposed to look on him, as they did at Washington, as among the best of our active soldiers. Governor Dennison at first—and indeed before he knew what rank such commander would require—proposed to appoint McDowell to the command of the Ohio contingent. He went so far as to inform him of this purpose. But about this time prominent gentlemen in Cincinnati began to urge upon him a Captain McClellan, whom he had once met in a railroad convention, and of whom army officers spoke highly. At first he hesitated; then, as the pressure from Cincinnati increased, and he was told more and more of Captain McClellan's standing in the army, he began to think his *prestige* greater than that of McDowell; and his appointment therefore likely to have a better effect upon the gathering forces. Furthermore McDowell seemed likely to be kept busy and provided for at Washington, while McClellan was not in the service at all, and his friends on the ground were earnest in urging that he be set to work. Under such influences McClellan was appointed, and the Governor wrote to McDowell, explaining his action and motives.

Just then, by McDowell's aid and generally in accordance with his suggestions, the War Department had issued its "General Order No. 15," prescribing certain features of the organization of volunteer troops. One of its provisions was that, save in the three months' service, the Governors of States should have no power to appoint officers above Colonels of regiments. In his reply to Governor Dennison he alluded to this regulation as one under which he was likely to be promoted, and generously recited the praises of the officer who had been preferred before him:

"I congratulate you on the credit which justly attaches to you for your appointment of McClellan to the chief command. Among all our graduates yet in the vigor of youth, he is of the first order. I say it in all sincerity, that though he has the place to which I aspired, the command of the troops of my native State (of which I am still a citizen), you have done better for the State, and better for the Country, than if you had adhered to your first intention of appointing me. Don't, therefore, take the trouble to say anything more about it. I know how you were placed, and can imagine your position, as well as if I had been present."

It was a generous spirit which McDowell thus displayed, and of which he was soon to give further evidence. It would have been fortunate, indeed, if he had been himself dealt with as unselfishly when McClellan came to exercise command near the Capital.

Within a few hours after this letter to Governor Dennison was written, General McClellan was, partly on McDowell's own recommendation, appointed to a Major-Generalship in the regular army General Scott had consulted with his old staff officer as to the young men in the army best suited for large promotion. McDowell named McClellan and Buell. Scott praised both. But he was doubtful about McClellan's youth. Others in the Government, greatly pleased by this time with the accomplished, willing, and very serviceable young officer, suggested that perhaps McDowell himself would do better for one of the Major-Generalships. From this he modestly shrank.

He was soon to find, indeed, that even less rapid promotion was to wor him and the country great injury Mr. Chase and Mr. Cameron were both s highly pleased with the ability and zeal shown by McDowell in all the con sultations and military arrangements into which they were plunged that the resolved on having him advanced to a position of higher influence. Accord ingly the same order that announced McClellan's promotion told that Brevet Major Irvin McDowell had been made a Brigadier-General in the regular army But the honor was attended with an ill omen. It excited the displeasure of th old and petulant General-in-Chief, and the army was full of traditions to th effect that no man in it could ever prosper who had once, by any accident aroused the hostility of Winfield Scott.*

It was understood that the promotion was secured by the Cabinet, witl reference to a command in the field, under the eye of his old chief. For Genera Scott had already been forced to abandon his opposition to hostile operations i Virginia, and his plan for sweeping down the Mississippi with a powerful forc to the Gulf. That the old strategist gave way with regret, may well be be lieved. But the popular demand for action was not to be resisted; the seces sion of Virginia was no longer doubtful, and the head and front of the Confed erate strength was there arraying itself. Thither it was already decided t send General McDowell. In a letter that day written we catch some glimpse of the temper in which he contemplated his task:

"I have intimations that I am to have an active command in Virginia

If I am placed in any responsible position here I wish you would writ to your friend the Postmaster-General—whom I know but slightly—of th friendship you bear me, that I may also look to him for the support any on leading a body of raw men into a hostile State, with an excited country, expect ing some positive and immediate success, must daily need." †

These words are suggestive. Plainly the new General had his full share of the regular army feeling against the volunteers. Plainly he had his full share of the regular army feeling against any interference by the people in the war they were to support, and especially against any popular demand for speedy movements. But something more may be seen here than mere army opinions or prejudices. It is evident that at the very outset the General was placed in the false position of having to look to civil officers, rather than to his military superior, for support.

For General Scott, hostile originally to McDowell's promotion, was now found to be hostile to his assignment to duty in Virginia, and, indeed, to any movement in Virginia, beyond the mere fortification of Arlington. At first he proposed to leave the occupation of the Virginia side to a volunteer officer,‡

*General Scott had opposed my somewhat rapid promotion because he thought it was doing a hurt to General Mansfield; and when I was promoted, he insisted that General M. should also be promoted, to date back a week before my own promotion. McDowell's Testimony before Com. on Con. War; Report Series of 1863, Vol. II, p. 37.

† Letter of McDowell to Governor Dennison, under date, Washington, 14th May, 1861.

‡ General Sandford, of the New York militia.

whom he wanted to get out of Washington. The Department told him he must send over a regular—either Mansfield or McDowell. Then, wishing to keep Mansfield in the city, he named McDowell, but made secret efforts to thwart the wishes of the Department by inducing him to prefer a personal request not to be sent across the Potomac. Twice he sent his Aid-de-Camp and military secretary to McDowell, urging him to make this request. The young General was not blind to the consequences of again arousing the displeasure of his chief, but he recoiled with some natural feeling from the proposition. "Just appointed a general officer," he says, "it was not for me to make a personal request not to be required to take the command which I had been ordered upon. I could not stand upon it. I had no reputation as he had, and I refused to make any such application."

The baleful effects of the anger thus aroused were destined long to oppress the country In three or four ways General Scott had been overruled and disappointed. He had wanted his old staff officer promoted less rapidly; he had wanted him reserved to lead the advance of his proposed grand expedition down the Mississippi; he had opposed any movement into Virginia beyond Arlington; and he had striven in any event to keep McDowell out of it. He yielded, indeed, to the authority of the Cabinet, which settled every one of these questions over his head; but he yielded with a bad grace, and petulantly threw obstacles in the way of operations he could not forbid.

On the night of the 23d of May, 1861, within a few hours after the close of the polls at which Virginia had been voted out of the Union, the order for crossing the Potomac was given. By daylight General McDowell found himself in possession of the heights of Arlington and the little stretch of country down to Alexandria, with an army of about ten thousand men.

The country hoped for a speedy advance. Ignorant of war and war's requirements, it could see no obstacle in the lack of transportation, of supplies, of officers, of discipline. There may have been an element of wisdom in this haste. Quite probably the Rebel force then confronting McDowell was as ill off as his own, or even worse. And it was by no means impossible that, if the column which on the 24th of May occupied Arlington, had been pushed out into the country, it might have taken Manassas with comparatively slight resistance.

But General Scott wanted no advance, and for weeks he took effectual means to prevent it. "I got everything with great difficulty," says the unfortunate object of his displeasure. "I was there a long while without anything. No additions were made to the force at all. With difficulty could I get any officers. General Scott was cool for a great while."*

Meanwhile, in the discussions of the Government, Scott protested against going any further in Virginia, and renewed his old suggestions. He would accumulate a large army at Washington solely to make the Capital safe. The summer should be spent in drill. With the first frosts of autumn another great

*Rep. Com. Con. War, *ubi supra.*

army should be concentrated at St. Louis and sent down the Mississippi Valley to the Gulf.

General McDowell's views were asked on this project by the Cabinet officers who had previously learned to rely upon his military judgment. He was not prudent, perhaps; and yet as General Scott had proposed giving him the advance of this great expedition, he could not well refuse to express his opinion about it to the Government when called upon. "I did not think well of that plan, and was obliged to speak against it in the Cabinet," he tells us.* "I felt that it was beyond expression a hazardous thing for our paper steamboats to try to go down the river on such an expedition. I thought the plan was full of most serious and vital objections. I would rather go to New Orleans the way that Packenham attempted to go there."

After this we may well believe that the angry Lieutenant-General would take still less pains to help along this presumptuous staff officer of his. Week after week went by, and still the commander of the column that was daily expected to move upon the enemy could get nothing that he wanted. His force was without organization, without commissariat, without transportation, without organized artillery. He was even himself without a competent staff. "I see McDowell do things of detail," wrote gruff old Count Gurowski in his diary,† "which in any even half-way organized army belong to the specialty of a Chief of Staff." "He receives his troops in the most chaotic state. Almost with his own hands he organizes, or rather puts together, the artillery. Brigades are scarcely formed; the commanders of brigades do not know their commands, and the soldiers do not know their Generals." "There were only four small tents," writes Mr. Wm. H. Russell‡ in an account of a visit to McDowell, when he was striving to beat his army into shape for work, "for the whole of the head-quarters of the 'Grand Army of the Potomac,' and in front of one we found General McDowell, examining some plans and maps. His personal staff, so far as I could judge, consisted of Mr. Clarence Brown and three other officers. I made some remark on the subject to the General, who replied that there was great jealousy on the part of civilians respecting the least appearance of display, and that as he was only a Brigadier, though he was in command of such a large army, he was obliged to be content with a Brigadier's staff."

In the midst of such difficulties, of which it knew nothing, the country saw week after week go by, till the time of the troops had nearly expired, and almost two months had been spent in Virginia without an advance of as many miles. Then there rose in men's minds all over the land a demand for action. One skillful in reading the popular will caught this demand and embodied it in the pregnant motto, "On to Richmond." The Confederate Congress was soon to meet there; it would be a shame, it was said, if, with the great army gathering on the south bank of the Potomac, the stars and stripes should not once more wave over Richmond before the day for that assembly arrived.

* Rep. Com. Con. War, *ubi supra*.

† For 1861–2, p. 61.

‡ My Diary North and South, Am. Ed. p. 395.

Thus beset by the popular will, as well as urged forward by its own desires, the Administration demanded a plan of movement from its General in the field. He promptly responded. The Confederate force was scattered, partly near Fortress Monroe, south of him, partly near Harper's Ferry, north of him, and partly near Manassas, in front of him. He believed he could drive the force in his front, if he could only be protected from a junction of the others against him. That secured, he would move out directly against Manassas; would feign on his front, while passing the bulk of his force by the left around the enemy's flank, to fall upon the railroad in his rear. The plan was based upon sound military principles; it was explained to the Administration with all that suave, plausible address which makes McDowell the best man in the army to present a case to a Congressional committee, or plead a professional cause before any tribunal; and it was promptly accepted by the Cabinet. The 9th of July was named as the day for beginning its execution.

But now arose fresh difficulties. General Scott had indeed yielded, but he was no more disposed than before to lend any aid for smoothing the path of his subordinate. General Mansfield, in command in Washington, still had the most of the troops, and he was ill-pleased at seeing his force divided, and his troops given to his junior to lead into action. And besides, there was still an actual want of many things essential to a moving army. So it came about that on every hand poor McDowell found himself hampered and thwarted and delayed. Some of his embarrassments he subsequently recited in his manly statement to the Committee on the Conduct of the War:

"Some of my regiments came over very late; some of them not till the very day I was to move the army. I had difficulty in getting transportation. In fact I started out with no baggage train; with nothing at all for the tents; simply transportation for the sick and wounded, and the munitions. The supplies were to go afterward. I expected the men to carry rations for three days in their haversacks. If I went to General Mansfield for troops, he said, 'I have no transportation.' I went to General Meigs, and he said he had transportation, but General Mansfield did not want any to be given out until the troops should move. I said, 'I agree to that, but between you two I get nothing.'

"The Quartermaster begged of me not to move, because he was not ready. I said, 'We must move on Tuesday,' which was one week after the time General Scott had fixed. All my force had not come over by the time he fixed. A large part came over on Sunday, and some on the very Tuesday I moved. I told the General I was not ready to go. Said I to him, 'So far as transportation is concerned, I must look to you, behind me, to send it forward.'

"I had no opportunity to test my machinery; to move it around and see whether it would work smoothly or not. In fact, such was the feeling that when I had one body of eight regiments of troops reviewed together, the General censured me for it, as if I was trying to make some show. I did not think so. There was not a man there who had ever maneuvered troops in large bodies. There was not one in the army—I did not believe there was one in the whole country—at least I knew there was no one there who had ever handled thirty thousand troops. I had seen them handled abroad, in reviews and marches, but I had never handled that number, and no one here had.

"I wanted very much a little time; all of us wanted it. We did not have a bit of it. The answer was, 'You are green, it is true; but they are green also; you are all green alike.'"

To put the whole story in a single sentence: General Scott having delayed and opposed the movement till the last moment, then hurried it forward with-

out giving time for the needful preparations, and without even doing what he might to remove the obstacles in McDowell's way

It is quite possible that the young General, in the strength of his conviction that this conduct was unwise, held back a little more than was judicious. It is certain that he did not have very flattering opinions of the material with which he had to work, and that he did not succeed in gaining the confidence of the volunteers.* He had, indeed, offended the most of them by his efforts to restrain them from pillage, and from the disgraceful wanton destruction of property which began with their entry into Virginia. At the very time that, a few miles distant, General Beauregard was issuing an inflammatory appeal to the Southern army and people to resist the Vandal invaders who approached with fire and sword, under the banner of Beauty and Booty, General McDowell was rebuking his subordinates for the too lax enforcement of the following order, three days before issued:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH-EAST VIRGINIA,
"*Arlington, June* 2, 1861.

"GENERAL ORDER No. 4:

"Statements of the amount, kind, and value of all private property taken and used for Government purposes, and of the damage done in any way to private property, by reason of the occupation of this section of the country by the United States troops, will, as soon as practicable, be made out and transmitted to department head-quarters of brigades by the commanders of brigades, and officers in charge of the several fortifications. These statements will exhibit:

"1. The quantity of land taken possession of for the several field-works, and the kind and value of the crops growing thereon, if any.

"2. The quantity of land used for the several encampments, and the kind and value of the growing crops, if any.

"3. The number, size, and character of the buildings appropriated to public purposes.

"4. The quantity and value of trees cut down.

"5. The kind and extent of fencing, etc., destroyed.

"These statements will, as far as possible, give the value of the property taken, or of the damage sustained, and the name or names of the owners thereof. Citizens who have sustained any damage or loss as above will make their claims upon the commanding officers of the troops by whom it was done, or, in cases where these troops have moved away, upon the commander nearest them.

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* Mr. Wm. H. Russell gives a description of McDowell as he appeared and talked about that time, which is, in some of its details, quite suggestive. My Dairy, North and South, Am. Ed., p. 389.

"He is a man about forty years of age, square and powerfully built, but with rather a stout and clumsy figure and limbs, a good head, covered with close-cut, thick, dark hair, small, light-blue eyes, short nose, large cheeks and jaw, relieved by an iron-gray tuft, somewhat of the French style, and affecting in dress the style of our gallant allies. His manner is frank, simple, and agreeable, and he did not hesitate to speak with great openness of the difficulties he had to contend with, and the imperfection of all the arrangements of the army.

"As an officer of the regular army, he has a thorough contempt for what he calls 'political Generals,' the men who use their influence with President and Congress to obtain military rank.

Nor is General McDowell enamored of volunteers, for he served in Mexico, and has, from what he saw there, formed rather an unfavorable opinion of their capabilities in the field. He is inclined, however, to hold the Southern troops in too little respect; and he told me that the volunteers from the slave States, who entered the field full of exultation and boastings, did not make good their words, and that they suffered especially from sickness and disease, in conquence of their disorderly habits and dissipation."

"These claims will accompany the statement above called for. The commanders of brigades will require the assistance of the commanders of regiments or detached companies, and will make this order known to the inhabitants in their vicinity, to the end that all loss or damage may, as nearly as possible, be ascertained while the troops are now here, and by whom, or on whose account, it has been occasioned, that justice may be done alike to the citizen and to the Government. The name of the officer or officers, in case the brigade commanders shall institute a board to fix the amount of loss or damage, shall be given in each case.

"By order of Brigadier-General McDOWELL.

"JAMES B. FRY, Assistant Adjutant-General."

Against such measures the volunteers, with loose ideas of discipline, or of the rights of non-combatants, but with a vague desire to see Virginia punished and humbled by the sufferings of war, revolted; and fresh orders were soon needed to enforce obedience to the first.

Meantime, with infinite confusion, McDowell had got together some of the elements of an army. The pressure of the Administration for movement, powerful enough before, now began to be intensified by another motive. The force in Virginia was mostly made up of three months' troops, whose term of service was now near its expiration. Unless an advance was made speedily it could not be made at all for months to come. This fact, which might have suggested the difficulty of maintaining the offensive, even if it were once assumed, the rather operated to press on the ill-prepared movement. A single battle, it was still quite generally believed, would practically end the matter, and the contingency of an unfavorable result seems to have been scarcely considered at all. Furthermore, there had been two unfortunate little affairs—those of Vienna and Big Bethel—the results of which had greatly mortified the people, and had deepened the desire for a sudden victory that should wipe out their memory.

So, at last, on the afternoon of 16th July, the army moved. It was found within an hour or two that a new difficulty had arisen. The maps of Virginia were grossly imperfect. The topographical features of the country had never been studied with reference to military operations, before the war; and now our officers found that they were moving out into a region of whose characteristics they had only vague information, and that what they had was often incorrect. This, and the childish delusion about "masked batteries," into which the folly of the newspapers and the talk about Vienna and Big Bethel had led the army, combined to make the advance slow. Another fact tended still more strongly to the same result; the men were utterly unaccustomed to marching, and but little under the control of their officers. The loose-jointed, ill-adjusted machine thus moved off awkwardly and cumbrously enough.

The next afternoon (17th July) the army reached Fairfax C. H. General McDowell strove to push on to Centreville that night, but was unable to accomplish it, and did not get there till the next day. Meanwhile he had himself been compelled to go off on staff duty of all sorts—actually returning once (on the evening of the first day) to hunt up a couple of batteries which were expected by rail and had not yet arrived.*

*"On arriving at the Washington platform, the first person I saw was General McDowell, alone, looking anxiously into the cars. He asked where I came from, and when he heard from

From Centreville he was now forced to push out reconnoissances in the direction of his proposed turning movement by the left, to ascertain the nature of the country, for which he found that he could no longer rely upon his maps. Here one more piece of ill-luck befell this hapless commander. The officer in charge of one of these reconnoissances, a division General, whose rank, at least, might have been supposed to bespeak some discretion,* came out upon a little stream, scarcely known then, but soon to be made memorable forever. He had reached Bull Run. Now this officer was thirsting for military glory, and, withal, little knew how to attain it. He was impressed with the conviction that "the great man of this war would be the man that first got to Manassas," and so, on finding scarcely any opposition thus far, he avowed his determination to go on that night. He was not unmindful of the positive order of General McDowell not to bring on an engagement; but in the height of his excitement over the prospect which he fancied to be opening before him, he ordered up his artillery and opened on a Rebel battery on the opposite shore. Presently he brought up his infantry also, and began a musketry fusilade. Some officers of the staff, who were present, now reminded the division commander that this was contrary to General McDowell's orders. While they talked, the enemy crossed below, presently fell upon the flank of the reconnoitering column, and sent back the General who was going through to Manassas that night with his command in considerable confusion.

This affair (subsequently known as the skirmish at Blackburn's Ford) had a dispiriting effect upon the army, which, starting out on the idea that nothing could stand before it, found one of its divisions retreating in the first skirmish. But it had a worse effect in disclosing the nature of our movements to the enemy, and in drawing his attention specially to the flank which McDowell had proposed to turn.

This and the difficult nature of the country combined to induce the abandonment of the plan which the Cabinet had approved, and for which the movement had been made. On the night of the 18th of May, therefore, in addition to all his other embarrassments with his new force and his own inexperience, General McDowell found himself forced to devise some new plan of operations.

Two days were spent by the engineers in seeking some spot along the line of Bull Run where a comparatively unopposed crossing could be secured. At last, about noon on the 20th, they reported that far up on the right—on the opposite flank from that by which McDowell had proposed to move—there was a practicable ford, at Sudley Springs, very carelessly guarded. From the present positions of the army there was no road to it, but the intervening woods were comparatively open.

Annapolis, inquired eagerly if I had seen two batteries of artillery—Barry's and another—which he had ordered up, but which had gone astray. I was surprised to find the General engaged on such duty, and took leave to say so. 'Well, it is quite true, Mr. Russell, but I am obliged to look after them myself, as I have so small a staff, and they are all engaged, out with my headquarters. You are aware I have advanced?'" My Diary North and South, pp. 423, 424.

*General Daniel Tyler.

Within an hour or two after the reception of this report, General McDowell issued his orders for battle. He had four divisions (numbering in all nearly thirty-five thousand), commanded by General Tyler, General Hunter, General Heintzelman, and Colonel Miles. The last was to remain in reserve, near Centreville, and was to feign on Blackburn's Ford, on the left, whither the foolish skirmish had already attracted the attention of the enemy. With the other three the attack was to be made—those of Hunter and Heintzelman moving far up to the right, through the woods, to the ford at Sudley Springs, while the remaining one, under Tyler, moved straight forward to the crossing of Bull Run at the Stone Bridge. Here the enemy's attention was to be held, while the turning column crossed above, struck the enemy in flank and rear, and doubled up his line. Then Tyler was to cross at the Stone Bridge and join the turning column as it came down the enemy's flank; and the three divisions, thus reunited, were to push straight for Manassas. After all the flood of criticism poured upon this battle, the plan stands approved as displaying good generalship—as based on sound principles, well-adapted to the situation, and under any ordinary circumstances reasonably sure of success.

But there was a blunder in the execution at the outset. McDowell's orders required the troops to move at six o'clock that evening, and to march most of the distance before going into bivouac. Then in the morning they would rise ready for the battle. But Colonel (since General) Burnside and others thought it would be easier to make the march before going into battle in the morning. To them nine and a half miles seemed a small distance to move, and they judged it best to let the men quietly sleep where they were, and start in time to make the march before daylight. McDowell unwisely assented.

While these final orders were being issued, the fate of the coming battle was already settled beyond the little stream that lay between the contending armies. The Rebel column was rapidly receiving re-enforcements from the army of Joseph E. Johnston near Harper's Ferry. General McDowell had expressed the greatest uneasiness lest he should find this army joined to Beauregard's when he moved to the attack; but General Scott had assured him that Patterson should keep it busy in the valley If it did escape, "it should have Patterson on its heels."* .

Now at last, however, Scott had grown sanguine. He believed that success was so sure, that when on the 20th he received a dispatch from Patterson announcing that Johnston had escaped him and was moving to a junction with Beauregard, he did not think it worth while to damp the spirits of the young General who was about, under discouragements and difficulties innumerable, to fight his first battle, by telling him of it. Frequent trains of cars were heard arriving at Manassas, and rumors passed from mouth to mouth, till they reached McDowell, that Johnston was coming; but he received no information that seemed authentic; and by two o'clock on the morning of the 21st the troops were roused for the battle that was thus decided against them in advance.

What followed may now be briefly told.

*Rep. Com. Con. War. Series of 1863, Vol II, p. 36.

Waked in the night, the troops, unaccustomed to orderly marching even in daylight, were long in getting fairly started. Then General Tyler, moving too slowly with his division which had the advance, blocked up the way. It was half-past five before the divisions of Hunter and Heintzleman, which formed the turning column, could get fairly upon their march. Then they would straggle. Hundreds wandered off into the bushes to pick a few blackberries. Whenever they came to water they would stop, empty their canteens, and fill them afresh. McDowell struggled against delays; ordered and ordered again; but it was half-past nine before they reached the Sudley Ford, where he had hoped to cross by six. Here, as he despairingly adds, every regiment, as it came up, stopped all behind it, while file by file the men leisurely took a fresh drink, and again filled their canteens.

Looking toward Manassas, he saw large clouds of dust rising, and began to apprehend that Beauregard, divining his movement, was about to fall upon his turning column before he could disentangle it from this confusion. At last, however, the force crossed and marched down upon the Confederate flank.

Even now, after this four hours' delay, success might still have attended the excellent Generalship which had thus planted the bulk of the army in so favorable a position for attacking the enemy in reverse. But the division Generals, on first confronting the enemy, delivered feeble fusilades from their heads of columns, and then halted. At last, after an hour's needless delay, the line was formed, and the turning column fairly pushed forward.

Meanwhile Beauregard had been, as we now know from the Confederate reports, awaiting for hours an attack which he had ordered by way of Blackburn's Ford, upon McDowell's other flank. His orders for this proved to have miscarried, and he saw to his amazement that his own left was rapidly crumbling. In fact, by twelve o'clock the turning column had doubled up this flank so far that it was now able to make a junction with Tyler's division at the Stone Bridge, where that officer had been all morning confronting the Rebel center.

Thus far then—save for the delay in the execution—McDowell's plan of battle was a perfect success. He had safely crossed the line of Bull Run; had turned the enemy's left flank and broken it; and had reunited his army. He was now ready to press upon the confused foe toward Manassas. But here began a fatal hesitation. The troops confronted the enemy on the elevated plateau beyond Bull Run, near the Stone Bridge. They were pushed forward in detail, and handled slowly and unsatisfactorily. Still they gained substantial advantages. The line was pushed around on the right to envelop the enemy's left flank, and was carried forward in front till it cleared the Warrenton Turnpike. Once or twice the Rebels surged back over the ground thus carried. But at half-past three o'clock it was in McDowell's possession, the tide of success had been generally in our favor, the enemy was evidently disheartened, and our officers were already beginning to rejoice over a victory won.

Just then came the apparition that drove the victors and ended the battle. Early's brigade, the last of Johnston's army to reach the ground, marched up,

THE BULL RUN, RAPPAHANNOCK, ANTIETAM, AND GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGNS.

striking the end of McDowell's right, which, as we have seen, he had been pushing around to envelop the enemy's flank. The onset was unexpected, and the line instantly crumbled as Early swept forward; and Beauregard, seeing the advantage gained, renewed his efforts to bring up again his retreating troops, the disorder increased. The men, who had thus far fought spiritedly, broke almost in an instant. Running from regiment to regiment, and brigade to brigade, there seemed to pass a conviction that ovewhelming re-enforcements had reached their antagonists, that the disaster to the right was fatal, that the battle was lost, that they must retreat, that they must fly. What had been a successful army pressing its antagonist and seemingly on the very verge of glorious victory, was in tên minutes in full retreat, in ten minutes more in utter rout.

McDowell did his best to rally the men, but they lacked discipline, and with the first reverse their confidence in themselves and their respect for authority were gone. The farther they went from the field, the more demoralized they became, and at last, recognizing the utter disaster, the General gave orders for the reserve division at Centreville, and for Schenck's brigade of Tyler's division, which remained in good order, to cover the retreat. These protected the rear, and showed so formidable an appearance that no pursuit was attempted. The rest of the army streamed back to Washington a panic-stricken mob. The loss was over two thousand; that of the Rebel army was one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, of whom only two hundred and sixty-nine were killed.*

Such was the battle of Bull Run.

Looking at it now in the light of a great war's experience, we find little cause for wonder, save that it was no worse. Like Cato, the General, if he could not win success, had at least deserved it. His plan was excellent, and though there were innumerable faults of execution, they arose more because of the materials with which he had to work than because of his own inexperience or lack of judgment. After all the display of ability which the war has called out, we would be puzzled to-day if called upon to name any officer who, if then put in McDowell's place, would have done better. We may doubt indeed if there are any who, on the whole, would have done so well. For McDowell was not only correct in his plans and sound in judgment on the varying phases of the movement, but he bore with unusual amiability and philosophy the hinderances and embarrasments which vexed his whole course. No man knew better the dangers to which his lack of organization exposed him, and the myriad chances which, under such circumstances, might intervene to overturn his best-

*Their official reports give the entire Rebel loss as one thousand four hundred and thirty-eight wounded and two hundred and sixty-nine killed. General McDowell reported his killed at four hundred and eighty-one, and his wounded at one thousand and eleven. Many of these last had but slight injuries, and soon returned to the ranks, so that he estimated the actual loss at about one thousand. But he failed to make any mention of his loss of prisoners; of whom, well and wounded, Beauregard reports that he took one thousand four hundred and sixty. McDowell crossed Bull Run for the attack with about eighteen thousand men of all arms. Counting the last re-enforcements (Early's brigade, which did not arrive till between three and four) Johnston and Beauregard had about twenty-seven thousand.

laid plans. But the Government represented that a battle was necessary. He honestly stated the difficulties in the way, and then, without a murmur, accepting the risks and preparing to sacrifice his opening career if need be, he addressed himself to fight it.

Rightly considered, then, we look upon the battle of Bull Run as constituting a title for General McDowell to the consideration and regard of the country—the more deserved now, because of the misunderstanding and torrents of obloquy to which he was necessarily exposed at the time.

Here we might leave the subject. But, as we have justified and praised McDowell, we may perhaps be rightly expected to say who or what, then, caused the disaster. The answer is complicated:

(1.) General Scott paved the way for the disaster by his ill-tempered obstructions and delays, which hindered McDowell from collecting or equipping the army with which he was to undertake this weighty venture, prevented him from drilling or disciplining it, kept it even unorganized to the last moment, and then precipitated it in a confused mass upon the enemy. With hearty cooperation on the part of all the authorities, that army might have been in satisfactory condition to move three weeks earlier, when it could have carried Manassas with half the skill and courage wasted at Bull Run, could have damped the rising enthusiasm of the insurgents, and ended the war within the twelvemonth. But General Scott wasted the time in which the army might have been drilled and organized, in opposing any movement into his native State, in hoping for compromises, and in urging his Mississippi Valley project. Then he demanded unreasonable haste, and moved the army unprepared.

(2.) In spite of these obstacles, the event shows very clearly that McDowell would have forced success had the promise of the General-in-Chief, to keep Johnston away, been fulfilled. Without entering into the vexed question whether Patterson was criminal in suffering Johnston to escape him, or Scott in failing to inform McDowell of the escape on the day before the battle, it is enough to say that for the false arrangement of the Union troops in three columns* on exterior lines, by which they could not possibly concentrate as fast as the respective opposing columns of the enemy could concentrate against any one of them, General Scott is clearly responsible. This fault was vital; and it was in violation of one of the best established rules of military science.

(3.) The event shows still further that McDowell would have forced success in spite of Johnston's re-enforcement, but for the greenness of troops and commanders, which first prolonged the march to Centreville, while they deranged his plans by the skirmish at Blackburn's Ford, and so wrought the delay which enabled Johnston to get up; and which finally wasted four precious hours in ill-ordered and exhausting marches that should have been spent in action. We have seen that the battle was substantially won when Johnston's last brigade, that of Early, marching up to the field, was able to strike McDowell's thin right flank "in air." But that brigade did not arrive till half-past three o'clock in

*At Fortress Monroe, under Butler; Arlington, under McDowell; and Harper's Ferry, under Patterson.

the afternoon. If the prior events of the battle had been shifted forward by the four hours lost in the morning, it would have been won three hours before Early's arrival.* On such slight circumstances do great events in war, the fate of campaigns, and the extension of hostilities over vast regions ultimately turn.

(4.) And finally, General McDowell's own skill in handling troops in action—a thing to be acquired only by practice—was not equal to the commendable ability he had thus far displayed. He might probably have prevented the loss of time after crossing Sudley's Ford, in the first onset of the turning column; and he might certainly have handled the army better when he united all his divisions beyond the Stone Bridge, and was ready to storm the plateau. But this was a minor fault; the battle was lost without it.

The disaster fell at first with bewildering and stunning effect upon the confident and eager country. Then, sobered by reverse, it began steadily to organize for victory. But, in the meantime, a victim was wanted. General Scott, the real culprit, was saved by the popular regard for his long and valuable services, and by his protest that he had all along been opposed to the movement in Virginia.† The Administration could not well be assailed by patriots; for it must continue in the conduct of the war. It was not popular to say that the soldiers were in any respect to blame, to admit that their discipline fell short of perfection, or that by any possibility they could have run away without more than abundant cause. But the General that commanded them—was he not one of those shoulder-strapped gentry who had contrived to rise to sudden greatness in the midst of his country's calamities? Had he ever commanded such an army before, in spite of all his pretenses of demanding discipline? Had he not shown that he had too much regard for Rebels by wanting to take care of their property, and carry on a kid-gloved warfare against them, whilst he sent his own troops out to battle, with a march of ten miles before them, with no water on the route, in intensely hot weather, and without a supply-train to accompany them? In short, was there not reason to suspect him of treason, and

*Innumerable scraps of evidence point to this conclusion. Our own troops were animated with the conviction, and it is of accord that our staff officers were already exchanging congratulations over the victory. On the other hand, the enemy was greatly discouraged and demoralized. General Beauregard's chief of staff testifies (Swinton's Hist. Cam. Potomac, p. 58) that while he was escorting Mr. Jefferson Davis up to the front, just before the Union lines gave way, the road was so crowded with stragglers and skulkers that Mr. Davis supposed Beauregard to be completely beaten. "Battles are not won," he exclaimed, "when several unhurt men are seen carrying off one wounded soldier." General Jos. E. Johnston has, since the close of the war, openly stated that he was almost as much disorganized by the victory as McDowell by the defeat. The condition of his army, he declares, was such that pursuit was not to be thought of. The Richmond Dispatch (August 1, 1861), in its account of the battle, says that between two and three o'clock the matter looked very gloomy to their side, and that victory hung trembling in the balance. The Louisville Courier (letter from Manassas, dated 22d July, 1861) had it that "the fortunes of the day were evidently against us. McDowell had nearly outflanked us, and was just in the act of possessing himself of the railroad to Richmond. Then all would have been lost."

†As fully set forth by Governor Raymond, in the New York Times, in a report of a conversation at General Scott's dinner-table.

abundant evidence to convict him of incapacity? Presently it was reported that the commander of the reserve division was drunk on the field. The people accepted it for truth, and leaped to the conclusion that the commanding General must also have been drunk. And so McDowell, who "never drank anything stronger than a water-melon," who was absolutely and in perfect strictness a "total abstinent," came to be popularly regarded as a drunkard.

But these were only the clamors of the ignorant populace, who must needs have a victim. Mr. Lincoln took occasion to say, the first time he met McDowell, "I have not lost a particle of confidence in you." The General replied, in all sincerity, "I don't see why, Mr. President, you should." But in less than a week he was superseded, and the young Captain whom he had joined in recommending for a Major-Generalship in the regular army, was brought on to supersede him.

Under this climax of his misfortunes General McDowell was not only philosophic, but absolutely amiable. He quietly accepted the command of a division in the army of which he had been the leader, and proceeded, with great gladness, to the much-needed work of drill and discipline.*

By and by, however, in the midst of this congenial work, he was once more disturbed by his evil genius. As he had before been led into disgrace because the Cabinet had called upon him to express an opinion about the plans of General Scott, so now he experienced a similar misfortune by reason of the confidence entertained in his judgment by members of the Cabinet, which presently led to a call upon him for his opinion about the plans of General McClellan.

This officer had fallen sick. The President was in great distress. The whole fall had gone by, the whole winter was going by, and still the magnificent army on the banks of the Potomac was idle, and the capital was under

* Nothing can better illustrate the admirable temper in which General McDowell met his trials, than some passages in the Diary of Mr. Russell, of the London Times. Under date of July 21st he writes: (My Diary North and South, Am. Ed., p. 475.)

"Cast down from his high estate, placed as a subordinate to his junior, covered with obloquy and abuse, the American General displayed a calm self-possesion and perfect amiability which could only proceed from a philosophic temperament, and a consciousness that he would outlive the calumnies of his countrymen. He accused nobody, but it was not difficult to see that he had been sacrificed to the vanity, self-seeking, and disobedience of some of his officers, and to radical vices in the composition of his army. Notwithstanding the reverse of fortune, McDowell did not appear willing to admit that his estimate of the Southern troops was erroneous, or to say, 'Change armies and I'll fight the battle over again.' He still held Mississippians, Louisianians, Alabamians very cheap, and did not see, or would not confess, the full extent of the calamity which had fallen so heavily on him personally The fact of the enemy's inactivity was conclusive in his mind that they had a dearly-bought success, and he looked forward, though in a subordinate capacity, to a speedy and glorious revenge."

And again, under date August 26th:

"While waiting for General McClellan, General McDowell talked of the fierce outburst directed against me in the press. 'I must confess,' he said, laughingly, 'I am much rejoiced to find you are as much abused as I have been. I hope you mind it as little as I did. Bull Run was an unfortunate affair for both of us; for, had I won it, you would have had to describe the pursuit of the flying enemy, and then you would have been the most popular writer in America, as I would have been lauded as the greatest of Generals. See what measure has been meted to us now. I'm accused of drunkenness and gambling; and you, Mr. Russell—well—I really do hope you are not so black as you are painted.'"

blockade. The disaster at Bull Run had made him cautious about pressing his military leaders. Yet, as he quaintly said, "*Something* must soon be done, or the bottom would be out of the whole affair." So he sent for McDowell and for another of the division Generals, told them McClellan was sick, and that he wanted to talk with them about the prospects, and ask them what could be done. Fortunately, General McDowell, with the methodical habit which in all things had grown to a second nature with him, preserved a careful memorandum of these interviews, which Mr. Swinton, in his History of the Army of the Potomac, has published in full. It is as follows:

"JANUARY 10, 1862.—At dinner at Arlington, Virginia. Received a note from the Assistant-Secretary of War, saying the President wished to see me that evening, at eight o'clock, if I could safely leave my post. Soon after I received a note from Quartermaster-General Meigs, marked 'private and confidential,' saying the President wished to see me.

"Repaired to the President's house at eight o'clock, P. M. Found the President alone. Was taken into the small room in the north-east corner. Soon after we were joined by Brigadier-General Franklin, the Secretary of State, Governor Seward, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Assistant-Secretary of War. The President was greatly disturbed at the state of affairs. Spoke of the exhausted condition of the treasury; of the loss of public credit; of the Jacobinism of Congress;* of the delicate condition of our foreign relations; of the bad news he had received from the West, particularly as contained in a letter from General Halleck on the state of affairs in Missouri; of the want of co-operation between Generals Halleck and Buell; but more than all, the sickness of General McClellan.

"The President said he was in great distress, and as he had been to General McClellan's house, and the General did not ask to see him; and as he must talk to somebody, he had sent for General Franklin and myself to obtain our opinion as to the possibility of soon commencing active operations with the Army of the Potomac.

"To use his own expression, 'If something was not soon done, the bottom would be out of the whole affair; and if General McClellan did not want to use the army, he would like to *borrow it*, provided he could see how it could be made to do something.'

"The Secretary of State stated the substance of some information he considered reliable as to the strength of the forces on the other side, which he had obtained from an Englishman from Fort Monroe, Richmond, Manassas, and Centreville, which was to the effect that the enemy had twenty thousand men under Huger, at Norfolk; thirty thousand at Centreville; and in all in our front, an effective force, capable of being brought up at short notice, of about one hundred and three thousand men—men not suffering, but well shod, clothed, and fed. In answer to the question from the President, what could soon be done with the army, I replied that the question as to the *when* must be preceded by the one as to the *how* and the *where*. That substantially I would organize the army into four army corps, placing the five divisions on the Washington side on the right bank. Place three of these corps to the front—the right at Vienna or its vicinity, the left beyond Fairfax Station, the center beyond Fairfax C. H., and connect the latter place with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad by a railroad now partially thrown up. This would enable us to supply these corps without the use of horses, except to distribute what was brought up by rail, and to act upon the enemy without reference to the bad state of country roads.

"The railroads all lead to the enemy's position; by acting upon them in force, besieging his strongholds if necessary, or getting between them if possible, or making the attempt to do so and pressing his left, I thought we should in the first place cause him to bring up all his forces and

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* "General McDowell's manuscript was submitted by the present writer to President Lincoln, during the summer of 1864, and he indorsed its entire contents as a true report of these war-councils, with the exception of the above phrase, 'the Jacobinism of Congress.' His autograph indorsement on the manuscript states that he had no recollection of using such an expression. It may be supposed that the phrase expresses the *impression* produced on McDowell's mind by Mr. Lincoln's words, though his precise language may have been different."

mass them on the flank most pressed, the left; and possibly, I thought probably, we should again get them out of their works and bring on a general engagement on favorable terms to us; at all events keeping him fully occupied and harrowed. The Fourth Corps, in connection with a force of heavy guns afloat, would operate on his right flank beyond the Occoquan, get behind the batteries on the Potomac; take Aquia, which being supported by the Third Corps over the Occoquan, it could safely attempt, and then move on the railroad from Manassas to the Rappahannock, having a large cavalry force to destroy bridges. I thought by the use of one hundred and thirty thousand men thus employed, and the great facilities which the railroads gave us, and the compact position we should occupy, we must succeed by repeated blows in crushing out the force in our front, even if it were equal in numbers and strength. The road by Fairfax C. H. to Centreville would give us the means to bring up siege-mortars and siege materials; and even if we could not accomplish the object immediately, by making the campaign one of positions instead of maneuvers, to do so eventually and without risk. That this saving of wagon transportation should be effected at once, by connecting the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with the Alexandria roads, by running a road over the Long Bridge. That when all this could be commenced, I could better tell when I knew something more definite as to the general condition of the army.

"General Franklin being asked, said he was in ignorance of many things necessary to an opinion on the subject, knowing only as to his own division, which was ready for the field. As to the plan of operations, on being asked by the President if he had ever thought what he would do with this army if he had it, he replied that he had, and that it was his judgment that it should be taken, what could be spared from the duty of protecting the capital, *to York River to operate on Richmond.* The question then came up as to the means at hand of transporting a large part of the army by water. The Assistant Secretary of War said the means had been fully taxed to provide transportation for twelve thousand men. After some further conversation, and in reference to our ignorance of the actual condition of the army, the President wished we should come together the next night at eight o'clock, and that General Franklin and I should meet in the meantime, obtain such further information as we might need, and to do so from the staff of the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac. Immediate orders were to be given to make the railroad over Long Bridge.

"JANUARY 11.—Held a meeting with General Franklin, in the morning, at the Treasury Building, and discussed the question of the operations which, in our judgment, were best under existing circumstances—as season, present position of the forces, present condition of the country—to be undertaken before going into the matter as to when those operations could be set on foot. I urged that we should now find fortifications in York River which would require a movement in that direction to be preceded by a naval force of heavy guns to clear them out, as well as the works at West Point. That Richmond was now fortified; that we could not hope to carry it by a simple march after a successful engagement; that we should be obliged to take a siege-train with us. That all this would take time, which would be improved by the enemy to mass his forces in our front, and we should find that we had not escaped any of the difficulties we have now before this position; but simply lost time and money to find those difficulties when we should not have so strong a base to operate from, nor so many facilities, nor so large a force as we have here, nor, in proportion, so small a one to overcome. That the war now had got to be one of positions, till we should penetrate the line of the enemy. That to overcome him in front, or cut his communication with the South, would, by its moral as well as physical effect, prostrate the enemy, and enable us to undertake any future operations with ease, and certainty of success; but that in order of time, as of importance, the first thing to be done was to overcome this army in our front, which is beleaguering our capital, blockading the river, and covering us day by day with the reproach of impotence, and lowering us in the eyes of foreign nations, and our people both North and South; and that nothing but what is necessary for this purpose should go elsewhere.

"General Franklin suggested whether Governor Chase, in view of what we were charged to do, might not be at liberty to tell us where General Burnside's expedition had gone? I went and asked him. He told me that, under the circumstances, he felt he ought to do so; and said it was destined for Newbern, North Carolina, by the way of Hatteras Inlet and Pamlico Sound, to operate on Raleigh or Beaufort, or either of them. That General McClellan had, by direc-

tion of the President, acquainted him with his plans, which was to go with a large force of this Army of the Potomac to Urbana or Tappahannock, on the Rappahannock, and then with his bridge-train move directly to Richmond. On further consultation with General Franklin, it was agreed that our inquiries were to be directed to both cases of going from our present position, and of removing the large part of the force to another base further south. A question was raised by General Franklin, whether, in deference to General McClellan, we should not inform him of the duty we were ordered to perform. I said the order I received was marked private and confidential; and as they came from the President, our Commander-in-Chief, I conceived, as a common superior to General McClellan and both of us, it was for the President to say this, and not us. That I would consult the Secretary of the Treasury, who was at hand, and could tell us what was the rule in the cabinet in such matters. The Secretary was of opinion that the matter lay entirely with the President. We went to Colonel Kingsbury, chief of ordnance of the Army of the Potomac, Brigadier-General Van Vliet, chief quartermaster, and Major Shiras, commissary of subsistence, and obtained all the information desired. Met at the President's in the evening, at eight o'clock. Present, the same as on the first day, with the addition of the Postmaster-General, Judge Blair, who came in after the meeting had begun the discussion. I read a paper containing both General Franklin's and my own views, General Franklin agreeing with me—in view of time, etc., required to take to this army to another base—that operations could best *now* be undertaken from the present base, substantially as proposed. The Postmaster-General opposed the plan, and was for having the army, or as much of it as could be spared, go to York River or Fortress Monroe, either to operate against Richmond, or to Suffolk and cut off Norfolk; that being, in his judgment, the point (Fortress Monroe or York) from which to make a decisive blow. The plan of going to the front from this position was Bull Run over again. That it was strategically defective, as was the effort last July. As then, we would have the operations upon exterior lines. That it involved too much risk. That there was not so much difficulty as had been supposed in removing the army down the Chesapeake. That only from the Lower Chesapeake could anything decisive result against the army at Manassas. That to drive them from their present position, by operating from our present base, would only force them to another behind the one they now occupy, and we should have all our work to do over again. Mr. Seward thought if we only had a victory over them it would answer, whether obtained at Manassas or further south. Governor Chase replied in general terms to Judge Blair, to the effect that the moral power of a victory over the enemy, in his present position, would be as great as one elsewhere, all else equal; and the danger lay in the probability that we should find, after losing time and millions, that we should have as many difficulties to overcome below as we now have above. The President wished to have General Meigs in consultation on the subject of providing water transportation, and desired General Franklin and myself to see him in the morning, and meet again at three o'clock P. M. the next day.

"JANUARY 12.—Met General Franklin at General Meigs's. Conversed with him on the subject of our mission at his own house. I expressed my views to General Meigs, who agreed with me in the main as to concentrating our efforts against the enemy in front by moving against him from our present position. As to the time in which he could assemble water transportation for thirty thousand men, he thought in about from four to six weeks. Met at the President's. General Meigs mentioned the time in which he could assemble the transports as a month to six weeks. The general subject of operations from the present base was again discussed, General Meigs agreeing that it was best to do so, and to concentrate our forces for the purpose. The President and Mr. Seward said that General McClellan had been out to see the President, and was looking quite well, and that now, as he was able to assume the charge of the army, the President would drop any further proceedings with us. The general drift of the conversation was as to the propriety of moving the army further south, and as to the destination of Burnside's expedition. The Postmaster-General said that if it was the intention to fight it out here (Manassas), then we ought to *concentrate*. It was suggested and urged somewhat on the President to countermand, or have General McClellan countermand General Burnside's expedition, and bring up at Aquia. The President was, however, exceedingly averse from interfering, saying he disliked exceedingly to stop a thing long since planned, just as it was ready to strike. Nothing was done but to appoint another meeting the next day, at eleven o'clock, when we were to meet General McClellan, and again discuss the question of the movement to be made, etc.

"MONDAY, JANUARY 13.—Went to the President's with the Secretary of Treasury. Present, the President, Governor Chase, Governor Seward, Postmaster-General, General McClellan, General Meigs, General Franklin, and myself, and, I think, the Assistant-Secretary of War. The President, pointing to a map, asked me to go over the plan I had before spoken to him of. He at the same time made a brief explanation of how he came to bring General Franklin and General McDowell before him. I mentioned, in as brief terms as possible, what General Franklin and I had done under the President's order, what our investigations had been directed upon, and what were our conclusions as to going to the front from our present base, in the way I have heretofore stated, referring, also, to a transfer of a part of the army to another base further south. That we had been informed that the latter movement could not be commenced under a month to six weeks, and that a movement to the front could be undertaken in all of three weeks. General Franklin dissented only as to the time I mentioned for beginning operations in the front, not thinking we could get the roads in order by that time. I added, *commence* operations in all of three weeks; to which he assented. I concluded my remarks by saying something apologetic in explanation of the position in which we were. To which General McClellan replied somewhat coldly, if not curtly, 'You are entitled to have any opinion you please!' No discussion was entered into by him whatever, the above being the only remark he made. General Franklin said that, in giving his opinion as to going to York River, he did it knowing that it was in the direction of General McClellan's plan. I said that I had acted entirely in the dark. General Meigs spoke of his agency in having us called in by the President. The President then asked what and when anything could be done, again going over somewhat the same ground he had done with General Franklin and myself. General McClellan said the case was so clear a blind man could see it, and then spoke of the difficulty of ascertaining what force he could count upon; that he did not know whether he could let General Butler go to Ship Island, or whether he could re-enforce Burnside. Much conversation ensued, of rather a general character, as to the discrepancy between the number of men paid for and the number effective. The Secretary of the Treasury then put a direct question to General McClellan to the effect as to what he intended doing with his army, and when he intended doing it? After a long silence, General McClellan answered that the movement in Kentucky was to precede any one from this place, and that that movement might now be *forced;* that he had directed General Buell, if he could not hire wagons for his transportation, that he must take them. After another pause he said he must say he was very unwilling to develop his plans, always believing that in military matters the fewer persons who were knowing to them the better; that he would tell them if he was *ordered* to do so. The President then asked him if he counted upon any particular time; he did not ask what that time was, but had he in his own mind any particular time fixed when a movement could be commenced. He replied he had. Then, rejoined the President, I will adjourn this meeting."

It is easy to see what effect these consultations of his subordinates with the President had upon the mind of General McClellan. We need not pause to discuss the question whether the plan proposed by McDowell (substantially that he had himself first contemplated for reaching Manassas), was better or worse than the one upon which General McClellan had set his heart. It is enough that the President, and in general, the leading members of the Administration, were in favor of it; and that his military chief was not only opposed to it, but was disposed to look upon it as the ambitious effort of a subordinate to surpass him. Finally the President called a council of the leading Generals to consider McClellan's project of going to the peninsula. Out of the twelve McDowell found only three to agree with him in opposing it. The other eight were unanimous for the peninsular route.

By this time a vigorous McClellan party assumed to control everything at the capital. To this party McDowell of course became odious and through its influence the country was aided in still remembering his drunkenness, his questionable loyalty, and his incompetence. The President presently took the

delaying organization of the army into his own hands, and completed it by appointing four Corps Generals. Foremost among them was McDowell, who, a few days later, was promoted to a Major-Generalship of volunteers. The coolness heretofore existing between the unlucky General, to whom even promotion still proved ill-fortune, and his commander was thus increased.

And finally, when General McClellan was at last ready to take the field, fresh questions arose between him and the Administration as to the number of troops that should be left on the Potomac to insure the safety of the capital, and so once more General McDowell being called upon for his views, was compelled to give to the Government an opinion disagreeable to his chief. He thought the forts should be fully garrisoned on the right bank, and occupied on the left, and that then a covering force of twenty-five thousand men should be retained. With this simple expression of opinion his whole connection with the dispute as to the protection of the capital ended. But it was long believed by the McClellan party, and openly charged through nearly all the newspapers of the country, that McDowell secretly strove to excite the apprehensions of President and Cabinet as to the safety of Washington and thus to thwart the wishes of McClellan, for the sake of securing an independent command for himself.

Circumstances soon seemed to confirm this suspicion. General McDowell supposed that his corps was to be embarked for the peninsula before that of General Sumner. McClellan set out without giving him any other information; General Sumner's corps was taken and he was still left. Then, to his own astonishment no less than that of McClellan, his corps, forty thousand strong, was detached from the Army of the Potomac, and he was ordered to report to the Secretary of War. It was a step honestly taken for the protection of the capital, which Mr. Lincoln believed McClellan had left in danger; but it was the beginning of a long series of fresh misfortunes, in the midst of which the active career of McDowell in the war of the rebellion was to close. He was ordered down to the vicinity of Fredericksburg, and was specially instructed that he was "to consider the capital under his protection, and was to make no movement throwing his force out of position for the discharge of this primary duty."*

There straightway arose against him a storm of clamor that surpassed even the defamation that followed Bull Run. General McClellan regarded the withdrawal of this corps as fatal to his plans. He subsequently acquitted McDowell of all responsibility for it,† but at the time he attributed the whole matter to his subordinate's ambition for an independent command. His partizans were louder and less scrupulous. They made the army and the press of the country ring with their denunciations of McDowell. He was a drunkard. He was a gambler. He was disloyal. He had near relatives in high places in the Rebel army. He cared nothing for the country, everything for his own advancement.

And now we come to notice the strangest element in all the complex combination of the man's misfortunes. We have spoken of his coldness and habit

* McDowell's statement in review of the evidence before the Court of Inquiry in his case, p. 6.
† Ibid, p. 9.

of reserve. The volunteers could not understand it. They knew well enough that he had small respect for their military worth at the outset. They saw him shunning, even scorning, all the ordinary ways adopted by officers who wished the good will of their men. He had no charity for small breaches of order; he was a rigid disciplinarian, exacting in his requirements, and unforgiving to offenders. Then he was particularly strenuous in the repression of their favorite sin, the destruction or spoliation of the property of wealthy Rebels. Other things they might forgive, but as for this—why it was flat treachery to the cause. They were already disposed to judge him harshly by reason of his rigid and unpopular ways; the general devotion of his troops to McClellan led them to look upon him as almost criminal, because of their detachment from McClellan's command; and now, when, in addition, he began to punish loyal soldiers for tearing up Rebel fences for camp-fires, he had filled the measure of his unpopularity and had become actually odious.

So it came about that (as he afterward said in a recital that, but for its manly tone, would be piteous) men who agreed about nothing else agreed in denouncing him. The McClellan party abused him for not going to the peninsula, and the whole army, including his own command, thus became intensely hostile to him. The Radical party abused him for protecting Rebel property, using loyal soldiers to guard Rebel fence rails instead of marching on the enemy, waging a kid-glove war, taking care not to hurt either the feelings or the property of his friends, the Rebels.

"There is hardly a form of reproach," he said to the Court of Inquiry, "that was not used toward me. Every possible way my feelings could be hurt seemed to be taken, not only by those who opposed the Government, under whose very eye I was serving, but by the friends and supporters of the Government as well. It was said of me that I was idling away the time, doing nothing, on the banks of the Rappahannock; flitting back and forth between Fredericksburg and Washington for mere personal purposes; fearing to cross the river when there was opposed to me not more than a fourth of my force; clamoring for re-enforcements to guard against imaginary dangers; protecting Rebel property for the sake of the Rebels; instead of using my troops to go against the enemy, employing them only to guard the enemy's houses, fences, and fields; and then, when in hearing of the sound of the cannon of General McClellan at Hanover C. H., making no sign, but on the contrary leaving Fredericksburg to go to the Shenandoah to avoid moving on Richmond and coming under General McClellan. This and much more was said of me, week after week, and month after month. The army seldom saw my name that it was not coupled with some disparaging remark, if, inded, not with some denunciation or discreditable charge. These things were covered up or allowed, it was said, through the influence of two members of the Cabinet who were my brothers-in-law. Whatever check or disaster the Army of the Potomac incurred on the peninsula, was attributed to my failure to re-enforce that army when I could do so, and to my having broken it up, as soon as its commander was out of sight of the capital. I think I have rather underrated the case than otherwise."

A sorrowful narration, indeed, concerning a General at the head of troops whose confidence he was expected to retain, and under the control of a Government daily growing more impatient of men who could not achieve success. Yet, as he says, it rather understates than exaggerates the facts.

We have seen that the army, the press, and indeed the whole country, teemed with such charges. Finally he was denounced in the Senate by a dis-

tinguished Senator from his own State. Mr. Wade was shown an order which he had issued, in which, with some emphasis, he commanded a subordinate to stop the destruction of fences on a certain plantation. This the Senator read, and thereupon proceeded to hold its author up to the condemnation of the country Next a resolution was passed in the House of Representatives ordering the Committee on the Conduct of the War to investigate his action. As a prominent gentleman about this time said to him, he was become the most odious man in the nation.

We can now see that there was scarcely a particle of foundation for all this clamor, and that it only shows with what cruel and wicked injustice a Republic can treat its best servants in times of great popular excitement.

It has already been shown that General McClellan subsequently (on oath) exculpated McDowell from all responsibility for the order withdrawing his corps. He was as little responsible for his delay before Fredericksburg. Three several times he telegraphed for permission to cross over into the city, and finally he sent his Inspector-General to plead personally for it.* And as to the protection of Rebel property, we now have it, on the oath of so lamented a soldier and so earnest a Radical as General James S. Wadsworth, of New York,† that he foraged on the country so far as was practicable, that he paid only loyal citizens for articles taken, and that all the protection given Rebel property consisted in the stern suppression of disorderly pillage and marauding—a policy which, after the experience of the war, the most ignorant know to be absolutely essential to the preservation of discipline. On this subject he simply published to his command the army regulations issued by the War Department, and required their enforcement. His own views he subsequently laid down: "There are some who think that to live off the enemy's country means to live at free quarters, and for every one to take whatever he needs or desires. This is simply pillage, and no army can exist where it is allowed. The only safe rule is to lay it down as a law that no one shall interfere with the rights of property save he who represents the Government; that the Government only has the right to take private property for public purposes; that until the Government, through its proper agent, seizes private property, it is to be protected, and those taking it without authority are to be considered as much guilty of theft or robbery as if they had done the same thing in their own State; that all supplies seized by proper authority become the property of the Government, and are to be accounted for as regularly as if purchased with Government funds."

These are the views of an unbending disciplinarian; but they are unquestionably to be commended. His conduct was entirely within them; and but for the clamor that made him odious to his troops, it would have borne valuable fruits in their discipline.

But while all this reproach was being heaped upon McDowell, McClellan was getting slowly up the peninsula, was attributing his delays to lack of troops, and was repeating perpetually his calls for McDowell's corps.

At last, on the 17th of May, orders were issued from the War Department

* Dispatches given in statement before Court of Inquiry, pp. 6, 7. † Ibid, pp. 20, 21.

that, on being joined by General Shields's division, he should move on Richmond. This division arrived on the 22d—shoeless, ill-clad, and without ammunition. On the 23d it was refitted; on the 24th it was ready to move. But this was Sunday, and in deference to the general opinion as to his movement at Bull Run on Sunday, as well as because of the wish of Mr. Lincoln himself, who was there, the march was postponed until Monday That night Stonewall Jackson was bursting upon the scattered forces in the valley, and before the Sunday was half gone came orders to move at once for the Shenandoah!

Here, then, practically terminates General McDowell's connection with McClellan's movements against Richmond, in any of the stages in which those movements took shape. The facts certainly show sufficient promptness on his part in endeavoring to join the army before the Rebel capital; and the order calling him away drew from him an argument against its wisdom, and expressions of the keenest regret.* But he continued to be denounced for having abandoned McClellan to his fate.

The forebodings with which McDowell received this ill-considered order to go off after Stonewall Jackson† were soon realized. The operations in the valley were in the nature of an ill-concerted and inharmonious combined movement. Banks, who had the Shenandoah for his department, lay beyond Strasburg, threatening Staunton. Fremont, who had West Virginia and the mountains for a department, was marching down by the old West Virginia route through Cheat Mountain Gap and Monterey upon Staunton. Jackson had been sent north by Lee to fall upon either Banks or McDowell, as circumstances might seem to suggest. He saw at once that, scattered as the Union forces were, he could beat them in detail before they could possibly concentrate. Fremont's advance, as the nearest to Staunton, first invited his attention. On this he fell at the Bull Pasture Mountain, near McDowell, and hurled it northward toward Franklin and Moorefield.‡ Then he turned upon Banks. That officer had fallen back to Strasburg, and had a small outpost at Front Royal.

*On the same day, 24th May, General McDowell wrote to the President:

"I obeyed your order immediately, for it was positive and urgent; and perhaps, as a subordinate, there I ought to stop; but I trust I may be allowed to say something in relation to the subject, especially in view of your remark that everything depends upon the celerity and vigor of my movements. I beg to say that co-operation between General Fremont and myself, to cut off Jackson and Ewell, is not to be counted upon, even if it is not a practical impossibility; next, that I am entirely beyond helping distance of General Banks, and no celerity or vigor will be available, so far as he is concerned; next, that by a glance at the map it will be seen that the line of retreat of the enemy's forces up the valley is shorter than mine to go against him. It will take a week or ten days for the force to get to the valley by the route which will give it food and forage, and by that time the enemy will have retreated. I shall gain nothing for you there and lose much for you here. It is therefore not only on personal grounds that I have a heavy heart in the matter, but I feel that it throws us all back, and from Richmond north we shall have all our large mass paralyzed, and shall have to repeat what we have just accomplished."

†See his letter to the President, quoted in above note.

‡Not without a hard fight, under the leadership of General Schenck, in which he was held at bay till nightfall. Schenck then retreated under cover of the darkness, and though Jackson the next day pursued, he did not see fit to attack.

On this Jackson suddenly fell and destroyed it. Then pushing straight for Winchester, he strove to get upon Banks's rear and cut him off. It was on the night of the 23d that Banks discovered his danger. He immediately began a hasty retreat. On the 24th McDowell—just ready to start to Richmond—was ordered to strike the Shenandoah Valley behind Jackson—connecting with Fremont, who was to come over into it from the other side.

Regretting the order and predicting the failure, he nevertheless started at once. When he reached the neighborhood of the valley he found that Jackson was retreating up it; that Fremont, before crossing into it from the other side, had marched northward instead of southward, and so had entered it just as Jackson had passed back. Hastily sending his cavalry to join Fremont in the pursuit, he then, yielding to the judgment of his division commander, General Shields, who had previously campaigned through that country, sent him southward to strive to plant himself in front of Jackson and across his path.

The movements met with the usual fate of combined operations carried on under independent commanders. Each force was beaten in detail. Jackson turned suddenly upon Fremont's pursuing column, fought it all day at Cross Keys, and so gained time for his advance and trains to cross the river. Then, dashing across and burning the bridge behind him, he struck Shields's advance (sent up by McDowell) at Port Republic, and, after an obstinate little fight, drove it. Thus freed from all his pursuers, he leisurely turned south through the valley, leaving Fremont, and Banks, and McDowell to count their bruises. McDowell's sad prediction at the outset had been more than verified, and for the very reason which he assigned: The distance for the co-operating troops to march was greater than that over which Jackson had to retreat. They could not possibly combine until his opportunity came to turn first upon the one and then upon the other.

McDowell instantly recognized the failure, and begged for permission to resume forthwith the abandoned movement to Richmond. More than that; with a keenness of foresight quite new in the war, he warned the Administration of the terrible peril next in store: "I fear precious time is being lost so far as I am concerned, by my having to wait for General Banks, and that I am delaying the re-enforcements for Richmond, where they will be needed more than ever, *if, as I am led to think may be the case, Jackson has gone to re-enforce Lee.*"* Prophetic warning! But it fell upon inattentive ears, alike with the Administration at Washington, and with the delaying General astride the Chickahominy. It was as early as the 14th of June that it was given.

Ten days before this McDowell had begun his efforts to get out of the valley and back to Fredericksburg on his way to Richmond. On the 14th he telegraphed General Banks, also, begging him to relieve the troops from Fredericksburg still kept in the valley. On the 15th he sent an earnest dispatch to the President, renewing his petitions to be allowed to draw out of the valley and start to McClellan's aid. On the same day he telegraphed in similar terms, but more at length, to the President. Day by day he continued his efforts. At last

* McDowell's Statement to Court of Inquiry, p. 15.

he got leave to withdraw his troops from Front Royal. On the 20th they started. By the 23d they began to reach Fredericksburg. Already General McDowell had written to McClellan, expressing great pleasure at the prospect of being at last able to join him and fixing the 20th for his start. As we have seen, he had been delayed. On the 26th came the President's order, abolishing McDowell's Department of the Rappahannock, and assigning him to command under General Pope, in the new, "Army of Virginia."*

With this ended General McDowell's career as an independent commander. Its leading features may be briefly recapitulated: He had fought Bull Run. Then, on again receiving independent command, he had entered Fredericksburg, and had begged permission to join McClellan. Then, just as he was ready for this, he had been directed to the Shenandoah Valley to aid in co-operative movements for the capture of Stonewall Jackson, which, through no fault of his, utterly failed. And, finally, he had striven to get his troops out of the valley, again to march on Richmond; when, as he was nearly ready, came new arrangements, assigning him to another army and a subordinate command.

Throughout his plans had been good, his execution quite equal to that of any of his compeers, and his earnest desire to serve wherever his services might be effectual, conspicuous. Throughout he had been overwhelmed by outside causes, and forever attended by a persistent ill-fortune.

When, alarmed by Stonewall Jackson's easy triumphs in the valley; by the inharmonious operations of the three prominent Generals,† to each of whose independent commands was attached the duty of defending the capital and the northern frontier; and by the ominous delays before Richmond, Mr. Lincoln decided first to concentrate the several columns before Washington under one commander, and then, in the swiftly rushing current of events, to use this commander for an attack upon Lee, under cover of which McClellan might escape from the peninsula, it was decided that to neither of the three independent Generals lately striving in vain to co-operate, could the new trust be confided. A fresh commander, with the *prestige* of success was sought; and the West sent forward the hero of Island No. 10. Thus General McDowell once more came under the command of a junior whom, a year ago, he had left out of sight in the race for promotion—an officer of less repute in the old army than himself, and unquestionably of inferior professional acquirements. He submitted to his hard fate, not only without a murmur, but with perfect good grace and cordiality.

But the circumstances under which he now took the field for the severe campaign that was speedily inaugurated were, if possible, even less auspicious than at any previous time in his ill-starred career. Before the late operations toward the Shenandoah, his troops, for the various reasons already enumerated, had come to regard him with almost as much hostility as the enemy. Now their temper was still worse. They had been subjected to severe forced marches,

*McDowell's Statement to Court of Inquiry, pp. 17, 18.

†Fremont, Banks, and McDowell.

to exposure without tents and with half rations, on a movement that had resulted in nothing. These, were, it is true, but the incidents of an honest obedience to the orders he had received, but, as we have already seen, it was the fate of this commander to be forever held responsible for the requirements which others chose to lay upon him. So now there was fierce complaint among his soldiers. They were worn down, they said, tramping back and forth on fools' errands on which McDowell had sent them. Their transportation was cut down to seven or eight wagons to a regiment, because McDowell didn't want to see his men comfortable.* They were often treated like felons, because McDowell would have them arrested for straggling, or for appropriating the enemy's property without orders.

In such temper the unlucky General had to lead his troops into an active campaign.

When General Pope assumed the command of the department he expected to be able to lead his whole army down to co-operate with McClellan. But on that very day Lee's onset on McClellan's right began. The foreboding of McDowell that Stonewall Jackson would next appear at Richmond, had been verified. Then Pope sought at least to effect a diversion which might aid McClellan after his "change of base." To this end he concentrated his army, and moved down to Culpepper. But by this time Stonewall Jackson's mission at Richmond had been accomplished, and he was again detached northward; so that now his pickets and those of Pope began exchanging shots along the Rapidan. Banks was then pushed up to Cedar Mountain, with orders to hold his ground, and to attack if the enemy advanced upon him. Stung, however, by the recollections of his late retreat, and, perhaps, also by the needless earnestness with which General Pope's Chief of Staff volunteered to urge upon him that "there must be no backing out this time," General Banks, instead of awaiting the enemy's advance, himself precipitated the attack, on unfavorable ground and with terrible odds against him. His own conduct and that of his troops was superbly gallant, but no bravery on the field could avert the consequences of his blunder. Pope had ordered Sigel up in support, but that officer was culpably tardy in obeying. Banks was left to struggle alone with his single corps, not eight thousand strong, against Stonewall Jackson, with three divisions numbering twenty-five thousand men, in strong defensive positions; and the result was a sad swift slaughter. McDowell, in prompt obedience to Pope's orders through the day, disposed his divisions at points near Culpepper, awaiting developments. Up to five o'clock in the afternoon Pope had no idea that Banks was bringing on a severe engagement. Then he ordered McDowell up, in time to prevent the enemy from attempting to profit by Banks's repulse, but too late to have much share in the brief and bloody fighting.

Within a few days captured dispatches now revealed the plans of the wary

*Very great discontent was aroused by these efforts to mobilize the army—measures wise and necessary—objections to which only showed the greenness as soldiers of the men who made them. In this, as in so many other things, it was simply McDowell's misfortune to be ahead of his times.

General-in-Chief of the Rebel forces. McClellan was considered out of the way. Leaving a small force to garrison Richmond, Lee meant to concentrate suddenly on Pope and overwhelm him. Thus fully advised of his danger, Pope still held his advanced positions till the last, hoping thereby to relieve McClellan, and give time for his return and junction, which the Government had now ordered. Meantime he represented his danger, and began praying for re-enforcements; in reply to which the Administration begged him to hold out a little longer, and promised speedy re-enforcements from the Army of the Potomac. He felt constrained to fall back from the Rapidan to the Rappahannock; but here, near Warrenton, he stood. Finally, Stuart, with the Rebel Cavalry, crossing above his right, circled about his rear, captured his head-quarters baggage-train, and gained an accurate knowledge of his positions. Still Pope held his ground, facing westward, to oppose the threats from the direction of his right flank, and concentrating his army; while he ordered forces from about Manasses off westward to observe the gaps in the mountains, behind which it was feared that Lee (who had now arrived) might be trying to turn his right and fall upon his rear.

The precaution was too late. Lee's advance, under Stonewall Jackson, was already behind the mountains. On the 26th of August it rapidly debouched through Thoroughfare Gap, fell upon Pope's rear (at Bristoe Station), and captured trains and supplies. Thence, without delay, Jackson pushed on to Manassas Junction, carried the post, captured large quantities of supplies, with guns and prisoners. Then, as General Scammon and others, with fragments of hastily collected forces pushed out from near Washington against him, he routed them in detail, and drove forward, with flying bands of his cavalry, past Centreville, and even up to Fairfax C. H. and Burke's Station, within striking distance of the capital itself.

Meantime Pope, with his whole army, had been cut off. Jackson stood between him and Washington. In this crisis his action was judicious. He gave such orders to his several corps as to effect a rapid concentration—not at Manassas Junction, where the enemy was, but at Gainesville, to the west of it—thus hoping to cut off the possibility of Jackson's retreat, and to interpose between him and the rest of Lee's army, advancing through the gap. McDowell, holding the left, was to push straight for Gainesville, and Sigel, who was next him, was to come under his orders.

Now it happened that among McDowell's particular aversions were the Captains and Majors from European armies, who, by virtue of their supposed experience abroad, were made Brigadier and Major-Generals in our service. Thus far the conduct of General Sigel had done little to create a more favorable impression in his case.* But, on the night of the 27th, McDowell arrived at Gainesville with both corps in as good order as could be expected.

Here McDowell proposed to hold Sigel's corps, while a division was to be sent to Haymarket, just this side of Thoroughfare Gap, to resist and at least

*Siegel had been ordered to Banks's relief at Cedar Mountain, before McDowell, but had sent back to know what road he should take, there being but one road!

delay the passage of the rest of Lee's army to Jackson's relief. With the rest of his command he would march at daylight toward Jackson's supposed position at Manassas, to co-operate with the rest of Pope's forces. The substance of these dispositions was, in fact, embodied in an order, written about midnight.

But within an hour a confident dispatch was received from Pope. The enemy was between Manassas and Gainesville. McDowell was to move at daylight toward Manassas with his whole force. If he did so, they were "to bag the whole crowd."

A new order was therefore issued, prescribing the movements of the several divisions in accordance with these directions. Realizing, however, the danger from Thoroughfare Gap, McDowell still, on his own responsibility, made it the special duty of one of the divisions to keep watch in that direction—away from which the command was to march—and to turn and resist any force that might be discovered coming through it. General Pope afterward expressed his regret at this step, but subsequent events, as well as sound military precautions, abundantly sanction its wisdom.

On the morning, then, of the eventful 28th, McDowell's command was by Pope's order to march south-east to Manassas Junction. It was the first dangerous error. For, by every step taken in this direction, the army was carrying itself off the direct line between Jackson and the rest of the army in whose coming now lay his only safety—was moving *out of* position to prevent the junction. Jackson adroitly moved northward from Manassas Junction toward Groveton. Then, between him and the approaching troops of Lee stretched an open road.

Meantime, partly perhaps because of the secret antagonism of feeling between the two, but more because of direct misconduct on the part of Sigel, that officer had failed to obey promptly McDowell's order for movement at two o'clock toward Manassas Junction. At daylight he was still in camp; by noon he was only two miles from Gainesville, where he had spent the night. Even then he persisted in going south of the railroad, after repeated orders sent over by McDowell to move along the north side of it. The line of advance was thus carried away from the direction in which Jackson was moving to evade the threatened blow. The delay had also hindered the advance of the other corps; and so the division commander charged to watch Thoroughfare Gap construed it to be his duty, while the rear of the army was thus exposed, to take post in that direction.

So it came about that when Pope, having about noon discovered that Jackson had escaped from Manassas northward, sent orders to McDowell to change his route northward also, and take the direct road to Centreville, that officer, out of his two corps, had but one division so in hand that he could promptly turn it. Before the rest could get up this division, late in the afternoon, was approaching Jackson's position just north of the old Bull Run battle-field at Groveton. Jackson instantly fell upon it, and a fierce conflict ensued. The troops maintained themselves, as Jackson officially reported, with obstinate determination, but they were effectually checked; and their commander, being

alarmed by his apparently isolated position, fell back after nightfall toward Manassas again. McDowell himself was absent trying to find Pope.

While this fight was going on, the division ordered by McDowell to watch Thoroughfare Gap was in sorer straits. Longstreet's corps of Lee's army coming up through the gap to Jackson s relief attacked it. The ground was obstinately contested, but Longstreet sent flanking forces along bridle-paths in the mountains; and, in effect, the passage was forced, and the rest of Lee's army was long before nightfall hastening due east along the open road past Gainesville to Jackson. For Pope's grave error in turning McDowell south-eastward toward Manassas Junction had taken him off the road by which Lee advanced. The last obstruction was thus removed to the junction of the rest of the Rebel army to Jackson's previously isolated wing.

What follows is a pitiful story `Pope had been moving not only McDowell's two corps, but all the rest of the army, including the re-enforcements from the Army of the Potomac, by converging routes on Manassas Junction, where he had hoped to surround Jackson. When now, on the morning of the 29th, he discovered that Jackson had eluded him, his columns were all out of place with reference to a speedy onset at Groveton. The parts of the army were all dislocated.

But he collected them as he could; sent Sigel to open the attack, while McDowell, relieved of his unwilling subordinate, by coming again under the direct orders of the General commanding the army, was to take one division along with Porter's corps back again to Gainesville to keep off Lee—thus returning directly over the advance of the day before. Some time was spent in issuing rations to the troops, who were worn out and disgusted with this confused marching and counter-marching. Then McDowell started toward Gainesville. Presently he found Porter halted. That officer believed that Longstreet was already joining Jackson on his front. McDowell says he ordered him to attack. Porter says the order was to remain where he was. At any rate, taking his own troops, McDowell once more turned back toward Groveton, where he did not arrive till late in the afternoon.

These contradictory orders and marches, it is plain, frittered away the chance that still remained on the morning of the 29th for overpowering Jackson. By noon, according to the reports of the Confederates themselves. Longstreet had effected the junction.* But it does not appear that McDowell is to blame for this. It is not, indeed, clear that he was distinct in his own ideas as to the true policy; but he obeyed his orders.

The battle of the 29th was indecisive. But Lee's whole army was now up, and was flushed with this great success in effecting the junction in the face of Pope's efforts. Pope's army, on the other hand, was exhausted, scattered, and

*This is a point much disputed. Pope maintains that no considerable part of the army reached Jackson till the evening of the 29th, and the question of Fitz John Porter's action turns largely upon the correctness or error of this view. General D. R. Jones, who commanded the *rear* division of Longstreet's corps, says in his report: "Arriving on the ground about noon, my command was stationed," etc. This would seem to settle the matter, since no conceivable motive can be assigned for his making a misrepresentation on such a point.

bewildered with the confused movements. It had begun to lose faith in all its commanders; and, as a whole, it did not fight as well as it should. The opening of the battle on the 30th was signalized by another mistake. Lee was proposing to attack Pope's left, just as Pope began an attack upon Lee's left. Naturally this flank was found a little retired—troops having been drawn off to the other wing for the attack Lee was preparing. Thereupon Pope leaped to the conclusion that it was a retreat, that Lee "was fleeing to the mountains," and so ordered a "pursuit," which McDowell was to conduct. The pursuit was met by the outbursting of fierce fire from an enemy suddenly seen swarming over positions he was thought to have abandoned. At the same time Lee's attack on Pope's left was delivered. Seeing this, McDowell instantly detached a division to hold Bald Hill, back on the old Bull Run battle-field, whither the attack seemed to be driving the whole left wing. This step was wise, in that it protected the only road by which the army could retreat; but it weakened the offensive force on the right. This was of the less consequence, as the enemy's position here, in an old railroad cut, was not to be carried. Repeated assaults ended in bloody repulse. Finally Longstreet established an enfilading fire along McDowell's line, and he was compelled to fall back. Jackson instantly advanced, the rest of the Rebel line followed, and the second battle of Bull Run was over. McDowell's fortunate disposition of troops on the hills covering the road secured the passage across the stream.

Palpably the campaign was over. The next day Pope began retiring to the defenses of Washington—an operation not completed without the indecisive but costly battle of Chantilly, by the way, with the addition of Kearney and Stevens to the ghastly list of our slain.

And thus, as at the outset of McDowell's career in the war, a cruel fortune had sent him drifting back on the capital from the lost field of Bull Run, with a mob for an army—so now it was fated that his career should end, as from the self-same field, in similar confusion, he drifted back with the remnants of two greater armies. On the 6th of September he was relieved of command.

General Pope professed himself, not only satisfied, but highly pleased with McDowell's conduct through this brief but crowded campaign.* General Halleck declared that McDowell had rendered signal service and deserved national gratitude. The President and Cabinet said he had done nothing deserving of blame.

But all this was of no avail. The hatred of his soldiers and the hostility of the McClellan party could not pass for nothing. A storm of obloquy burst upon him, compared with which the storm after the first Bull Run was but a summer breeze. The soldiers everywhere denounced him as a drunkard and a traitor. The newspapers poured upon him an incessant stream of abuse—many

*Subsequently, in his official report, Pope said: "General McDowell led his corps through the whole of the campaign with ability and vigor; and I am greatly indebted to him for zealous and distinguished service, both in the battle of the 29th and 30th August, and in the operations which preceded and succeeded those battles."

of those from his own State taking the lead in this calumnious work. Every day the poltroon's threat was heard from some of those who professed to have served under him, that they meant to shoot him in the very next action in which they should be engaged. Finally all this calumny took tangible shape in the publication of a letter written by Colonel Thornton F Broadhead, of the First Michigan Cavalry, of McDowell's command, after he had received a mortal wound:

"*Dear Brother and Sister:*—I am passing now from earth, but send you love from my dying couch. For all your love and kindness you will be rewarded.

"I have fought manfully and now die fearlessly. I am one of the victims of Pope's imbecility and McDowell's treason.

"Tell the President would he save the country he must not give our hallowed flag to such hands. But the old flag will triumph yet. The soldiers will regild its folds, polluted by imbecility and treason.

"John, you owe a duty to your country. Write—show up Pope's imbecility and McDowell's infamy, and force them from places where they can send brave men to assured destruction.

"I had hoped to live longer, but I die midst the ring and clangor of battle, as I could wish.

"Farewell! To you and to the noble officers of my regiment I confide wife and children.

"THORNTON."

Nothing can well be conceived more distressing to an innocent commander than charges like these, honestly put forward by a dying subordinate. Yet we may well believe that, agonizing as they were, McDowell was rejoiced at their publication. For now, at last, though no superior had one word of complaint against him, he was able to treat this letter of a dying man in the light of charges formally preferred, and to demand thereon a trial before a properly-organized court. This, in language properly chosen, and in a temper every way honorable to him as a patriotic soldier, he instantly did, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, September 6, 1862.

"*To His Excellency the President:*

"I have been informed by a Senator that he has seen a note in pencil, written by a Colonel of cavalry mortally wounded in the recent battles, stating, among other causes, that he was dying a victim to McDowell's treachery, and that his last request was that this note be shown to you. That the Colonel believed this charge, and felt that his last act on earth was a great public service, there can be no question. This solemn accusation from the grave of a gallant officer, who died for his country, is entitled to great consideration, and I feel called upon to meet it as well as so general a charge from one now no longer able to support it can be met. I therefore beg you to please cause a court to be instituted for its investigation; and in the absence of any knowledge whatever of the particular act or acts, time or place, or general conduct, the deceased may have had in view, I have to ask that the inquiry be without limitation, and be upon any point and every subject which may in any way supposed to have led to this belief; that it may be directed to my whole conduct as a general officer, either under another or whilst in a separate command; to my correspondence with any one of the enemy's commanders, or with any one within the enemy's lines; to my conduct or the policy pursued by me toward the inhabitants of the country occupied by our troops, with reference to themselves or their property; and further, to any indications of indirect treachery, or disloyalty to the nation, or any individual having, like myself, an important trust; whether I have or have not been faithful as a subordinate to those placed over me—given them a hearty and, to the best of my capacity, all the support in my power; and whether I have or have not failed, through unworthy or personal motives, to go to the aid of, or send re-enforcements to my brother commanders.

"That this subject of my alleged treachery or disloyalty will be fully inquired into, I beg

that all officers, soldiers, or civilians who know, or think they know, of any act of mine liable to the charge in question, be invited and allowed to make it known to the court.

"I also beg that the proceedings of the court may be open and free to the press from day to day. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"IRVIN McDOWELL,

"Commanding Third Army Corps Army of Virginia."

The request was granted, an able court was appointed, and many weeks were spent in the protracted investigation. General Pope was examined; General McClellan, General Wadsworth, General Sigel, and scores of less important officers were examined; every one who hated McDowell, or who professed to know aught against him was requested to come and testify to it. The results of this patient and tedious search may be briefly stated.

(1.) It was proved that, instead of being a drunkard, no living mortal had ever seen him taste liquors or wines; and his associates, those who had known him from boyhood, and those who had seen his daily life in the army, declared him to be a rigid and absolute "total abstinent."

(2.) It was proved that, instead of intriguing to withdraw his corps from McClellan, he was utterly ignorant of such intention on the part of any one till the withdrawal was ordered; that instead of seeking to retain his independent command at Fredericksburg, he was constantly striving for permission to march to McClellan's relief; and that, instead of suggesting the foolish diversion to the Shenandoah after Stonewall Jackson, he had foreseen and earnestly pointed out its impracticability

(3.) It was proved that, instead of refusing to employ the resources of the enemy s country, he had issued orders to forage liberally upon the enemy, but had insisted with the rigor of a severe disciplinarian, that this should be done in an orderly manner, and that marauding and pillage should be sternly punished; whereupon the marauders and pillagers denounced him, and the excited country espoused their cause.

(4.) It was proved that, instead of carrying on frequent and friendly correspondence with the Rebel commanders, almost his only correspondence was concerning the wanton murder of a noted loyal Virginian, Robert E. Scott, whose admission to the Cabinet had been contemplated. He deplored the act, and earnestly strove to further the personal wishes of the bereaved widow

(5.) It was proved that, instead of devoting his army to the protection of Rebel citizens, he had only devoted himself to the protection of his army. Utter demoralization must have resulted from the permission, which he refused, to commit acts of license upon the inhabitants.

(6.) And, finally, it was proved that, throughout the campaign from Cedar Creek to the defenses of Washington, he had obeyed every order promptly and skillfully; and that when left to his own judgment he had acted, not perhaps always for the best, but certainly as always seemed for the best. General Sigel undertook to make strictures upon an alleged want of promptness and co-operation at certain stages, which resulted in the conclusive proof of General Sigel's own disobedience of orders at the stages referred to, and of other serious mis-

conduct. And General Milroy made strictures upon his alleged refusal to furnish him re-enforcements near the close of the battle of the second Bull Run, which led to the proof of Milroy's not having a command of even a company on the field at that time to re-enforce; of his attempting to interfere with the commands of others; and of his being in a frenzy of excitement, which left him scarcely responsible for his actions.

And so the investigation ended. At its close General McDowell submitted a singularly calm statement in review of the evidence, which he concluded as follows:

"It is now more than five months since, upon an intimation from the highest authority, I asked for this investigation. It has been held near where all the alleged acts of commission or omission took place. It has been open. All persons have been invited, in the most public way, to disclose to the court whatever they knew which would tend to show criminality in my conduct as an officer or as a man; and the court have asked witnesses not only what they knew, but what they knew others knew. Those who do not wish me well have been asked every question likely to develop anything to my prejudice. I feel now, after this tedious and patient investigation, which this court has so faithfully made, that as to the past, on all matters concerning my loyalty or sobriety, I may be spared the charges that have been so freely made against me.

"Nearly two years ago I was here, organizing the small beginnings of the grand Army of the Potomac. When I commenced, we had here in Washington Cooper, now the senior General in the secession army; Lee, commanding at Fredericksburg; Johnston, the commander of the Rebel Army of the Mississippi; Magruder, the commander of the enemy's forces in Texas; Pemberton, the commander at Vicksburg; Jones and Fields, prominent on the other side, besides many others of less rank. Alexandria was mostly, if not wholly, secession; Georgetown and Washington were very much so. I organized the first hundred, the first thousand, and the first brigade of the loyal citizens of the place, and this in opposition to all the bad influences brought to bear against us. And when the troops from the North came down, and the capital had been saved and the opposite shore taken, I organized the army of which the present one is but an extension—a great one, it is true.

"I have been in constant active service. No doubt of my loyalty has been entertained by the authorities or my superiors, and no evidence questioning it has been brought before this court. And yet I have had to leave my command and undergo the humiliation of an investigation on a charge, in my case, as baseless as it is senseless; and this in as intelligent a country as ours claims to be. The charge of treason is a fit pendant to the one of drunkenness, and quite as true, seeing that to this day I have never drank anything but water.

"Is it not a bad symptom in the nation when such things can take place? Can its officers sustain themselves under such a system, and render that service which the country needs in its present critical state, and must have as a condition of its salvation?"

The appeal was in vain. The court completely vindicated McDowell, but the country was not then in a mood to do justice to those against whom it had prejudices, and the troops were as violent as ever in their hostility. It was thus impossible to assign him to the command of forces in the field. He was made President of a court for investigating alleged cotton frauds, and in this capacity he served, mostly in the South-west, through the months of May, June, and July, 1863. He was made President of a Board, at Wilmington, Delaware, for retiring disabled officers of the army; and in this service he continued from July, 1863, to May, 1864. Then, in July, 1864, he was sent to the Pacific coast, in command of that department. When, at the close of the war, in the redistribution of commands to the Major-Generals in the regular army, it became necessary to assign Halleck to the military district composed of the Pacific slope,

McDowell was given (June, 1865) the most desirable of its departments, that of California. Here he long continued, serving in the rank of Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General* in the regular army, in honor after so much detraction, but cheated of the large career and brilliant fame to which his fine capacities, his early start, and his continued devotion entitled him to aspire.

And now, what shall we say in attempting to estimate the military character of an officer with such a career? Pursued, as he was, by misfortunes, forever the victim of circumstances, forever on the point of accomplishing brilliant results, and forever toppling backward instead into an abyss of disasters, doomed to see his wisest preparations frustrated by outside causes, his most earnest devotion doubted, his most careful discipline begetting insubordination, and his most exposed service procuring the charge of treachery,—in what light can we fairly consider him but as the jest and plaything of malevolent Fates?

Yet we shall not judge him aright if we trace the sources of his persistent ill-fortune exclusively to outside causes. Faults inherent in the character of the man helped to swell the bias against him. His aristocratic ideas led to an imprudent scorn of popular opinion. His dislike for adventurers led to an ill-concealed contempt for the suddenly-advanced officers of foreign services. His prejudices against the unquestioned irregularities of volunteers led to an unwise harshness of bearing and of discipline. Sadly ill-fitted to the management of the troops of a democratic Republic, he was not free from the current talk of the West Pointers against the politicians who had made them. His intellectual conservatism led to a revulsion against the abolition current which was the life-blood of the war. His somewhat torpid habit of perceptions caused him sometimes to persist in a wrong course, where men of quicker and shallower thoughts would have seen its tendencies, to be blind to the injurious workings of his discipline, to be incredulous of evil reports. His pride was so great that, knowing himself odious, he would resort to none of the common modes for acquiring or regaining popularity

These habits of thought and of action helped the failure which they were not sufficient to create; and it is for this reason that the career of McDowell becomes a notable warning and example to younger officers. His faults were not vices—they were simply the excess of qualities commendable enough in themselves.

At the outset he seemed to have before him the most brilliant opportunities of any officer in the army. He had seen the war in Mexico from the best of positions—the staff of a commanding General. He had enlarged upon the knowledge thus acquired by copious study. He had seen the organizations and movements of European armies. He had long enjoyed the personal instruction of Winfield Scott. Profiting by all these advantages, he had become probably the best military scholar, the best theoretical soldier in the service. He enjoyed the favor of the General-in-Chief. He was likewise in high favor with the Ad-

*The Brevet Major-Generalship in the regular army was not conferred until March 13, 1865, long after the calumnies against him were refuted. It was "for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Cedar Mountain, Virginia."

ministration, and was peculiarly esteemed by the member of the Cabinet then the most influential.

With such brilliant auguries he entered the war. Within little over a year he was retired from active service, the most odious officer in the army. His active career embraced two great lost battles, a movement on Fredericksburg, an inconsequential race after Stonewall Jackson, and the minor operations at the head of his corps in Pope's Virginia campaign. In the battle in which he exercised independent command his conduct was skillful and able. In that in which he was subordinate, he so bore himself as to receive the highest praises of his chief. His military conduct throughout, if not brilliant, was at least in a high degree judicious and well-conceived. But he displayed an utter incapacity for acquiring the confidence of volunteers.

In a somewhat sad letter of McDowell's, which we have lately seen, he speaks mournfully enough of his record in the war of the rebellion as being a disagreeable subject: "I feel," he says, "that I am one of the '*might-have-beens*' rather than one of those who *have been and are.* I was much struck by a report of General Sherman's speech in Columbus,* which, in enumerating the Ohio Generals, omits my name altogether!"

He should dismiss this feeling. Republics may not always be grateful; and it often happens that in the heat of exciting events they are grossly unjust. But honest services, conspicuously rendered, can not be always misrepresented, nor can they every pass out of men's memories. History, he may be sure, will plead successfully with Oblivion for his name.

His place, in the sure judgment of coming times, is secure. He will not be reckoned brilliant or great. But his ability and his devotion will be recognized. His manifold misfortunes, the amiability with which he encountered personal reverses, the fortitude with which he endured calumny, will be recounted. Men will do justice to the services he rendered us in our darkest hours; and he will leave an enduring and an honorable fame.

General McDowell is a man of large, well-developed frame, of excellent presence and consummate address. His head is large, and the face is strong and heavy. Among his friends, and in the freedom of the social circle, no man can be more winning. In his general intercourse he is reserved and cold. Politically, he is understood to be a Conservative Republican. He has long been married, and a promising family grows up about him. Army life has become a habit with him, and there is little likelihood now of his ever leaving the service. He enjoys the respect and confidence of his superiors—as he did through the whole season of his troubles; and officers generally still look upon him as one of the most accomplished soldiers in the army.

*Sherman's appointment to a Colonelcy in the regular army at the outbreak of the war, when opposed by some of the authorities was warmly indorsed and seconded by McDowell, who was then powerful. It is little wonder, then, that he should be struck by Sherman's complete forgetfulness of him.

MAJOR-GENERAL DON CARLOS BUELL.

DON CARLOS BUELL, one of the most accomplished military scholars of the old army, and one of the most unpopular Generals of volunteers during the war of the rebellion—an officer who oftener deserved success than won it—who was, perhaps, the best organizer of an army that the contest developed, and who was certainly the hero of the greatest of the early battles of the war, was born near Marietta, in Washington County, Ohio, on the 23d of March, 1818.

Captain Timothy Buell, one of the early settlers of Cincinnati, was the General's grandfather on the maternal side, and Salmon Buell on the paternal side. Captain Buell is said to have built the first brick house erected in Cincinnati. He did not remain there long, however, but yielded to the wishes of some other members of his family and removed to Washington County, where they were then settled. Shortly afterward the war with the Indians broke out, and the Captain, raising a company, and taking with him his nephew, Salmon D. Buell, went into the field. They served till the close of the war. Shortly after their return young Salmon married Eliza, the daughter of his uncle and Captain. Of this marriage, the first son was Don Carlos Buell.

Before the lad, that was afterward to hold so prominent positions, had completed his seventh year his father died. The mother, after some time, married Mr. Dunlevy, who was then clerk of the Washington County Court, and continued in that office until his death. Young Don Carlos, however, was soon taken by his uncle, George P. Buell, to Lawrenceburg, Indiana, where his boyhood was passed. Among the men of that place verging on the fifties are many who remember him as playmate and school-fellow. They unite in describing the future General as a reserved and taciturn lad, having few intimate associates, but regarded by them as a "most genial and companionable fellow" He excelled in the boyish sports of the time, was a fearless hunter, and noted as the best skater in all that region. Usually undemonstrative and quiet in demeanor, he nevertheless gave proof enough that, when roused, he was not only a brave but almost a savage fighter. Shortly after his arrival, the "town bully" among the lads of the time, one Joseph Danagh, determined to see what stuff the "new boy" was made of. They met at the town pump one morning, a ring was formed, and the new boy proved his mettle by beating the bully. From that time his position was secure.

Until his sixteenth year young Don Carlos attended school at Lawrence-

burg, making fair progress, and being regarded as a promising boy, of excellent moral habits, and remarkable for his sturdiness of purpose. At sixteen he entered the dry-goods store of John P. Dunn & Co., in Lawrenceburg, as a clerk. Here he remained until, a year later, Hon. Amos Lane, then the Representative in Congress from that district, gave him an appointment as cadet at West Point.

Cadet Buell graduated in the class of 1841, standing thirty-second in general merit. Above him were Horatio G. Wright, who stood second; Amiel W Whipple, fifth; Nathaniel Lyon, eleventh; Schuyler Hamilton, twenty-fourth; James Totten, twenty-fifth, and John F Reynolds, twenty-sixth. Below him were such men as Alfred Sully, thirty-fifth, and Wm. F H. Brooks, forty-sixth. In the Academy at the same time, though in other classes, were many who have since been regarded as among the ablest men of the army: Sherman, George H. Thomas, and R. S. Ewell one year ahead of him; Halleck, Stevens, Ricketts, Ord, and Canby two years ahead; Beauregard, Irvin McDowell, and Hardee three years ahead; Eustis (Professor in Harvard), Newton, Rosecrans, Pope, McLaws, Earl Van Dorn, and Longstreet one year behind him;* Wm. B. Franklin, John J. Peck, Jos. J. Reynolds, U. S. Grant, and Rufus Ingalls two years behind; Alfred Pleasanton, S. B. Buckner, and W. S. Hancock three years behind him.

On graduation General Buell was assigned to duty as Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Third Infantry. Thenceforward he led the monotonous and comparatively obscure life of a subordinate officer of regulars, bearing his share in the Mexican war, rising by slow gradation, till, in 1861, we find him in the Adjutant-General's office at Washington, regarded by the few who concerned themselves with the affairs of the army as one of its best administrative officers, and ranking as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Adjutant-General's Department.

In the autumn of 1861 Kentucky had already enjoyed the services of three Department Commanders. Under the first (General McClellan), nothing of consequence had been done, save the agreement upon an ill-understood and afterward disputed compact recognizing the neutrality of this sovereign State.† Under the second (General Robert Anderson), the volunteering of Kentuckians in the Union army had gone rapidly forward; but he was enfeebled by disease and the shock of Sumter, and under his nerveless grasp of the State the Rebel armies had carried on recruiting within its limits quite as successfully, and almost as openly. Under the third (General W T. Sherman), the reign of panic had been begun. The advance toward East Tennessee had been converted into a hurried race toward the Ohio for no sufficient cause; the invasion by Buckner had created alarm for the safety of Louisville; troops had been

* Among the scores of illustrations which the Army Register offers of the worthlessness of academy standing as an indication of military ability, may be mentioned the fact that in this last class the ablest of the Rebel corps commanders (after Stonewall Jackson's death), James Longstreet, stood *fifty-fourth.*

† See *ante* Life of McClellan.

ordered to destroy railroads, burn baggage, and make hasty retreats northward; the abandonment of Louisville and concentration of the army on the north side of the Ohio, at New Albany, had been seriously contemplated; the Secretary of War and the Adjutant-General of the army had been gravely assured that the instant wants of the service in Kentucky demanded two hundred thousand men!*

The Administration was now thoroughly alarmed, not so much at its danger from the enemy as at the condition of its own commander, and on the return of the Secretary to Washington there was a hasty consultation as to the best man to be forthwith sent to Kentucky. With both General Scott and General McClellan, as well as with all familiar with army matters at Washington, the cautious and correct Adjutant-General stood high. He was presently selected, without any previous knowledge that such promotion was awaiting him, and on the 9th of November, 1861, the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Tennessee, and that portion of Kentucky east of the Cumberland River were constituted "the Department of the Ohio," to be commanded by Brigadier-General Buell. The same order sent Halleck to St. Louis to succeed Fremont.

Kentucky was thought to be in a critical condition. A provisional government had been inaugurated by the Rebels at Russellville, near the south-western border, and nearly one-half the State acknowledged its authority. It was supposed, as General Buell subsequently said,† that "the Union element was confined, for the most part, to the old men; that the mass of the young men were on the eve of joining the Rebel cause, and that nothing but extraordinary exertion and judicious management could secure the State from the vortex toward which the excitement of revolution was carrying her." On this theory his opening policy in the administration of affairs in his Department would seem to have been based. He soon succeeded in securing the perfect confidence of the Union men of the State. The same species of admiration for his executive ability that was already turning the head of the Young Napoleon to the Eastward, sprang up with reference to the new commander of the Department of the Ohio. His decisions were accepted as infallible; his calls for troops

* In preceding pages of this work (Life of Sherman) I have mentioned the fact that an authorized biographer of General Sherman has since explained that he said, "Sixty thousand to drive the enemy out of Kentucky; two hundred thousand to finish the war in this section;" and have discredited the explanation, as bearing signs of being an after-thought. Since those pages were stereotyped, I have been authorized by the gentleman then acting as Private Secretary to Adjutant-General Thomas (Mr. Samuel Wilkeson, of New York), who was the only other person present at the interview on the part of the Washington authorities, to pronounce the explanation utterly without warrant in fact. His recollections and those of the Secretary and Adjutant-General are concurrent and clear. They unite in saying that General Sherman had been explaining the immense preponderance of Rebel forces in Kentucky, his great and imminent danger, and the pressing demand for re-enforcements; that Mr. Cameron asked, "How many men do you need, General?" and that Sherman promptly and with great emphasis answered, "Two hundred thousand, sir." They describe his manner and appearance as those of a man terribly excited and alarmed, using the wildest language, and, as they thought, scarcely conscious of the purport of his words.

† Buell's statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission in his case.

were held to result from a wise understanding of the wants of the service; in all ways men sought to hold up his hands and exalt his authority. Meantime his dignified bearing, and his manifest desire to conciliate the prejudices of Kentucky Unionists, had combined to make him personally popular. The newspapers praised him; he was eulogized at public meetings; steamboats were named after him; special delight was taken in the fact that though he was a Unionist he was not an Abolitionist.

The new General found about twenty-seven thousand effective troops in his Department, besides forty or more Kentucky regiments, complete and incomplete, which were still scattered through the State, some without arms or organization, and nearly all without discipline. There was no transportation for a campaign, supplies had not been accumulated, and a large part of the force was still a heterogeneous mass. Meanwhile the Government, embittered at the untoward result of the former movement, was urging a new advance toward East Tennessee. To this, therefore, his first thoughts were directed. Looking southward from Louisville he saw on his immediate front an army which he estimated at thirty-five thousand men,* with railroad connections to Nashville and Columbus that would enable a rapid concentration of all the Rebel force in the West. Away to the eastward of this formidable army stretched the route, through East Tennessee, two hundred miles from the end of railroad transportation, a rough and comparatively barren country. Over this supplies must be carried in wagon trains, and through the whole extent of the route these must be carefully guarded.

On this estimate of the conditions of his problem, General Buell formed his plans, and within two weeks after assuming command of the Department, communicated them in elaborate letters to the General-in-Chief. For the East Tennessee movement he would require a column of twenty thousand men, with ten thousand more to act as reserve, and guard the line of supplies. For the movements against the enemy in front, which he seems to have regarded as more important, he had a notable proposition to make. He would leave the Rebels to hold their intrenchments at Bowling Green, would march rapidly to the eastward around their flank, through Glasgow and Gallatin, and fall upon Nashville in midwinter. Meantime he would rely upon a force from Missouri to ascend the Cumberland under protection of the gunboats, bearing up ample supplies on transports, and meeting him at Nashville. It was the origin of the first great campaign of the West that cut the Rebel line and threw back their armies to Northern Mississippi.†

Of the plan thus outlined nothing can be said but praise. Its stolen laurels raised another General to the head of the army for a time, till his proved incompetency fairly drove him out. A prominent share in its execution started

* Buell's statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission in his case, p. 2.

† Buell's letters to McClellan, 27th and 30th November, 1861; letter to New York World, in review of Sherman's speech at Planter House banquet, September 5, 1865; statement in review of evidence before Military Commission, p. 4.

another on the career which led to the Lieutenant-Generalship, and to the creation for him of a grade higher than that which a grateful Congress thought sufficient reward for George Washington. Of the estimates for troops for the work less can be said. Precisely what was General Buell's belief at the time as to the strength of the opposing force we can not tell. But as late as May, 1863, he committed himself officially to the declaration that Sidney Johnston had at Bowling Green twenty-five thousand men, and that, including the outposts north of the Cumberland, his strength was about thirty-five thousand.* There are not wanting evidences that to a much later period General Buell continued to maintain that the force which held him back from Nashville, through the winter of 1861–62, was fairly stated in these figures.

Now it so happens that there is at hand evidence on this subject of the Rebel strength at Bowling Green, which dispassionate judges will not hesitate to accept. In March, 1862, the Confederate Congress appointed a committee to investigate the surrender of Fort Donelson, and the evacuation of Nashville, whereof Henry S. Foote was chairman. Appended to the report of this committee† is an unofficial letter from Sidney Johnston to Jefferson Davis, which seems to have been given to the committee after the death of Johnston at Pittsburg Landing had removed the bar of secrecy In this letter the Rebel strength with which Bowling Green was first occupied is fixed at four thousand. By the 15th of October Johnston says it was raised to twelve thousand; and at that strength it remained till the end of November. Meantime, he naïvely says: "I magnified my forces to the enemy, but made known my true strength to the Department and the Governors of States." He then explains that he decided to fight for Nashville at Donelson, and gave the better part of his army to do it, retaining only fourteen thousand to cover his front, and giving sixteen thousand to defend Donelson. And he adds that while the reports led him to believe that he had fourteen thousand at Bowling Green, yet when this column reached Nashville it was found to number less than ten thousand.‡ An average force, therefore, of twelve thousand at Bowling Green may be fairly said to have held back the twenty-three thousand effectives whom Buell found awaiting him on his arrival, and the re-enforcements which more than doubled his strength before he moved. To leave the burden of censure for this wholly upon General Buell would be unjust. For he had to deal with the marplot at St. Louis, who was afterward to harass the whole Nation for a time from the post of General-in-Chief at Washington; and, as we are soon to see, he found co-operation with Halleck a thing not to be attained. Nor is it clear that if he had been given permission to carry out his own plan with his own forces alone, he would not have attempted it. But there had now sprung up about the General a clique of super-serviceable defenders, who filled the newspapers, and even the councils of men influencing the business of the war, with silly stories concerning the fortifications at

*Buell's statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission in his case, p. 2.

†Richmond Official Edition, pp. 171, 175.

‡This is explained by the violent attacks of camp measles, which had so enfeebled the men that four thousand of them were unable to endure the fatigue of the retreat to Nashville.

Bowling Green—the Manassas, as they chose to style them, of the West—the Gibraltar of the country between the mountains and the Great River. These tremendous fortifications, it was declared, were fully manned with a force as complete as that which at Bull Run had shattered McDowell; and whoever reduced the statement of the Rebel strength to a reasonable limit, was set down as one of the fanatical agitators who were bent on ruining the cause by starting a new "On to Richmond" crusade, with as little preparation, and on a more dangerous field. General Buell was too cautious and too reticent a man to say these things; but they were freely said about his head-quarters, and not always, it may well be believed, without his tacit approval.

While the discussion of plans went on, the organization and discipline of the army were vigorously pushed. Much as General Buell afterward did to merit grateful remembrance, this was the most valuable service he rendered to the Nation. He took the Army of the Cumberland a disjointed, undrilled, unsoldierly militia mob—not without excellent troops, but with a vast preponderance of men who bore no resemblance to real soldiers save in their uniform. He left it the best drilled, best disciplined, most thoroughly trustworthy of the great armies that through the four years' fighting upheld and advanced the banner of the Republic.*

Under General McClellan there had been no army in Kentucky to drill. Under General Anderson little had been accomplished save to gather the inchoate elements of an army. Under General Sherman regimental and brigade commanders had, in individual cases, made efforts at establishing discipline, but there was no guiding head, acting on uniform rules for its enforcement; since, with all the brilliant qualities he was afterward to display, General Sherman neither then, nor at subsequent periods of his career, proved himself a good disciplinarian.† Such was the state in which General Buell found his force that on the very day after assuming command he thought it necessary to order reports of the number and condition of troops to head-quarters—there being, as it would seem, no data at hand from which he could satisfactorily learn what he had. A day or two later the growing evidences of irregularities made him regard it as needful to instruct commanders as to the drill of their men, the hours for reveille, tatto, and taps, the mode of guard-mounting, the necessity for the presence of officers at the daily drills, the importance of having ammunition in the cartridge-boxes, and haversacks and canteens ready for the march! At such elementary points was it necessary to begin his work.‡

* That which was afterward called the Army of the Tennessee was too small a body to be included in this comparison; and of other armies few will suggest any that should be named in advance of or even in connection with the Army of the Cumberland, unless it be the Army of the Potomac. Into that comparison I do not consider it needful to enter. For over a year Buell's army was known as the "Army of the Ohio." I have preferred to speak of it throughout by the name by which it is best known.

† Through the winter of 1861–2 large numbers of troops passed from West Virginia into Kentucky, who had already been seasoned to campaigning under the eye of General Rosecrans. To these the description of the condition of the army in Kentucky does not so fully apply. Even in their cases, however, there was still ample room for the enforcement of a rigid discipline.

‡ General Order No. 3, Department of the Ohio, 20th November, 1861.

A day or two later we find him discovering the necessity of admonishing officers that they must not appear on parade without uniforms, or live away from the encampments of the troops they commanded;* and, three days afterward, that there were regular military channels for the conduct of official correspondence; that subordinate commanders must not assume to accept the resignations of officers or order the discharge of soldiers; that free passes over railroads must not be distributed miscellaneously by officers to their friends; that leaves of absence for long or indefinite periods could not be accorded by subordinate commanders; and finally, that it was necessary to distribute and read general orders!†

Beginning thus at first principles, General Buell soon made the reins of authority felt throughout his slowly-forming army. Presently he organized the artillery. Then he began weeding out incompetent officers; ordering them before courts-martial; checking the unsoldier-like performance of holding regimental or company elections of officers to fill vacancies, for the instruction and guidance of the appointing powers.‡ Then the transportation was cut down to a rational limit; officers were taught that they could not delay a whole army that their piles of trunks might be hauled along; even Colonels were remorselessly brought down to a maximum of one hundred pounds of personal baggage.|| The cavalry was taken in hand, and stripped of the load of useless weapons and baggage with which the troopers were burdening their horses like pack-mules; officers of infantry companies were stopped from riding while their men walked, and remitted to their proper places; Quartermasters were held to a rigid responsibility for the management of their trains; buggies and family carriages, which acquisitive camp followers had been accumulating, were driven out.§ Detailed instructions as to marching were issued, and every officer was required to study them. The duties of sentries and outposts were in like manner enforced. An elaborate order was issued, embracing the pith of the Army Regulations on the whole subject of the conduct of troops in a campaign, the order to be observed, the conditions under which private property might be taken, the precautions against pillage or disorderly conduct to be required, the imperative necessity for vigilance. And, after a month or two of leniency, the officers absent without leave were suddenly brought up with all the rigor of the army rules, and dismissed the service without the slightest regard to personal influences or appeals for mercy.

Into the details of this great work we can not further enter. It is enough to say that in these and similar ways, with the most patient care, and with an admirable administrative ability, was formed and shaped the basis of that fire-tried organization of brave men that, from Pittsburg Landing to Mission Ridge and Kenesaw and Nashville, never yielded a foot to the enemy without exacting a bloody cost, and never, when properly led, failed to add fresh laurels to the honored name of the Army of the Cumberland.

* General Order No. 4, November 22, 1861. † General Order No. 5, November 25, 1861.
‡ General Order No. 7, November 26, 1861. || General Order No. 8, December 3, 1861.
§ General Order No. 10, December 5, 1861.

While the work of discipline went forward, and General Buell was urging his plans for an advance upon Nashville, there were two incursions into Kentucky, that would seem to have been skillfully planned with a view to such an endangering of his flank as would effectually prevent any forward movement. One under Humphrey Marshall entered Eastern Kentucky through Pound Gap; the other under Zollicoffer crossed the Cumberland River near Somerset. Buell had early advices of each. Against Marshall he sent Garfield, who routed him and drove him out of the State. Against Zollicoffer he sent George H. Thomas, then a freshly-made Brigadier-General of volunteers, but known to all officers of the old army as a sturdy, trustworthy soldier. The victory which he won at Mill Springs was the first considerable one in Kentucky, and perhaps the most important thus far won in the war. Zollicoffer was killed, his army was driven across the river in confusion, fourteen pieces of artillery, with stores, prisoners, etc., were captured. The success was inspiring, and the country, and particularly the Kentucky Unionists, who had the most direct interest in his operations, came to regard General Buell's plans with a confidence perfectly implicit.

Meantime, receiving little encouragement as to the prospect of securing the necessary transportation for the East Tennessee campaign, the General was directing his thoughts mainly to the advance upon Nashville. We have seen that as early as 27th November, 1861, he had proposed to General McClellan an advance on Nashville around the east flank of the Rebel force at Bowling Green, while supplies and re-enforcements should move rapidly up the Cumberland under the convoy of gunboats. On the 5th of December, after twice calling on General Halleck as to the necessary co-operation, General McClellan telegraphed Buell: "As soon as I receive reply from Halleck, will arrange details with you." But, while there was still delay as to these details, and while Buell was placing his forces, one small column at Munfordsville, one at Green River, on the road to Glasgow, one at Columbia, one at Lebanon, and another—for the purpose of deceiving the enemy as to the real object of these dispositions—on the lower Green River, McClellan fell ill. Thus the time passed without action till the last day of the year, when the President—already in sore distress at the inaction of our armies and the danger of foreign intervention—telegraphed to Buell to inquire whether he and Halleck were acting in concert. The General replied that they were not, and that he was awaiting orders from a superior authority that would insure such action. He moreover explained that if his movement against Nashville should be left to be an isolated one, there would of course be nothing to hinder the Rebels from concentrating by rail against him from all quarters, and particularly from Columbus on the Mississippi. Thereupon the poor President replied that McClellan was too ill to be disturbed, but—"I think you better get in concert with Major-General Halleck at once."

Now the difficulty in the case, as the President left it, was this: Halleck was a Major-General in the regular service; Buell only a Brigadier-General of volunteers. Furthermore, Halleck was already engrossed with operations in South-western Missouri; and, even if he had not been, he was not a man of such

temper as to be eager to enter upon the task of furnishing mere assistance in the execution of a plan devised by an officer so greatly his inferior in rank. It was more grateful to his habits of mind to appropriate the plan, and try to monopolize the glory of its execution.

So it came about that when Buell, in obedience to the President's suggestion, opened a correspondence with Halleck and explained the details of his proposed movement, he met with a cold response. After preliminary dispatches, Buell wrote at length:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, Louisville, January 3, 1862.

"GENERAL: I received your dispatch, and, with more delay than I meant, proceed to the subject of it, in compliance with your request, and I may add also at the wish of the President.

"I do not underrate the difficulties in Missouri, but I think it is not extravagant to say that the great power of the rebellion in the West is arranged on a front, the flanks of which are Columbus and Bowling Green, and the center about where the railroad between these points crosses the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, including Nashville and the fortified points below. It is, I have no doubt, within bounds to estimate their force on that line at eighty thousand men, including a column about Somerset, Kentucky, in rear of their right flank, it is more.

"Of this force, forty thousand may be set down as at Bowling Green, twenty thousand at Columbus—though you doubtless have more information on that point then I have—and twenty thousand at the center. Considering the railroad facilities, which enable the enemy to concentrate in a few hours on any single point of this front, you will at once see the importance of a combined attack on its center and flanks, or at least of demonstrations which may be converted into real attacks and fully occupy the enemy on the whole front. It is probable that you may have given the subject, as far as Columbus and the center are concerned, more attention than I have. With reference to the former, at least, I can make no more than the general suggestion, already expressed, that it should be fully occupied.

"The attack upon the center should be made by two gunboat expeditions, with, I should say, twenty thousand men on the two rivers. They should, of course, be organized with reference to the depth of water in the rivers, and whether they should be of equal or unequal strength would depend upon that and other considerations, and can hardly be determined until the moment of departure. The mode of attack must depend on the strength of the enemy at the several points and the features of the localities. It will be of the first importance to break the railroad communication, and if possible that should be done by columns moving rapidly to the bridges over the Cumberland and Tennessee. The former probably would not be reached at first, being some thirty-one miles above the first principal battery that I know of at Dover. The other is eighteen miles above Fort Henry—the first I know of on the Tennessee. If the expedition should not be strong enough to do the work alone, they should establish themselves firmly at the nearest possible point, and remain at least until they ascertained that re-enforcements from my columns or some other source would not reach them. By uniting they could establish themselves permanently under the protection of the gunboats.

"I say this much rather to lay the subject before you than to propose any definite plan for your side. Whatever is done should be done speedily, within a few days. The work will become more difficult every day. Please let me hear from you at once.

"Very truly yours, D. C. BUELL,
"Brigadier-General Commanding.

"General H. W. HALLECK, Commanding Department of the Missouri."

To this General Halleck made no immediate reply—though, as subsequent events now show, he gave it careful study Waiting in all impatience for several days, General Buell then telegraphed: "I am telegraphed by the President. Can you fix a day for concerted action?" Halleck responded that he might fix a day for a demonstration—he could do nothing more. And a day or two later came

a letter which, though dated on the 6th, does not appear to have been written so early:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI, St. Louis, January 6, 1862.
"BRIGADIER-GENERAL D. C. BUELL, *Louisville, Kentucky:*

"GENERAL: I have delayed writing to you for several days, in hopes of getting some favorable views from the South-west. The news received to-day, however, is unfavorable, it being stated that Price is making a stand near Springfield, and that all our available forces will be required to dislodge and drive him out.

"My last advices from Columbus represent that the enemy has about twenty-two thousand men there. I have only about fifteen thousand at Cairo, Fort Holt, and Paducah, and after leaving guard at these places, I could not send into the field over ten or eleven thousand. Moreover, many of these are very imperfectly armed.

"Under these circumstances it would be madness for me to attempt any serious operation against Camp Beauregard or Columbus. Probably, in the course of a few weeks I will be able to send additional troops to Cairo and Paducah to co-operate with you, but at present it is impossible; and it seems to me that if you deem such co-operation necessary to your success, your movement on Bowling Green should be delayed. I know nothing of the plan of campaign, never having received any information on the subject; but it strikes me that to operate from Louisville and Paducah, or Cairo, against an enemy at Bowling Green, is a plain case of exterior lines, like that of McDowell and Patterson, which, unless *each* of the exterior columns is superior to the enemy, leads to disaster ninety-nine times in a hundred.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant, H. W. HALLECK, Major-General."

One or two conclusions that have an important effect upon existing military reputations may be deduced from these letters. It is plain that General Buell suggested the campaign which led to the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson, and the evacuation of Bowling Green, Nashville, and Columbus. It is equally plain that General Halleck sought to discourage it, and even committed himself to the absurd criticism that it would be an operation on exterior lines, which, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, would lead to disaster. And it is clear that each of them was completely deceived by the magnificent game of brag which the enemy was then playing, that each was guilty of the McClellan weakness of viewing the opposing forces through a magnifying glass of inordinate powers. When Sidney Johnston had twelve to fourteen thousand at Bowling Green, Buell estimated his strength at forty thousand. When he had sixteen thousand at Donelson, Buell estimated his strength at twenty thousand. And to complete the self-deception, Halleck estimated the Rebel strength at Columbus at the preposterous number of twenty-two thousand. Yet we shall deal the more tenderly with such errors of judgment—the incidents of the universal rawness, the reaction from Bull Run, and the McClellan spell—when we remember that so able and clear-sighted a commander as Sidney Johnston believed, in November, 1861, that Buell then had fifty thousand men, an exaggeration of not less than two-thirds.*

General Halleck's open disapproval, and the failure of the Washington authorities to give peremptory orders for co-operation on this plan, not unnaturally caused General Buell to slacken his personal efforts, and to direct his attention once more to the East Tennessee movement. To this same end the

* Confederate Report Com. on Surrender Donelson, etc., p. 172.

Government was now exhibiting renewed urgency Buell's plan was to move Thomas's command from Somerset. A force was set to work corduroying the roads; and he strove to accumulate sufficient transportation, but found difficulty in even subsisting ten thousand at this point of departure. At last it was admitted that, with the existing resources of the Quartermaster's Department, the expedition to East Tennessee in midwinter was impossible.

The roads were now far worse than when General Buell had first proposed the Cumberland River and Nashville movement; and it would seem that he regarded the resistance likely to be offered by the enemy as considerably increased. It was under these circumstances that, without a word of previous warning, he received, on 30th January, 1862, a dispatch from General Halleck, announcing that he had ordered an advance on Forts Henry and Donelson. He made no explanation and asked no co-operation. Buell, however, asked the one and offered the other—not without some manifestations of surprise that a plan he had sketched and proposed to execute should be thus entered upon without even giving him notice of it. Finally, after being informed by Halleck that co-operation at present was not necessary, and receiving only vague explanations, he wrote:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, Louisville, February 5, 1862.

"GENERAL: My plan of operations was sketched in the letter I wrote you on the 3d ultimo. You have, I learn from your letter and dispatches, entered upon what would have concerned it on your side, and that is a very important part of it. I regret that we could not have consulted upon it earlier, because my work must at first be slow. Besides, since I wrote you, those plans have been changed, or at least suspended, in consequence of the diversion of a large part of my efficient force for other objects, which the General-in-Chief urged as of primary importance, namely, an advance into East Tennessee. I hear, however, in consequence of the want of transportation, and, more than all, the impassable condition of the roads, urged him to allow me to resume my original plan, and, if I am not restricted, shall enter on its execution at once. My troops have, however, been thrown somewhat out of position, and it will take some days to get them into place. My progress, too, must be slow, for we are dependent on the railroad for supplies, and that we must repair as we go, the enemy having very much damaged it between Green River and Bowling Green—forty miles. That will take ten or twelve days. I must go provided with a siege-train, because the enemy is strongly intrenched, with heavy artillery, behind a river, and the condition of the roads will, I fear, effectually bar any plan of attack which will depend on celerity of movement.

"I think it is quite plain that the center of the enemy's line—that part which you are now moving against—is the decisive point of his whole front, as it is also the most vulnerable. If it is held, or even the bridges on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers destroyed, and your force maintains itself near those points, Bowling Green will rapidly fall, and Columbus will soon follow. The work which you have undertaken is, therefore, of the very highest importance, without reference to the injurious effects of a failure. There is not in the whole field of operations a point at which every man you can raise can be employed with more effect, or with the prospect of as important results.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, D. C. BUELL.

"General H. W. HALLECK, St. Louis, Missouri."

In this spirit, without waiting for a request, he dispatched, the next day, a brigade from the mouth of Green River, and eight new regiments, to re-enforce the movement against Fort Henry. Then, on the 7th, Halleck, by this time alarmed for the success of his movement, asked for more men. Buell himself

now feared that before he could seriously threaten Bowling Green heavy re-enforcements might be withdrawn from it to Donelson; and so, with a readiness to weaken his own column in supporting another—never too common among military men, and certainly not specially deserved by Halleck's treatment of him—he hastily detached three entire divisions by water to Fort Donelson. In all he had sent twenty-four regiments, with appropriate artillery, and was in the act of sending more when the fall of Donelson was announced.*

Meantime he would seem to have decided, since his column was thus weakened, to content himself with a demonstration against Bowling Green, which would prevent its detaching troops to Donelson, and await the action on the Cumberland as sure to decide its fate. Moving rapidly forward, with the energetic Mitchel in advance, he came before Bowling Green on the morning of the 14th—to find the bridge in flames and the last of the enemy moving out by rail. Sidney Johnston had decided upon its evacuation after the fall of Fort Henry, and had executed the work with remarkable dispatch.† Crossing the swollen river in midwinter without a bridge was found a difficult task, but it was vigorously pressed, and after a little the officers succeeded in getting a pontoon bridge, which was at once laid down. Then, starting with one thousand men on cars, and leaving Mitchel to push forward on foot, followed by all that was left of the army, Buell started straight for Nashville. He had grasped intuitively the necessities of the position and divined the certainty of the fall of Nashville.‡ Meantime he telegraphed around to Donelson (which had now fallen) for his troops there to hurry on up the river. All arrived almost together; and, after a scene of wild confusion, while awaiting the advent of the Yankee invaders, the capital of Tennessee fell without a blow.‖

* Buell's Statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission in his case, p. 7; Letter on Sherman's speech at Planters' House banquet, New York World, 5th September, 1865.

† "The evacuation of Bowling Green was imperatively necessary, and was ordered before and was executed while the battle was being fought at Donelson."—Sidney Johnston's letter to Jefferson Davis, March 18, 1862.

‡ That this involves much praise may be inferred from the state of mind in which such commanders as Halleck are known to have been now thrown. General Halleck, being advised of General Buell's purpose to march straight on Nashville, made haste to remonstrate:

"ST. LOUIS, February 15, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, *Louisville:* Telegram about division relieves me greatly. To move from Bowling Green on Nashville is not good strategy. Come and help me take and hold Fort Donelson and Clarksville, [then] move to Florence, cutting the railroad at Decatur, and Nashville must be abandoned, precisely as Bowling Green has been. All we want is troops in mass on the right point, and the enemy is defeated with scarcely a blow; but I fear I have not forces enough for this new strategic move and at the same time observe Columbus. Come and help me and all will be right. We can clear Tennessee as we have cleared Kentucky. H. W. HALLECK."

And again, about the 20th, General Halleck telegraphed his subordinates that they must rally for such a struggle in the vicinity of Nashville as the continent had never witnessed; and appealed at the same time to Buell for aid to be sent to Clarksville, below Nashville, on the Cumberland:

"ST. LOUIS, February 20, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL: We are in possession in Clarksville in large force, with plenty of supplies. Move to that place rapidly, by forced marches, and effect a junction. Send all available troops around that can reach there by water sooner than by land. Don't hesitate a moment. If you will come, we are sure of Nashville and Columbus, and perhaps Memphis also. Answer, yes or no. H. W. HALLECK."

‖ February 24th, 1862.

General Albert Sidney Johnston, a wary and experienced commander, fully equal to the high position to which the Confederates had assigned him, was now emancipated from the controlling political considerations which had enforced the vital errors of his long and weak defensive line from Bowling Green to Columbus. While the Rebel press was denouncing him in unmeasured terms he was really giving the crowning proofs of his capacity. Gathering together the fragments of his defeated or retreating forces, those from Donelson, from Bowling Green, from Mill Springs, he presently had them fused once more into a compact mass, and was crossing the Tennessee at Decatur with them, having left the whole width of the State between himself and his pursuers. He was soon to show what means of offense yet remained within his grasp, on the fateful field of Pittsburg Landing.

General Buell could make no immediate pursuit, since the country was flooded, bridges were destroyed, and there were no adequate means for carrying supplies away from rivers or railroads. But he soon sought once more, on his own motion as well as under advice from Washington, to get into co-operation with Halleck for further operations. He had hitherto been disposed to urge haste. It can not now be said that he was quite alive to the dangers which Sidney Johnston's rapid movements were threatening. But as soon as he had crossed his army at Nashville, he sought an interview with Halleck, for which that officer professed to have as yet no time. When Columbus fell he would be ready for it. Then, on a further dispatch from McClellan, advising him to hold Nashville firmly, feel toward Chattanooga, "arrange details with Halleck, and co-operate together fully," Buell again asked Halleck what he could do to aid him. Halleck replied that he would like him to come over to Savannah or Florence, to separate Rebel forces on the Mississippi from Johnston's army. It was on the 4th of March that this proposition was made, and on the 5th that Buell acceded to it, but suggested some slight modifications. Precisely two weeks later Sidney Johnston was writing to the President of the Confederacy: "I marched southward to co-operate or unite with General Beauregard for the defense of the Valley of the Mississippi. The passage is almost completed, and the head of my column is already with General Bragg at Corinth. The movement was deemed too hazardous by the most experienced members of my staff, but the object warranted the risk. Day after to-morrow, unless the enemy intercept me, my force will be with Bragg. The test of merit in my profession, with the people, is *success*. It is a hard rule, but I think it right. If I join this corps to the forces of General Beauregard (I confess a hazardous experiment) then those who are now declaiming against me will be without an argument."*

Here then, in those critical two weeks, was the lost opportunity. We are now to see who lost it.

The preliminary consultations between Halleck and Buell, which might have been settled in a forenoon's talk, dribbled through telegraphic dispatches from the 1st to the 10th of March. It was agreed that Halleck should push a

* Confederate Report, Com. on Surrender Donelson, etc., pp. 173–175.

strong force up the Tennessee, and that Buell should march overland from Nashville to join it somewhere near Savannah, on the Tennessee River.* Buell had begun his arrangements for this march when, on the 12th, came an order placing him under Halleck's command. The obvious necessity for a common head to the movement now in hand, and the superior rank of Halleck seemed to make this a necessary, as it certainly was an obvious measure. Buell himself styled it "eminently proper." Yet its results were not good.

*The dispatches possess historic interest. The more important ones are as follows:

"ST. LOUIS, March 3, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, *Nashville:* Columbus is nearly turned. The mortar boats will bombard it this afternoon, and Pope will attack New Madrid to-morrow morning. I will make an appointment to meet you as soon as the Columbus movement is ended. H. W. HALLECK."

"NASHVILLE, March 3, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, *St. Louis:* What can I do to aid your operations against Columbus? Remember I am separated from you by the Tennessee River. Johnston is moving toward Decatur, and burning the bridges as he goes. "D. C. BUELL."

"ST. LOUIS, March 4, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, *Nashville:* If Johnston has destroyed the railroad and bridges in his rear he can not return to attack you. Why not come to the Tennessee, and operate with me to cut Johnston's line with Memphis, Randolph, and New Madrid? Columbus has been evacuated and destroyed. Enemy is concentrating at New Madrid and Island No. 10. I am concentrating a force of twenty thousand against him. Grant, with all available force, has gone up the Tennessee to destroy connection at Corinth, Jackson, and Humboldt. Estimated strength of enemy at New Madrid, Randolph, and Memphis, is fifty thousand. It is of vital importance to separate them from Johnston's army. Come over to Savannah or Florence, and we can do it. We then can operate either on Decatur or Memphis, or both, as may appear best. H. W. HALLECK."

"NASHVILLE, March 5, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, *St. Louis:* Your views accord with my own generally, but some slight modifications seem to me necessary. At least there are details about which we ought to be able to consult freely. Can we not meet at Louisville in a day or so? I think it very important. The concentration of my troops and transportation can not be completed for some days. We have had two formidable rivers to cross, and have forced ourselves here without transportation or baggage. The thing which I think of vital importance is that you seize and hold the bridge at Florence, in force. Johnston is now at Shelbyville, some fifty miles south of this. I hope you will arrange for our meeting at Louisville. D. C. BUELL. '

"ST. LOUIS, March 6, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, *Nashville:* I can not possibly leave here at the present time. Events are passing on so rapidly that I must be all the time in telegraphic communication with Curtis, Grant, Pope, and Commodore Foote. We must consult by telegraph. News down the Tennessee that Beauregard has twenty thousand men at Corinth, and is rapidly fortifying it. Smith will probably not be strong enough to attack it. It is a great misfortune to lose that point. I shall re-enforce Smith as rapidly as possible. If you could send a division by water around into the Tennessee it would require only a small amount of transportation to do it. Would receive all its supplies by the river. "H. W. HALLECK."

"NASHVILLE, March 9, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, *St. Louis:* I did not get your dispatch of the 6th until yesterday—that of the 8th to-day. I suggest the following: The enemy can move from one side of the river to the other at pleasure, and if we attempt to operate on both sides without the same facility of transit, we are liable to be beaten in detail. The point I previously suggested is the only one from which we can operate centrally. That secured, we can act according to circumstances either way. If you occupy that point, I will re-enforce you by water or join you by land. Otherwise, I may detach too little to serve you, or else so much as to endanger middle Tennessee, the importance of which I need not allude to. If we could meet, I think we could better understand each other. D. C. BUELL."

"ST. LOUIS, March 10, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, *Nashville:* My forces are moving up the Tennessee River as rapidly as we can obtain transportation. Florence was the point originally designated, but on account of enemy's forces at Corinth and Humboldt, it is deemed best to land at Savannah, and establish a depot. The transportation will serve as ferries. The selection is left to C. F. Smith, who commands the advance. Pope has turned Island No. 10, but the enemy shows no disposition to evacuate. Curtis is asking for re-inforcements in Arkansas. I must send him some troops intended for the Tennessee. You do not say whether we are to expect any re-enforcements from Nashville. H. W. HALLECK."

"NASHVILLE, March 10, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, *St. Louis:* The possession and absolute security of the country north of the Tennessee River, with Nashville as a center, is of vital importance, both in a political and military point of view. Under no circumstances should it be jeopardized. It enables us, with the Tennessee as a base, to operate east, west, and south. All our arrangements should look to a centralization of our force for that object. We can not tell *now* which direction to take when we get within reach of the enemy. You can not well tell what force you may meet at the west; still less can I tell what may come in the direction of Stevenson. With this view the establishment of your force on this side of the river, as high up as possible, is evidently judicious; and with the same view it would be unnecessary and unadvisable to change the line on which I propose to advance. I can join you almost if not quite as soon as by water, in better condition, and with greater security to your operations and mine. I believe you can not be too promptly nor too strongly established on the Tennessee. I shall advance in a very few days—as soon as our transportation is ready. "D. C. BUELL."

General Grant had been deprived of his command in the field by reason of difficulties with Halleck and others, and ordered to Fort Henry; while Charles F. Smith had been given the command of the expedition up the Tennessee. That veteran officer, however, had soon fallen ill of the disease which in a few weeks brought him to the grave, and Grant had been sent up to resume command. Contrary to General Buell's expectations, and to the dictates of military science or of common prudence, the army had been encamped on the further side of the swollen Tennessee, within less than twenty miles of the fast-concentrating Rebel armies at Corinth. Of this fact General Buell was not advised; and when, grown apprehensive, as it would seem, on the subject, he asked if he were not right in understanding Grant's army to be on the hither side of the river, he received no reply.

Without orders from Halleck, and in pursuance of the general understanding attained while yet they were independent commanders, Buell moved on the 15th of March, three days after being placed under Halleck's command. First he sent forward his cavalry to sweep rapidly over the route to be crossed and prevent the small bodies of the enemy that were known to infest it from burning the bridges. All were saved except the important bridge across Duck River at Columbia. The infantry soon reached this point, but was here delayed by a stream out of its banks and without a bridge. The ample engineering supplies which a year later would have made this a thing of little moment, were not yet introduced; the officers who undertook the work were still raw; and though the building of a bridge was zealously prosecuted, it was only finished on the 31st of March, the very day on which (the flood having passed) the stream became once more fordable. Nine days had been given to the march of one hundred and thirty miles between Nashville and Duck River, and twelve days had now been consumed here in bridge building. Then, on being at last able to cross, General Buell pushed forward vigorously, but in no special haste, and with no warning that there was any need for special haste. From Columbia to the Tennessee is ninety miles. He marched it, with his army in compact shape, in six days.

That this movement was quite up to the average of good marching by the best armies during the war is undeniable. That it was accomplished over bad roads, and at a period of such general rawness as March, 1862, is the best testimony to the masterly manner in which General Buell had organized and disciplined his army. But the extraordinary feature of the case is, that neither General Halleck, who commanded both armies, nor General Grant, who was in charge of the one on which the storm of Pittsburg Landing was about to burst, thought it needful to advise General Buell that there was any special occasion for forced marches. Halleck even suggested that Buell should halt at Waynesboro', thirty miles short of Savannah; and Grant, as late as the 4th of April, sent word to the advanced division of Buell's column (General Nelson commanding), that it was unnecessary to hasten his march, as he could not at any rate cross the river before the 8th!*

* Buell's letter to editor United States Service Magazine, January 19, 1865. His words are: "The day before his arrival at Savannah, General Nelson, who commanded my leading division,

Great events were to come before the 8th—events of such a nature that Buell was subsequently justified in saying to Grant: "Had I acted on your dispatch to General Nelson the time you designated for me to commence crossing the river would have found the remnant of your army prisoners in the camps of the enemy."

On the morning of the 6th of April the sleepers at Savannah were aroused by cannonading up the river in the direction of the camp. When the continuance of the firing indicated a serious attack Buell, conceiving that quite possibly General Grant's feeling of security might be unwarranted, went over to his head-quarters to inquire. He found that Grant had just started for the field, leaving word for Nelson's division of Buell's army to march up the river on the northern side. At Savannah the easy-going officers still maintained that it was only an affair of outposts. As, however, it continued, Buell decided to go up in person. All along the river bank he encountered the crowds of fugitives whose appearance too plainly told the story of the day. On his arrival, therefore, he did not need General Grant's assurance of danger to prompt him

advised General Grant by courier of his approach, and was informed, in reply, that it was unnecessary to hasten his march, as he could not at any rate cross the river before the following Tuesday. Nevertheless that division and myself arrived at Savannah on Saturday, as I had directed. The next morning General Grant was attacked at Pittsburg Landing.' In a long letter to General Grant, tartly commenting on the General's implied opinion that he ought to have moved more rapidly (New York World, April 6, 1866), Buell says: "Your dispatch of the 4th of April to General Nelson showed that so far from intending to be the attacking party at an earlier day than that on which I arrived, you were not even prepared to pass my army over the river for three days after it commenced to arrive."

In this same letter General Buell produces an array of dispatches, between himself, Halleck, and Grant, on the various stages of the movement. Much of the matter in them is unnecessary now for an understanding of the facts. He afterward condenses their substance, with entire fairness, as follows:

"From the foregoing dispatches the following material facts are to be drawn:

"1. You were ordered up the Tennessee River for a specific object, and without reference to any support from me; that is, according to General Halleck's dispatch on the 4th of March, you had 'gone up the Tennessee to destroy connection [railroad connection] at Corinth, Jackson, and Humboldt.'

"2. On the 10th, six days later, according to the same authority, you were 'moving up the Tennessee River as rapidly as you could obtain transportation;' from which it would appear that you had more troops than transportation, notwithstanding I was sending you all the boats I could spare from the Cumberland. In the meantime the plan of operations had been changed. Quoting again from General Halleck's dispatches of the 10th: 'On account of the enemy's forces at Corinth and Humboldt, it was deemed best to land at Savannah and establish a depot. The transportation would serve as ferries.' That is, your chief, General Halleck, had concluded to proceed with deliberate preparation, under the shelter of the Tennessee River, for an attack on the enemy's position at Corinth, or elsewhere in that vicinity.

"3. On the 16th, General Halleck reports you still 'concentrating at Savannah;' by which it appears that he did not consider you yet concentrated.

"4. On the 28th he reports that 'large re-enforcements are being sent to you;' that is, the force which he thought necessary was still not concentrated. 'We must,' he says, 'be ready to attack as soon as the roads are passable;' from which is to be understood that General Halleck had been informed—for he was not present to see for himself—that at that time the roads from Savannah to Corinth were not in a condition to admit of an attack.

"5. The invitation to co-operate came from me to General Halleck, as independent commanders, he commanding the Department of Missouri, and I the Department of the Ohio; and our consultations resulted in the designation of Savannah, which is on the east bank of the Tennessee, and was therefore a secure place for you, as the point at which we were to form a junction for our ulterior object. As late as the 5th day of April—the day of my arrival at Savannah, and the day before you were attacked—'future movements' were not determined upon by General Halleck, your commander, and at that time mine also.

"6. General Halleck and yourself were informed from time to time of the progress of my movement, and the obstacles which retarded it.

"7. I was in communication with you by couriers, and with General Halleck by telegraph; and neither you nor he informed me of your actual position, though I telegraphed him distinctly on that point; far less did you advise me that you considered yourself in peril. On the contrary, on the 4th of April, you sent a dispatch to General Nelson, who commanded the advance of my column, telling him not to hasten his march, as he could not at any rate commence crossing the river until the following Tuesday, three days after the time which I had appointed for him to arrive at Savannah."

to ask that transports be at once sent down for Crittenden's division, then arriving at Savannah. He reconnoitered the field a little, then returned to hasten the movements of his troops.

We need not repeat the sad story of that first day's disaster, which, in other pages, has been fully traced. Before Nelson could get up with his advance division, Grant was sending back earnestly for assistance, and representing the force with which he was engaged at a hundred thousand.*

The advance of Nelson's division, after waiting for some time opposite the Landing for means of crossing, reached the field just as the Rebels were making their last advance. It rapidly took post, under General Buell's direction, and opened with musketry and artillery. No more ground was yielded, and the troops encamped in line of battle.

There was no conference between the commanders. One of Grant's subordinates furnished Buell with a rough map of the ground, and there was a common understanding that operations must be renewed at daylight. Through the night Crittenden's division of Buell's army arrived, and was moved out upon Nelson's right. McCook's, which arrived in time to get into action only a little later than the others, was used for further prolongation to the right.

And now was seen—even more conspicuously than in the steady marching—the results of the fine discipline which Buell had been enforcing. At daybreak Nelson, moving in line of battle, drove in the enemy's pickets and engaged his artillery. The other divisions were then brought up, and with varying fortune the whole line advanced. It stretched over three-fourths of the battle-field. The remainder was left to the surviving fragments of Grant's army. There was no straggling from that line; no confused breaking and fleeing to the rear, on the first onset of the enemy Many of the troops had

*In the public letter from Buell to Grant quoted from in the last note, Buell gives this curious document:

"PITTSBURG, April 6, 1862.

"COMMANDING OFFICER *Advance Forces, near Pittsburg, Tennessee:*

"GENERAL: The attack on my forces has been very spirited from early this morning. The appearance of fresh troops on the field now would have a powerful effect, both by inspiring our men and disheartening the enemy. If you will get upon the field, leaving all your baggage on the east bank of the river, it will be a move to our advantage, and possibly save the day to us.

"The Rebel force is estimated at over one hundred thousand men.

"My head-quarters will be in the log building on top of the hill, where you will be furnished a staff officer to guide you to your place on the field. Respectfully, etc., U. S. GRANT, Major-General."

After producing this dispatch, Buell adds some pungent comments with reference to the charge, which he alleges to have been encouraged at Grant's head-quarters, that, but for the delay in the arrival of Buell's army, Grant would have advanced to attack the enemy at Corinth before the date of this battle:

"This letter was sent by a steamer, and was delivered to me probably between twelve and one o'clock, as I was on my way to the scene of action. Of course the estimate which it gives could not have been based on the mere noise of battle; it must have been formed upon information previously obtained. It is true, I believe, that during the war you did not in any instance move to attack an enemy with less than double his strength—unless the battle of Iuka, fought by General Rosecrans, may be an exception. Now, our combined armies would have amounted to some eighty-seven thousand men. Is it supposable that you would have moved with eighty-seven thousand men to attack, in a fortified position, an enemy whose strength you estimated at over one hundred thousand men? Would it have been wise? Would it have been in accordance with your invariable practice before and since? You had not the transportation for such a movement, if you had the disposition. Moreover, General Halleck evidently supposed the roads were not practicable for it. I do not say that he derived his information from you, but it is certain that, being himself in St. Louis, five hundred miles distant, you, who were on the ground and in command of the troops, were the person to whom he should have looked for information on such a point. If you gave it to him, no one will question that you believed it, and I have no doubt that it was very nearly if not entirely true. The fact that as late as the 4th and 5th of April General Sidney Johnston moved forty-three thousand men over those roads to attack you, is no proof to the contrary."

never before been under fire; and they were commanded by a man who before that eventful day had never handled so large a force as a single regiment in action. But he was a Soldier, and he was maneuvering men of whom he had made soldiers. An effort was made to turn his right flank—he promptly threw in McCook's division to check it. An effort was made against his left flank—he parried it, then brought up the reserves at that point, hurled the whole force against Beauregard's right, drove it, and so flanked the rest of the Rebel line, which speedily fell back. Then again the whole line advanced.

At no time did the force thus wielded lose its cohesion. Yet there were moments when the prospect looked gloomy. A battery was driven, with its supports, and a caisson was lost. Another battery was driven, and several guns were lost. But the line speedily rallied, and they were recaptured. Then again it pressed forward. For hours still the struggle continued, through the alternate strips of woodland and little intervals of farmland, over which, the day before, Grant's army had retreated. McCook's division had the honor of ending the struggle, and its last charge carried it into the camps from which Sherman had been driven. The disaster was retrieved—at a cost to Buell's army of two thousand one hundred and sixty-seven killed, wounded, and missing. An equal or greater loss had been inflicted; and twenty pieces of Rebel artillery had been captured.

It was General Buell's singular fortune that his first battle should be his greatest, and the only one in which he should exercise personal command on the field. His conduct here certainly warranted the expectations then generally cherished of a brilliant future for him. His strategic ability had been previously displayed in the plans for the campaign that began at Fort Henry. His tactical skill in the management of troops in action was now exhibited in a favorable light. At a time when men who could handle troops under fire were rare, and the best of our Generals were only learners, he did not make a single mistake; and the soldiers who saw what he did and obeyed his orders, were his warmest eulogists. He came into the action when, without him, all was lost. He redeemed the fortunes of the field, and justly won the title of the hero of Pittsburg Landing.*

General Halleck now took the field in person; and the solemn siege of

* There is no need to enter upon the dispute between the two armies concerned in this memorable engagement. In the Life of Grant, I have sought to exhibit the nature of the disaster, as the documents in the case, as well as personal observation, convinced me that the facts should be presented. If now, any one, objecting to the slight mention of Grant's army in this second day's fighting, should complain that undue prominence has been given to General Buell's performance, I need only point to the significant fact which that officer has himself brought to public attention. Buell's army fought in a compact, continuous line of battle, which stretched from the left of the field up to the point where it found coherent fragments of Grant's army to join. Yet General Lew. Wallace, commanding the extreme right of Grant's army, acknowledges, in his official report, the assistance received from Colonel Willich, commanding a regiment on Buell's right. The inference is obvious and irresistible. Between his own extreme right and Buell, Grant had no troops forming a line of battle sufficiently compact to prevent the necessity that this regiment should extend its line for Wallace's relief.

Corinth followed. General Buell kept his army up with the foremost in the tedious advance, held the center, and did whatever Halleck required. That there was no further opportunity for distinction before Corinth was not his fault. His troops claim the honor of being the first to discover the evacuation, and to enter the abandoned stronghold.*

There was now opened before General Buell that campaign to which, from the first, his attention had been directed—the occupation of East Tennessee. He was to enter upon it as a subordinate; and when he again attained independent command it was to find himself hampered by restraints at Washington.

On the 10th of June (1862) General Halleck advised him as to the work of liberating East Tennessee, which he was now to undertake—directing an advance on Chattanooga through North Alabama. General Buell urged a more northerly route, leading through Middle Tennessee and McMinnville, but having for its end the occupation of the same points, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Dalton. To this Halleck consented. On the 12th he withdrew this consent, and required the advance along the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, with Corinth as the secondary base—the railroad to be repaired as he advanced.

And now began the unfortunate portion of General Buell's career. He had about twenty-five thousand men, and there were subject to his orders in Mitchel's column in North Alabama, about sixteen thousand more. With this force he was to undertake a campaign in midsummer against the strongest point in the chain of positions then held by the Confederate armies, to guard his own line of supplies, and to locate this line, not directly south from Nashville, but around by Paducah, up the Tennessee, thence to Corinth, and thence eastward along a ruined railroad—describing three sides of a quadrangle, through an enemy's country, to accomplish the distance measured by the remaining side. "It was my error to believe at the time," General Buell has since frankly said,† "that the thing was practicable, and I did not represent it otherwise when I was assigned to the execution of it; but I must say also, in extenuation, that I did not anticipate that the enemy was to be left so unemployed at other points, that he could devote his greatest effort against my enterprise. Besides, I regarded it as in the highest degree important, and I supposed that no larger force could be spared for it." For it must be remembered that, while Buell was left to undertake this perilous campaign against a point where the enemy, driven from Corinth, was now concentrating the bulk of his resources, the rest of the great forces in the South-west were practically doing nothing. It was not until at Iuka, Price and Van Dorn themselves chose to bring on active operations in Grant's department, in the last days of August, that active operations there began.

General Buell, indeed, saw from the outset that Nashville, and not Corinth, must be his true base; and, with this view, he gave orders that the two railroads leading south from Nashville (one to Decatur and the other to Steven-

* Buell's official report of the advance on Corinth says Nelson's division was the first to enter.

† Statement before Military Committee, p. 14.

son) should be promptly repaired. But the task proved a greater one than he had supposed, and it is probable that he did not impress with sufficient earnestness upon his subordinates the necessity for vigor; and, besides, he was delayed, under Halleck's orders, to repair the road from Corinth to Decatur—a work, as it afterward proved, utterly useless. By the 1st of July his divisions began to arrive at Huntsville, and by the 6th began to cross the Tennessee at Decatur, where means of crossing had been, with no little difficulty, provided.

By this time came ominous warnings: "The President is not satisfied with your progress." True to his calm and methodical ways, he contented himself with explaining the causes of the delays, and proceeded as before.*

To concentrate his army at the farthest point accessible on the route he was to take would have seemed to the impatient country like progress; but to the enemy it would have clearly revealed the whole plan. General Buell wisely, therefore, avoided crowding them forward while the railroads were undergoing repairs. They were scattered at convenient points for supplies, employed in building stockades along the lines, or transferred to Battle Creek and other points where some danger seemed to threaten.

While these movements went deliberately on, John Morgan was bursting into Kentucky and spreading alarm along the Ohio. The ease with which Buell's lines of supply could be cut was thus revealed to the enemy. Long before this, our cautious General had himself perceived the danger. As early as the 12th of May he had begun his appeals to the Secretary of War for more

* The following are the dispatches. They are not accessible in any published form, but they may be found on the files of the War Department:

"CORINTH, July 8, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL, *Huntsville:* The President telegraphs that your progress is not satisfactory, and that you should move more rapidly. The long time taken by you to reach Chattanooga will enable the enemy to anticipate you by concentrating a larger force to meet you. I communicate his views, hoping that your movements hereafter will be so rapid as to remove all causes of complaint, whether well founded or not. H. W. HALLECK."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, HUNTSVILLE, July 11, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HALLECK: I appreciate the importance of moving promptly, though it is idle to suppose that the enemy, with his railroad communications complete, and our lines difficult and broken, will not always be able to anticipate us at any important point. I regret that it is necessary to explain the circumstances which must make my progress seem slow, though, perhaps, it is not to be expected that they should otherwise be understood. I understand what you have given me to do, and, if permitted, I expect to accomplish it without any unnecessary delay, and in such a manner as to neither jeopardize my army or its honor, nor trifle with loyal citizens, betrayed to the vengeance of their enemies by a promised protection and a hurried abandonment. The advance on Chattanooga must be made with the means of acting in force; otherwise it will either fail or prove a profitless and transient prize. The railroad communications as far as Stevenson must be securely established. From that point the transportation must at first be by wagons for twenty-five miles. The river must be crossed by a pontoon bridge, which I am now preparing. It is not possible to establish the requisite means of communication by any means of ferrying which we can provide. These arrangements are being pushed forward as industriously as possible. The troops are moving forward to the terminus of the railroad without any unnecessary delay, and one division has already arrived there. It ought to be borne in mind that they have had a march of about two hundred miles to make, with a large train, in hot weather, crossing a wide river by a ferry. The report of General Mitchel led me to expect that the Chattanooga road would be completed by the first of this month. I do not censure him for being mistaken. I have since nearly doubled the force on it, and it can not be finished before Monday next. The gap of twenty-two miles on the Decatur Road, the one we are dependent upon for supplies, has, from the character of the road, made it more expeditious to take another route, forty miles long; and it requires every wagon that can possibly be spared to keep the troops from starving, and at that we are living from day to day. We consume, of provisions alone, about one hundred thousand pounds daily, which, with our animals in their present condition, it requires about sixty wagons to carry. The trips can not be made, going and coming, in less than five days. Three hundred and fifty wagons are, therefore, required to haul provisions alone over this gap. To haul forage over the same distance, even at half rations would require seven hundred wagons more. We are running about five hundred wagons, managing, with great difficulty, to subsist our animals mainly in the country already nearly exhausted of supplies. It will thus be seen that we can not advance beyond Stevenson until the road is completed so as to release the wagons now absolutely required in rear. Three mills are getting out lumber for boats, which will be finished as soon as possible. These are matters of fact, which can not be got rid of by sophistry or fair promises, however gratifying. The dissatisfaction of the President pains me exceedingly. I request that this dispatch may be communicated to him. D. C. BUELL."

cavalry.* From time to time he continued the appeals. Presently came fresh incursions to re-enfore his arguments. He was holding a front of from three hundred to four hundred miles through the enemy's country, with a cavalry force which the subsequent experience of his successor in the same field, as well as his own reasonings and the teachings of the whole war, were to show to be inadequate. Through one part of the line Morgan had worked his way Next came Forrest before Murfreesboro', swooping down upon the garrison, and cutting the railroad connections of Buell's army with Nashville. Brigade after brigade was necessarily detached from the front to strengthen these exposed points at the rear; the army that was to sweep forward upon Chattanooga was undergoing a process of disintegration, into bridge-guards and guerrilla-hunters, and the continued appeals for cavalry went unanswered.†

It is now the time to observe that other causes had combined with the dissatisfaction at Buell's slow progress, to bring him into disfavor at Washington. It was the season of intense hostility to McClellan in Administration circles, and Buell was known as McClellan's friend. The spirit of the public press, and the tone of public feeling, called for harsh treatment of the conquered territory, and Buell insisted upon the laws of war. Most of all, the people were not disposed to censure soldiers too harshly for excesses committed in the Rebel country, provided they exhibited (or possessed) a willingness to fight the Rebel armies. Yet Buell had devoted much time, while awaiting the bridge-building and railroad repairs, in striving to enforce discipline, and to reduce the somewhat loose habits of Mitchel's command to the army standard. Courts-martial were constant, their verdicts in those days appeared severe, and Buell seemed rarely to find fault with them, save for undue lenity. The case of Colonel Turchin attracted particular attention. He was found guilty of permitting gross excesses, and was dismissed from the service; but the city of Chicago accorded him a public reception on his return, and the President presently signified (as it would seem) his approval of the conduct Buell had punished by appointing him Brigadier-General.

Thus, while the delays dragged on from the 12th of June to the second week in August, the delaying General was steadily losing the confidence of the Government and of the country.‡ He was next and suddenly to lose that of the army

* Statement before Military Commission, p. 16.

† Of numerous dispatches with which Buell now burdened the wires, this one may be taken as a sample:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, Huntsville, July 23, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK OR GENERAL THOMAS, *Washington, D. C.:* I can not err in repeating to you the urgent importance of a larger cavalry force in this district. The enemy is throwing an immense cavalry force on the four hundred miles of railroad communication upon which this army is dependent for its supplies. I am building stockades to hold from thirty to one hundred men at all bridges, but such guards, at best, only give security to certain points and against a small force. There can be no safety without cavalry enough to pursue the enemy in large bodies. Twice already our roads have been broken up by these formidable raids, causing great delays and embarrassment, so that we are barely able to subsist from day to day. I am concentrating all the cavalry I can spare, to operate actively in force. I don't pretend to know whether you have cavalry that you can spare elsewhere, but if so, it can find abundant and very important service here. D. C. BUELL."

‡ So grave had this loss of confidence become that the President seriously considered the

We have seen that, on the 12th of June, General Buell had received his final orders for the campaign against Chattanooga. On the 7th of August he notified General Halleck that Bragg had concentrated against him at Chattanooga a force at least sixty thousand strong. He was then at Huntsville, with divisions of his army occupying Stevenson, Battle Creek, Decherd, and McMinnville. A few days' marching would bring him to Chattanooga; and he may still have hoped, by falling on isolated wings of the enemy, to beat him in detail and attain the end of his campaign. Within a week this was impossible; within a fortnight he was laboring to concentrate his own forces, lest the enemy should beat *him* in detail.

For a little there were plans of concentration at McMinnville, or at Altamont; marches and counter-marches that led to nothing. Meanwhile Kirby Smith had marched through East Tennessee into Kentucky; the railroad connections seemed hopelessly cut; the army was reduced to fifteen, and finally to ten days' supplies, and the country was too poor to support it. At first, as they subsequently testified, some of his higher officers favored an effort to give battle at some more advanced point. But even Geo. H. Thomas soon acquiesced in the decision which the cautious commander had already reached;* and the army that had been expected to capture Chattanoga and liberate East Tennessee was presently marching back in all haste to concentrate at Murfreesboro', a little south of Nashville.

The field was thus left open. Kirby Smith was already in Kentucky; Bragg now made a bold march to join him; and nothing less than the capture of Louisville and the permanent occupation of the State were the objects to which the Rebel commander directed his aim.

So now, while Buell was at Murfreesboro' and at Nashville, Bragg, passing to the eastward, was marching for the exposed post of Munfordsville, in Kentucky The army saw the enemy it had proposed to drive southward from Chat-

question of removing General Buell. The General's response to an intimation of this nature was manly and patriotic. The dispatches (on file in the War Department) are as follows:

"WASHINGTON, August 18, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL, *Huntsville:* So great is the dissatisfaction here at the apparent want of energy and action in your district, that I was this morning notified to have you removed. I got the matter delayed till we could hear further of your movements. H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, Huntsville August 18, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, *Washington, D. C.:* My movements have been such as the circumstances seemed to me to require. I beg that you will not interpose in my behalf; on the contrary, if the dissatisfaction can not cease on grounds which, I think might be supposed, if not apparent, I respectfully request that I may be relieved; my position is far too important to be occupied by any officer on sufferance. I have no desire to stand in the way of what may be deemed necessary for the public good. In any event, what I would earnestly recommend is, that a cavalry force be sent here sufficient to cope with the enemy's cavalry, and keep open the four hundred miles of railroad, on which this army is dependent for subsistence. Lacking the cavalry, I have endeavored to diminish the heavy drain on the body of the army to protect its communications by building stockades which would make small guards secure. This, and the work of rebuilding roads, has had to be done under the protection of heavy detachments, and has been tedious. I apprehend that those heavy detachments will have to be repeated. We are occupying lines of great depth. They are swarming with the enemy's cavalry, and can only be protected by cavalry. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this matter. Three months ago I represented to the department the necessity for eight more regiments of cavalry in Tennessee and Kentucky. D. C. BUELL."

*General Thomas testified before the Military Commission that, in his judgment, Bragg might have been attacked at Sparta, and that he had urged a concentration there. General Buell, however, shows satisfactorily, by the production of the dispatches, that at least as to the latter point, General Thomas had unwittingly made a mistake.

tanooga passing by it as an object unworthy of notice, and roaming almost unopposed through the country north of it. Dissatisfaction was general, and it was speedily heightened by the false reports that were assiduously circulated, to the effect that General Buell was on the point of abandoning Nashville itself, and that only the remonstrances of Provisional-Governor Andrew Johnson prevented the sacrifice.*

On the 15th of September the last of the army that had started south-eastward against Chattanooga marched back out of Nashville toward the Ohio River. But by this time Bragg had thrown himself upon the garrison at Munfordsville, had carried the position, paroled the garrison, and made ready for his connection with Kirby Smith.

There was now at last an opportunity for decisive battle. Before Bragg got away from Munfordsville Buell was up. He was behind the invader and across his line of retreat. To Bragg, defeat would have been destruction. The soldiers perceived the opportunity, and the desire to attack would seem to have been general. But Buell, unmoved by the critical aspect of affairs, and as calm amid the hurry of his return as if laying out a campaign in the quiet of winter head-quarters, looked farther ahead. "An attack," he says, "would not have been judicious under the circumstances. I deemed it all-important to force him farther into the State, instead of allowing him to fall back upon Bowling Green and Nashville; and I determined to attack then rather than allow him that course. I believed the condition of his supplies would compel him to abandon his position; and I was very well content when that proved to be the case."†

And so the rear-guard of Bragg drew out, and the advance-guard of Buell, skirmishing a little, marched in. The impatient soldiers grew more and more indignant as they saw the Rebel army moving off to its concentration with Kirby Smith; and the denunciations of their commander, which the severe discipline in Northern Alabama, had at first stimulated, now became open, bitter,

*These reports were long kept up, and were supposed to originate with Mr. Johnson himself. General Buell finally thought it worth while, in closing his review of the evidence before the Military Commission, to give them this emphatic contradiction:

"Some months ago a statement appeared in the newspapers, on the reported authority of Governor Andrew Johnson, that I had only been prevented, by his resolute expostulations, from abandoning Nashville when I moved northwith my army in September last. He has since made the same assertion in a deposition. Whenever I have spoken on this subject I have denounced this statement as false, and I now repeat that denunciation. I am very willing to bear the responsibility of my own acts or intentions; and it gives me sincere pleasure at all times to acknowledge any assistance I may receive from others, either in council or action. If I had determined to abandon Nashville it would have been upon my best judgment, and I should cheerfully have submitted to a verdict on the wisdom of my course. I assert that I never intimated to Governor Johnson an intention or wish to leave Nashville without a garrison; that there was no discussion between us, *pro* and *con*, on the subject, and that the determination to hold the place was my own, uninfluenced by him in any manner. I had not that confidence in his judgment or that distrust of my own which would have induced me to seek his counsel. On account of his official position I called on him first to inform him what I meant to do, and last to tell him what garrison I had concluded to leave. On both occasions, as far as my plans were concerned, I was the speaker and he the listener. My officers were far more likely to know my views than he, and they have stated that I said always that the political importance of the occupation far outweighed any purely military bearing of the question, and that I should hold the city. D. C. BUELL, Major-General."

†Statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission in his case, p. 35. Buell also says, in the same connection, that no officers of high rank in the army were desirous to attack there, and that the advantage of location, which was with the enemy, as well as the exhausted condition of the supplies, and the danger of fighting a decisive battle while in such a a position with reference to his base, formed conclusive reasons for not seeking battle.

and almost universal. The faces of the army were once more turned northward—General Buell holding it of the first importance to reach Louisville, and incorporate the heavy re-enforcements of raw troops there assembled into his veteran army. On the 29th of September the last of his divisions entered Louisville; on the 30th the consolidation and reorganization had been completed, and the army was marching out against the Rebel force that now had undisputed possession of three-fourths of Kentucky. But before this General Buell had been ordered by the indignant Administration to turn over his command to General Geo. H. Thomas, and, at the special request of that officer, had been reinstated.*

It has been common to speak of the army that thus ended its march against Chattanooga at Louisville as being in a demoralized condition. Undoubtedly it was much dissatisfied, full of unsoldierly clamor, noisy in denunciation of its commander. Yet General Buell said he never doubted his ability to direct and control it as he would; and those who remember its exhausted and disorganized condition when it reached the Ohio, and the magic transformation which it underwent, when, within a day after the arrival of its rear-guard, the advance moved out with compact ranks, and hopes as high as ever, against the foe it had, over three States, been vainly hoping to encounter, will not fail to award the General, who wrought this change, the high praise he rightfully deserves for an achievement almost as wonderful as that which led the defeated army from the field of the second Bull Run to the heights of Antietam.

Spreading out his reorganized army into five columns, General Buell swept the country from Louisville and Frankfort in converging lines upon Bardstown, where he knew Bragg to be rapidly concentrating. Near this point there was some skirmishing, but Bragg's rear-guard moved away eight hours before the advance of Buell entered. A stand next seemed probable at Danville, and thither the three corps were directed once more on converging roads, the central one leading through Perryville. Then, as news came that Bragg was concentrating at Perryville itself, the directions of the wings were changed to correspond with the new movement thus required.

Thus it happened that on the afternoon of the 7th of October the central corps was driving the enemy's pickets three miles north-west of Perryville, and

* The following are some of the dispatches:

[Received Washington September 29, 1862.]

"LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, September 29, 1862—2.30 P. M.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, *General-in-Chief:* I have received your orders of the 24th instant requiring me to turn over my command to Major-General G. H. Thomas. I have accordingly turned over the command to him, and, in further obedience to your instructions, I shall repair to Indianapolis and await further orders.

"D. C. BUELL, Major-General."

"WASHINGTON, September 29, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL, *Louisville:* General orders changing the command of the Department of Tennessee and the troops at Louisville, and my instructions based on those orders, are, by authority of the President, suspended, and General Buell will act on my telegram of a later date. H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief."

[Received Washington September 30.]

"LOUISVILLE, September 30, 1862—1 P. M.

"GENERAL HALLECK: I received last evening your dispatch suspending my removal from command. Out of a sense of public duty I shall continue to discharge the duties of my command to the best of my ability until otherwise ordered.

"D. C. BUELL, Major-General."

skirmishing sharply for the possession of some pools of water in the dry bed of a tributary to Chaplin River. Meanwhile orders were sent in all haste to McCook's and Crittenden's corps to hasten up and take positions on the right and left respectively of the central corps. Their commanders were then to report in person, and dispositions were made for a combined attack on the enemy. General McCook did not receive the order till half-past two in the morning, and he marched at five instead of three, as had been directed. General Crittenden did not receive it till some hours later, owing to his having been compelled to move off the route assigned him to secure water.* To the General commanding, whose habitual movements were deliberate, and with whom thorough preparation was held an absolute essential preliminary, these delays seemed sufficient cause for postponing the decisive attack until the next day. Meantime he had been apprehensive of being attacked himself, while having only one corps up; but when the morning passed in light skirmishing, and McCook's corps began to come in, he considered the danger passed, and devoted himself to his arrangements for the battle he intended to deliver on the morrow.

Not until four o'clock did the General know of any change in the circumstances on which this action was based. Artillery firing he heard, and sounds as of skirmishing, but these had been going on all morning; and he rested on his order to the corps commanders to report in person on their arrival.† Then, however, came the startling message, borne by an aid of McCook's, that a severe battle had been going on for several hours, that the flanks were giving way, and that, unless speedily re-enforced, he would not be able to maintain his

*There had been a long drought, and a great scarcity of water embarrassed the movements and brought much suffering on the troops.

The order sent to McCook was intended to get his corps into position by seven or eight o'clock. The delays above spoken of were such that the head of the column did not begin arriving till between ten and eleven o'clock. The following is the text of the order:

"OCTOBER 7, 1862—8 P. M.

"GENERAL: The Third Corps (Gilbert's) is within three and a half miles of Perryville—the cavalry being nearer—probably within two and a half miles. From all the information gained to-day, it seems probable that the enemy will resist our advance into the town. They are said to have a strong force in and near the place. There is no water here, and we will get but little, if any, until we get it at Perryville. We expect to attack and carry the place to-morrow. *March at three o'clock precisely to-morrow morning*, without fail, and move up till the head of your column gets to within about three or three and a half miles of Perryville: that is to say, until you are abreast of the Third Corps. The left of this corps rests near Bottom's place. Perhaps Captain Williams, Jackson's cavalry, will know where it is. From the point of the road Gilbert is now on, across direct to your road, is about two and a half or three miles. When the head of your column gets to the vicinity designated (three or three and a half miles from town), halt and form in order of battle, and let the rear close well up; then let the men rest in position and be made as comfortable as possible, but do not permit them to scatter. Have the country on your front examined, a reconnoissance made, and collect all the information possible in regard to the enemy, and the country and roads in your vicinity, and then *report in person*, as quickly as practicable, to these head-quarters. If your men have an opportunity to get water of any kind, they must fill their canteens, and the officers must caution them particularly to use it in the most sparing manner. Send to the rear every wagon and animal which is not required with your column. All the usual precautions must be taken, and preparations made for action. Keep all teams back except ammunition and ambulances. Nothing has been heard from you to-day. Send orderlies by bearer to learn the locality of these head-quarters. The General desires to see Captain Williams, Jackson's cavalry, by seven o'clock in the morning at these head-quarters.

"Respectfully, etc., JAMES B. FRY, Colonel and Chief of Staff."

†It was also sworn by large numbers of witnesses before the Military Commission, that, owing to the direction of the wind and the conformation of the ground, there were no sounds heard at the head-quarters, to indicate more than sharp skirmishing. General Grant was once subjected to the same misfortune at the battle of Iuka. See account of that action in Lives of Rosecrans and Grant.

ground. The news seemed so incredible that Buell could scarcely believe it. But he gave orders for rapid re-enforcements. Before they could arrive night had ended the ill-judged and sanguinary struggle. The next morning Bragg was retreating, and so severe was the punishment he had inflicted, that he was left to retreat unobstructed.

The effective force under Buell's control at Perryville, was fifty-four thousand men before, fifty thousand after the battle. Bragg had sixty thousand available at Harrodsburg, though he brought, like Buell, only a portion of his troops into the action. What the result of a battle between forces thus balanced ought to have been, may not be safely asserted in a business so uncertain as war. That Perryville might have been a victory, however, General Buell himself seems to believe. It was a less decisive engagement than it should have been, he says, "partly because of unavoidable difficulties, which prevented the troops, marching upon different roads, from getting on the ground simultaneously, but chiefly because I was not apprised early enough of the condition of affairs on my left." He adds, "I can find no fault with the former, nor am I disposed at this time to censure the latter, though it must be admitted to have been a grave error. I ascribe it to the too great confidence of the General commanding the left corps (Major-General McCook), which made him believe that he could manage the difficulty without the aid or control of his commander."*

The story of the campaign, and of General Buell's career, may be briefly ended.

The General believed that Bragg's strength was a full match for his own, and that all the Rebel troops were veterans. He believed that the invasion had for its object the permanent occupation of Kentucky, He regarded, therefore, another and greater battle—probably in the vicinity of Harrodsburg—as almost certain. Somewhat stunned, perhaps, for the moment, by the rude blow at Perryville, he was certainly indisposed to bring on this new battle which he expected to be decisive, without perfect preparation and the complete concentration of his army. When Bragg moved to Camp Dick Robinson he still believed him to be maneuvering only for favorable ground for battle. And he philosophically adds, in explanation of the deliberate course which he therefore chose to pursue,† "My studies have taught me that battles are only to be fought for some important object; that success must be rendered reasonably certain if possible—the more certain the better; that if the result is reasonably uncertain, battle is only to be sought when very serious disadvantage must result from a failure to fight, or when the advantages of a possible victory far outweigh the consequences of a probable defeat. These rules suppose that war has a higher object than that of mere bloodshed; and military history points for study and commendation to campaigns which have been conducted over a

* Statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission, Official Report, Perryville, p. 66.

† Statement in Review of Evidence before Military Commission, p. 38.

large field of operations with important results, and without a single general engagement. In my judgment the commander merits condemnation who, from ambition or ignorance, or a weak submission to the dictation of popular clamor, and without necessity or profit, has squandered the lives of his soldiers."

Thus reasoning, General Buell proceeded with his deliberate and strictly correct preparations for battle, till he discovered that Bragg was making off from the State with his plunder. Then he made vigorous but by no means vehement pursuit, till he had dogged the rear-guard into the mountains.

Meantime the Administration, delighted with what was called, in the foolish language of those self-deceiving days, the victory of Perryville, was elate with the vision of the army rushing pell-mell after the fragments of the Rebel rout through the mountains, and relieving East Tennessee. Nothing less than the speedy occupation of Knoxville and Chattanooga was confidently expected.

To the President and Cabinet, thus sanguine and jubilant, came a calm letter from the unmoved commander of the army in Kentucky. He regarded further pursuit, he said, as of little use; he proposed, therefore, speedily to turn the heads of his columns toward Nashville again; and for the rest, he had to remind the Government that the present was, probably, as convenient a time as was likely to be found for making the change, which it had seemed to think needful, in the command of this army! He then explained (and subsequent events were soon to vindicate his sagacity in this respect) that he had no doubt Bragg would soon be found near Nashville; so that, whether for the immediate protection of that city and the re-opening of the severed lines of communication, or for offensive operations against Bragg, the movement on Nashville was the correct one for the army to make.*

* The dispatches (not hitherto accessible in any published form) may be found on the files of the War Department. They are as follows:

[Received at Washington October 17th.]

[CYPHER.]

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO, October 16, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, *General-in-Chief:* You are aware that between Crab Orchard and Cumberland Gap the country is almost a desert.

"The limited supply of forage which the country affords is consumed by the enemy as he passes. In the day and a half that we have been in this sterile region our animals have suffered exceedingly. The enemy has been driven into the heart of this desert, and must go on, for he can not exist in it. For the same reason, we can not pursue in it with any hope of overtaking him; for, while he is moving back on his supplies, and, as he goes, consuming what the country affords, we must bring ours forward. There is but one road, and that a bad one. The route abounds in difficult defiles, in which a small force can retard the progress of a large one for a considerable time, and in that time the enemy could gain material advantage in a move upon other points. For these reasons, which I do not think it necessary to elaborate, I deem it useless and inexpedient to continue the pursuit, but propose to direct the main force under my command rapidly upon Nashville, which General Negley reported to me as already being invested by a considerable force, and toward which, I have no doubt, Bragg will move the main part of his army. The railroads are being rapidly repaired, and will soon be available for our supplies. In the meantime I shall throw myself on my wagon transportation, which, fortunately, is ample. While I shall proceed with these dispositions, deeming them to be proper for the public interest, it is but meet that I should say that the present time is, perhaps, as convenient as any for making any change that may be thought proper in the command of this army.

"It has not accomplished all that I had hoped, or all that faction might demand; yet, composed as it is—one-half of perfectly new troops—it has defeated a powerful and thoroughly-disciplined army in one battle, and has driven it away, baffled and dispirited at least, and as much demoralized as an army can be under such discipline as Bragg maintains over all troops that he commands.

"I will telegraph you more in detail in regard to the disposition of troops in Kentucky, and other matters, to-morrow.

D. C. BUELL, Major-General."

[CYPHER.]

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO, Camp near Mount Vernon, Kentucky, October 17, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief:* My advance has continued to follow up the retreat of the enemy, but the progress has been slow, owing more to the obstruction placed in the road yesterday and to-day by fell-

The astonished President remonstrated, and finally peremptorily forbade. He seemed quite willing to overlook Buell's suggestion as to the propriety of relieving him; but he wanted to know why the troops could not march as the enemy marched, live as the enemy lived, and fight as the enemy fought. And he added: "Your army must enter East Tennessee this fall."

General Buell replied courteously, diplomatically, but with an unanswerable array of arguments in favor of his own plan. His letter was written on the 20th of October. On the 24th, under the direction of the President, an order was issued, relieving him from the command. On the 30th General

ing trees, than to the opposition, though more or less skirmishing has been kept up. The absence of forage has compelled me to keep back the greater part of the cavalry and artillery, and depend mainly on infantry. It is possible that we may be able to strike the enemy's trains and rear-guard coming in on the Richmond road, but not much more; and if he gets beyond London without that, it will be useless to continue the pursuit; and, as I advised you last night, I shall direct my main force by the most direct route upon Nashville, where its presence will certainly be required, whether for offensive or defensive objects. I propose to take the old divisions which I brought out of Tennessee, to each brigade of which I have added a new regiment, and one other (Sheridan's), composed about two-thirds of new regiments. Kentucky should not be left with less than thirty thousand men to guard communications and repel raids. I propose, for the present, to place one brigade at Lebanon, one at Munfordsville, one division at Bowling Green, besides the necessary bridge-guards at various points. General Wright has, I believe, moved one division to Lexington. That force should be kept there, or, better still, as long as the roads are in condition so that it can be supplied, should be thrown forward to London. There should be two regiments of cavalry at Lexington, two at Bowling Green, and two at Lebanon. They should be employed actively against guerrilla bands, and concentrate rapidly against more formidable cavalry raids. There can, however, be no perfect security for Kentucky until East Tennessee is occupied. There has been no time hitherto when that could be done with any prospect of permanency with the force that was available. We should have marched into the very heart of the enemy's resources and away from our own, just as Bragg did in invading Kentucky; and, with any means that we have hitherto had, the result must have been similar. The enemy will regard the invasion of East Tennessee as the most dangerous blow at the rebellion, and will, it seems to me, turn his greatest efforts against it, limiting his operations in Virginia, if necessary, to the defense of Richmond. From this an estimate can be formed of the force with which it should be undertaken, or at least followed up. D. C. BUELL, Major-General."

"WASHINGTON, October 18, 1862—3.50 A. M.

"GENERAL BUELL, *Crab Orchard:* The rapid march of your army from Louisville, and your victory at Perryville, has given great satisfaction to the Government. The great object to be attained is to drive the enemy from Kentucky and East Tennessee. If we can not do it now we need never hope for it. If the country is such that you can not follow the enemy, is there not some other practicable road that will lead to the same result—that is, compel them to leave the country? By keeping between him and Nashville can you not cover that place, and at the same time compel him to fall back into the Valley of Virginia, or into Georgia? If we can occupy Knoxville or Chattanooga we can keep the enemy out of Tennessee and Kentucky. To fall back on Nashville is to give up East Tennessee to be plundered, moreover you are now much nearer to Knoxville, and as near to Chattanooga as to Nashville. If you go to the latter place and bear to East Tennessee you move over two sides of an equilatorial triangle, while the enemy hold the third. Again, may he not in the meantime make another raid into Kentucky? If Nashville is really in danger it must be re-enforced. Morgan's forces have been sent to Eastern Virginia, but we probably can very soon send some troops up the Cumberland. Those intended for that purpose have been drawn off by the urgent appeals of Grant and Curtis. Can not some of the forces at Louisville be sent to Nashville? H. W. HALLECK."

"WASHINGTON, October 19, 1862—1.30 P. M.

"GENERAL BUELL, *Mount Vernon:* Your telegram of the 17th received this morning, and has been laid before the President, who concurs in the views expressed in my telegram to you yesterday. The capture of East Tennessee should be the main object of your campaign. You say it is the heart of the enemy's resources, make it the heart of yours. Your army can live there if the enemy can. You must in a great measure live upon the country, paying for your supplies when proper, and levying contributions when necessary. I am directed by the President to say to you that your army must enter East Tennessee this fall, and that it ought to move there while the roads are passable. Once between the enemy and Nashville there will be no serious difficulty in re-opening your communications with that place. He does not understand why we can not march as the enemy marches, live as he lives, and fight as he fights, unless we admit the inferiority of our troops and of our Generals. Once hold the valley of the Upper Tennessee, and the operations of guerrillas in that State and in Kentucky will soon cease. H. W. HALLECK."

[CYPHER.]

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO, Danville, Kentucky, October 20, 1862—1 A. M.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, *General-in-Chief:* I am very grateful for the approbation expressed in your dispatch of the 17th. I have also received your dispatch of yesterday, conveying orders for moving into East Tennessee. Undoubtedly the present is in many respects a favorable opportunity for the movement. Far from making objections, the object of my dispatch was to call attention to its importance, but, at the same time, I suggested the difficulties so that the requisite means could be provided if possible. In speaking of East Tennessee as being near the heart of the enemy's resources, I meant that he could concentrate his troops there rapidly. I have no doubt you realize that the occupation of East Tennessee with a suitable force is an undertaking of very considerable magnitude, and that if undertaken unadvisedly it will fail. I venture to give you my views.

"If the enemy puts himself on the defensive in East Tennessee, it will require an available force of eighty thousand men to take and hold it. If our army can subsist on the country so much the better, but it will not do to rely solely on that source. If you can obtain forage and one-half of our breadstuffs, that for the present is probably as much as we can do. Everything else must be hauled. Nashville is essential as a depot, afterward McMinnville. Gainesboro'

Rosecrans presented the order, and General Buell gracefully presented his successor and took his leave of the army he had organized so well and led through such checkered scenes.

General Buell's career here practically ends. It may be best considered in its three main epochs.

The first was marked by the organization of the Army of the Ohio, which afterward came to be known as the Army of the Cumberland. Of that work it would be difficult to speak in terms of too high praise. The second was marked by the origination of the great Western campaign of 1862, and the rescue of the imperiled army at Pittsburg Landing. In that General Buell has his sure title—after some years be past—to the regard and gratitude of the country The third was marked by the campaign which began with the object of liberating East Tennessee, and ended with the expulsion of an invader from Kentucky. Of that we may now say that it was fatally correct. General Buell followed, throughout it, the maxims of the science of war, but he followed them after his calm, deliberate fashion, with such lack of vigor and such excess of prudence as to lose the rich rewards which a more reckless commander might have won. Nevertheless, if his conduct here was not great, it was safe; and it must not be forgotten that he was pursued by the same malignity of official ignorance which harassed his successor through half the

may be an important point for us as soon as the navigation of the Cumberland opens, which may not be for two months. We can procure all of our forage and breadstuffs, and some meat, from Middle Tennessee, but Nashville and the vicinity must be rid of the enemy in any considerable force; we can not otherwise collect supplies. The enemy has repaired and is now using the Chattanooga Railroad to Murfreesboro', and is threatening Nashville somewhat seriously, as appears from a dispatch received to-day from General Negley, which I send you. This danger has no reference to Bragg's movements. If the enemy should not be there in heavy force, it would not be necessary or desirable to go to Nashville in full force. We could cross the Cumberland at various points above, and go in by Jamestown, Montgomery, Clinton, or Kingston, and there is no shorter way; that by Cumberland Gap being out of the question.

"The railroad to Nashville must be opened and rendered secure, because, until navigation opens, that is the only channel for supplies. A part of the route to East Tennessee is mountainous, and destitute of supplies of every sort. As we advance, depots of forage to be supplied from the productive region must be established to carry our trains across the sterile region—say at McMinnville and Cooksville—but that will not delay the advance of the army.

"From these data I make this estimate:

"Taking matters as they stand, twenty thousand men, distributed pretty much as indicated in my previous dispatch, should be kept in Kentucky; twenty thousand in Middle Tennessee and on the line of communication to East Tennessee; and eighty thousand should be available in any field in East Tennessee. Bragg's force in Kentucky has not fallen much, if any, short of sixty thousand men. It will not be difficult for him to increase it to eighty thousand men on the line of the East Tennessee Railroad. I could in an hour's conversation give you my views, and explain the routes and character of the country, better than I can in a dispatch, and perhaps satisfactorily; and if you think it worth while, I can see you in Washington without deferring my movements, provided you concur in the expediency of moving first in the direction of Nashville. In fact we must of necessity move so as to turn Jamestown and Montgomery. It will also help to conceal our plans. I can give good reasons why we can not do all that the enemy has attempted to do, such as operating without a base, etc., without ascribing the difference to the inferiority of our Generals, though that may be true. The spirit of the rebellion enforces a subordination to privations and want which public sentiment renders absolutely impossible among our troops. To make matters worse on our side, the death penalty, for any offense whatever, is put beyond the power of the commanders of armies, where it is placed in every other army in the world. The sooner this is remedied the better for the country. It is absolutely certain that from these causes, and from these alone, the discipline of the Rebel army is superior to ours. Again, instead of imitating the enemy's plan of campaign, I should rather say that his failure had been in a measure due to his peculiar method. No army can operate effectively upon less than this has done in the last two months. A considerable part of the time, it has been on half rations. It is now moving without tents, with only such cooking utensils as the men can carry and with one baggage wagon to each regiment, but it can not continue to do this during the cold wet weather which must soon be expected, without being disabled by sickness. D. C. BUELL, Major-General."

"HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, Washington, D. C., October 24, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL D. C. BUELL, *Commanding, etc.:*

"GENARAL: The President directs that on the presentation of this order you will turn over your command to Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, and repair to Indianapolis, Indiana, reporting from that place to the Adjutant-General of the army for further orders.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief."

ensuing season; and that his objections to such an advance into East Tennnessee, as was urged upon him, were more than vindicated by subsequent sad experience.

A military commission was appointed, after some time, by the War Department, to investigate General Buell's conduct with reference to the invasion of Kentucky. It sat in Cincinnati with closed doors, took volumes of testimony, and made a report which, years after the close of the war, the Government was still carefully keeping from the public. That its conclusions did not touch General Buell's honor as a Soldier, or his fidelity to the cause of the Country, may be inferred from the fact that he was subsequently offered commands—once under General Sherman, his junior (and his professional if not personal enemy), and once under General Canby, also his junior. Both of these he declined. He was some time afterward mustered out of his rank in the volunteer service as Major-General, and he thereupon resigned the Colonel's commission, which he now held in the Adjutant-General's Corps of the regular army, and retired to private life. He became connected with the late Robert Alexander, of Kentucky, in mining operations at Airdrie, near Paradise, in the south-western part of that State, and to these he devoted himself for some years.

He long remained very unpopular with the great mass of the people who supported the war. He was accused of undue lenity to the Rebels, of too much sympathy with them, and, indeed, of disloyalty to the cause. This last slander he himself did something to encourage, by the publication of a letter, obviously designed to aid the Democratic opposition to the war, in which he gave, as one of his reasons for leaving the army, his disapproval of the means whereby and the manner in which the war was conducted.

Personally, General Buell retains the character described by his playmates as distinguishing him in his boyhood. He is cultivated, polished, and reticent; disposed to have but few warm friendships; exclusive and somewhat haughty in his bearing. No one can study his career without being impressed by his ability. He is one of the most forcible and pungent writers among the officers who rose to distinction during the war. He has studiously avoided much defense of himself against the attacks with which, for a time, the press of the country was burdened; but he has on two occasions felt called to notice certain statements of General Sherman's, and once to address a public letter to General Grant. The result of these performances was to convince all that, whatever might be said of the military advantages of those officers, they were no match for him with the pen.

Politically, General Buell is a strong Conservative—having, perhaps, his nearest affiliations with what was once known as the Kentucky Unionist party.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT C. SCHENCK.

ROBERT CUMMING SCHENCK, Congressman and Foreign Minister before the war, Chairman of one of the Congressional Committees on Military Affairs since the war, Major-General of volunteers, a soldier of great zeal and gallantry, and one of the ablest and most successful of our Department Commanders, was born in the town of Franklin, Warren County, Ohio, on the 4th of October, 1809.

His father, General William C. Schenck, an early settler in the Miami Valley, was an efficient officer in the North-western Army under General Harrison, and afterward was a member of the General Assembly of the State. He died at Columbus in January, 1821, while attending a session of the Assembly.

After his father's death Robert was placed under the guardianship of General James Findley, of Cincinnati, but he continued to reside with his mother, at Franklin, until his fifteenth year, when he entered the Sophomore Class at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in November, 1824. He graduated in September, 1827, but remained at Oxford reviewing and extending his studies, and employing part of his time as tutor of French and Latin, until 1830, when he received his Master's Degree.

In November of that year he entered Thomas Corwin's law-office at Lebanon, and in the following January was admitted to the bar as Attorney and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery. Removing to Dayton he commenced the practice of his profession with Joseph H. Crane, and three years later he formed a partnership with Peter Odlin, which continued until the commencement of his active political and public life. He was very successful in his practice; his legal acquirements, tact, and ability as an advocate being in ready demand.

In 1838, young Schenck, now twenty-eight years of age, was induced to become a candidate for Representative in the State Legislature for Montgomery County, on the Whig ticket. The Democrats, however, were in the ascendancy, and his competitor led him by a small majority. Three years later, not having been a candidate for any office in the mean time, he was elected to the lower branch of the Legislature. Having acquired considerable reputation as a public speaker in the celebrated political campaign of 1840, in which but one man in Ohio, the great orator who had been his teacher in the law, was popularly held his superior, he was at once acknowledged as a leader in opposing the schemes of the Democratic majority in that body, and at an extra session in

the ensuing summer, he, by his energy and ability, defeated an attempt (which by the aid of the Democratic Speaker seemed almost sure of success) to force through without consideration an obnoxious apportionment bill, by which, in the slang phrase of the day, the Congressional Districts were to be "Gerrymandered" in the Democratic interest. His action drew upon him the bitter denunciation of the Democratic leaders, among whom was the late Governor Brough. Twenty years afterward, Mr. Schenck, Governor Brough, and Rufus P. Spalding (the presiding officer whom Schenck arrested in an attempt to put the motion) acted in harmony for the weal of the nation, independent of any party except that of the Union.

Mr. Schenck was re-elected by an increased majority, and he rendered valuable services to his constituents by advocating measures for internal improvements in the State, and for economy in its finances.

In 1843 he had risen so rapidly in the estimation of his party as to be accepted almost by common consent as the candidate for Congress. He carried the usually close district by more than the full majority of his party, and was re-elected for each succeeding term until 1850, when he declined a nomination, and at the close of his term in 1851 was appointed, by President Fillmore, Minister to Brazil.

During his Congressional career, Mr. Schenck ranked among the first as an efficient and practical statesman. It was evident that he understood every subject upon which he spoke, and when occasion required, he was quick at repartee, keen, pungent, and satirical. He was soon recognized as one of the Whig leaders in the House, and his reputation became National. He came to be known as an anti-slavery Whig—in fact, almost a free-soil Whig. But he was nevertheless—as judged by the standard of these times—a Conservative. He agreed mainly with his great teacher and friend, Governor Corwin. The intensity of his nature and the profoundly earnest character of his convictions, led to a peculiar bitterness in his attacks upon his opponents, which continued to characterize him through life, and the results of which were long to be traced in the temper of both friends and foes in his district. His popularity depended solely upon his abilities. He was too proud to solicit votes, to yield to prejudices, or to adopt the ordinary arts of the politician.

While Minister to Brazil he received, without solicitation on his part, special instructions from the Secretary of State to proceed on a diplomatic mission to Buenos Ayres and to Montevideo in the Republic of Uraguay. At the same time he was empowered to negotiate with any one who might be authorized to represent the Republic of Paraguay. Several treaties were effected with these governments, by which the United States would have gained advantages never accorded to any European nation, but from neglect or inadvertence they failed to be ratified by the Senate.

Mr. Schenck returned from Brazil in 1854, and for some years took no active part in politics. He was understood to sympathize with what might be called the conservative wing of the Republican party. But he personally disliked and distrusted General Fremont—a feeling, doubtless, aggravated by his sympathy

with the views of his brother, Commodore Schenck, who, having been on duty on the Pacific Coast at the time, regarded General Fremont's claim to be considered the conqueror of California as a dishonest pretense, defrauding himself and his friends of their just fame. Political feeling and personal distrust thus combined to keep Mr. Schenck out of the Republican contest for Fremont and Dayton in 1856; and he held aloof from politics through almost the whole of Mr. Buchanan's term of office. He was engaged occasionally in important law cases, principally in managing, as President, a line of railroad from Fort Wayne, Indiana, to the Mississippi River.

In September, 1859, he addressed a meeting of his fellow-citizens in Dayton on the political issues of that period. This was on the evening of the day on which Abraham Lincoln had made a speech at the same place. Allusion being made to the subject of the next Presidency, Mr. Schenck suggested that if an honest, sensible man was wanted, it would be well to nominate the distinguished gentleman from Illinois who had addressed them that day. Mr. Lincoln always spoke of this as the first suggestion of his name for that office before any large assembly, or on any public occasion. Subsequently, when his name did come up at the Chicago Convention, Mr. Schenck was among his warmest supporters.

When the attack was made on Fort Sumter, Mr. Schenck at once tendered his services to President Lincoln, and was commissioned Brigadier-General of volunteers. The appointment was vigorously denounced as a political one by those who held that the volunteer army should be officered mainly by regulars. It was claimed that young Lieutenants who had spent their time in Indian fights on the frontier were better fitted to command armies, by reason of their knowledge of the manual of arms and the ordinary regimental drill, than were men of vastly superior intellectual force, who had never studied tactics as school-boys at West Point. One leading newspaper denounced Schenck's appointment as an outrage upon the soldiers, and demanded that he should be turned over to some Orderly Sergeant of the regular army and "made to drill like the devil for a month." The same coarse abuse long continued to follow every act of the new Brigadier-General of volunteers, whose great misfortune now seemed to be that before the war he had been distinguished.

On the 17th of June, 1861, General Schenck was ordered to take possession of the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad, as far as Vienna. Under instructions from General Scott this road had been reconnoitered the day before by General Daniel Tyler, who, with four hundred men upon cars, ran beyond Vienna some distance, and, returning, reported no enemy. The General commanding wishing to secure the road, ordered General Schenck to send the same cars used by General Tyler with a regiment of his brigade, and to establish guards at certain points designated along the road. These instructions were in writing, and were obeyed implicitly, General Schenck himself accompanying the expedition. When approaching Vienna with two remaining companies, the train was fired upon by what was known in the alarmist phraseology of those days as a masked

battery. Three cars were disabled, ten men were killed and two wounded. The locomotive being in the rear, the engineer, in a cowardly and treacherous manner, uncoupled and returned to Alexandria, leaving the General with his little band in the presence of a largely superior force, supported by artillery and cavalry. General Schenck with great coolness rallied his few men, and behaved with so much courage that the Rebels were impressed with the belief that a heavy force must be in reserve, and accordingly they withdrew. The Rebels numbered about eight hundred, mainly South Carolinians, and were commanded by Colonel—since General—Gregg. Distorted representations of this affair were given to the greedy press by parties who found it their interest to maintain that none but West Pointers were fit to hold office in the army. Some of General Schenck's own subordinates were among the readiest in this defamation, and for a long time they succeeded in convincing the public that there had been very gross "volunteer" mismanagement at Vienna. The General's political opponents then took it up; and to the end of his natural life it is quite probable that he will continue to see himself sneered at in the newspapers of the opposite party as the "hero of Vienna." His conduct, however, was gallant and every way commendable; he acted strictly in obedience to General Scott's orders, and the veteran Lieutenant-General subsequently stated that he was not to be blamed, but rather to be praised for his conduct.

At the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, General Schenck commanded a brigade in General Tyler's division, embracing the First and Second Ohio, the Second New York, and a battery of six-pounders. He was stationed upon the Warrenton Road near the Stone Bridge. About four o'clock P. M., being left in command by General Tyler, he determined to clear the abattis from the bridge and to march to the relief of some of the National forces that were severely pressed. For this purpose he moved forward two twelve-pounders and a company of pioneers, and the obstructions were soon removed. At this moment the order came to retreat, and General Schenck, forming his brigade, brought off the only portion of that great army that was not "resolved into its original elements of mob." General Beauregard in his official report gives as one of the reasons why pursuit was not made, that he was satisfied large re-enforcements held the Warrenton Road. He had no evidence of this other than General Schenck's gallant demonstration and orderly retreat; but for which, it may be claimed, the disaster would have been far greater.

General Schenck's orders from General McDowell contemplated a halt near Centerville. He accordingly halted his brigade and began to make his dispositions for holding the point. There now occurred one of the most extraordinary features of the retreat. The commanding officers of the several organizations in the brigade, headed by a consequential young Lieutenant of infantry in the regular army, who subsequently rose to enlarged opportunities for misconduct through a Major-General's commission, waited upon General Schenck, and protested against the halt. So panic-stricken was this professed soldier who headed them, that he declared it certain destruction to remain there another hour. General Schenck replied that he did not believe the danger so great as

their lively imaginations painted it; but that, at any rate, he was acting under positive orders. The mass of the army was in confusion. Between it and the enemy he was ordered to stand; and, no matter what the danger, it was his duty to obey. The Colonels renewed their protests. General Schenck remained inflexible. Finally, under the lead of one of these uneasy Colonels, in the fullness of their contempt for the volunteer General, and their alarm lest the fearful "Black-Horse Cavalry" should swoop down upon them, they declared their intention to retreat in spite of their commander's orders. General Schenck expostulated; pointed out the danger to which they might be exposing the disorganized mass behind them; dwelt upon the solemn duty of a soldier to obey his orders. Finally, he warned them that he should bring them before a court-martial to answer for this gross insubordination. Whether it was that their terror overcame their judgment, or that they knew so little of military matters as to suppose insubordination a thing of little moment, or that they conceived the danger to be so instant and appalling as to warrant any breach of military discipline—in any event, this is what they did: Placing themselves at the heads of their commands, they turned their backs upon the enemy, deserted their outraged General, and started straight for Washington! General Schenck was absolutely left upon the spot he was ordered to hold with only a single orderly and his staff.

We now know that this point might have been held; that its abandonment was the fatal mistake which, drawing in its train an expanding series of evils, entailed upon the country the gloom, and upon the army the delay, that make Bull Run so fatal a name in our annals. General Schenck fully intended to bring the guilty parties before a court-martial, and, had he done so, at least three grave disasters in the West that subsequently befell our armies might have had a different history But, shortly after his eloping regiments began their retreat, an order came to the solitary General from McDowell to continue the movement toward Washington. As the insubordinate officers had only anticipated this command, he unwisely spared them. It soon came about that at least one of them made this very battle, which should have disgraced him, the occasion for fresh promotion.

General Schenck was next assigned to the command of a brigade in West Virginia, under General Rosecrans, and was actively engaged in the several campaigns on the Kanawha and New Rivers. In the operations for the capture of Floyd at the mouth of the Gauley, he was efficient and prompt. Had General Rosecrans been as well served by all his other subordinates, the combination would not have ended in failure. He was ordered to Cumberland, Maryland, on the death of General Lander, and, upon arriving, found everything in a distressing state of confusion. The town was crowded with sick and wounded soldiers, and the troops in the neighborhood were very much disorganized. The administrative abilities of the General soon restored order, and his zeal and justice will long be remembered both by citizens and soldiers.

From Cumberland General Schenck, with a little army, was ordered to move up the South Branch of the Potomac, and he successfully occupied and

held Moorefield, Petersburg, Franklin, and other important points on that line of operations. He was then ordered to push on to the relief of General Milroy, who was at McDowell with about four thousand men. To make this connection it was necessary to cross the South Branch of the Potomac. The only available ford was three feet deep at the shallowest place; the current was rapid, and the bed rocky and uneven; but after almost a day's persevering labor, the river was forded with little loss. When beyond Franklin, and about twenty-two miles from McDowell, a dispatch was received from General Milroy, stating that the enemy was at least fourteen thousand strong, and would undoubtedly attack the next morning. General Schenck pushed onward with about fifteen hundred infantry, one battalion of cavalry, and De Beck's Ohio Battery The march was continued all night, and daylight found the column within ten miles of McDowell. On entering the town, a consultation was held with General Milroy, and General Schenck was satisfied that with their small force and lack of stores they could not occupy the place, but instead of awaiting an attack, or commencing a retreat, a feint of strength was made, and hard fighting continued until dark. Meantime baggage was sent off in wagon trains, and General Milroy's army was brought back to Franklin with slight loss, considering the odds against which it contended. The commander of the department pronounced the march to the relief of Milroy, the battle that ensued, and the subsequent retreat, one of the most brilliant achievements that had thus far marked the campaigns in that region.

At the battle of Cross Keys General Schenck was assigned to the right of the line, and the Rebels in heavy force immediately attempted to flank his position. The attempt was met promptly, and was repulsed, the enemy falling back in confusion under a well-directed artillery fire. Until about three o'clock P. M. the right continued to press the enemy, in no instance giving back or losing any part of the field assigned it. After the left gave way, General Fremont ordered Generals Schenck, Milroy, and Cluseret to fall back to the strong position first occupied in the morning. This was done slowly and in good order. General Fremont, upon being relieved of his command, turned it over to General Schenck, and during the necessary absence of General Sigel, he had command of the First Corps of the Army of Virginia.

From that time until the second battle of Bull Run, the General was actively engaged in all the fatiguing marches along the Rappahannock, and upon his division fell much of the labor of watching, marching, and fighting upon the most exposed flank of the position. General Pope abandoned the Rappahannock, and on the 28th of August, 1862, General Schenck's division arrived at Gainesville, and was at once ordered toward Manassas Junction. General Schenck represented to General Sigel that at Bull Run good water could be found for the suffering troops, and that they would be in better position to meet the enemy than at Manassas, and upon this suggestion General Pope directed the army to Bull Run instead of Manassas.

In the two days' fight which ensued, Schenck's division took an active part. His orders were given with great promptness and judgment, and he himself was

active in seeing them executed. General Pope, in his report, speaks of his conduct in terms highly complimentary. On the second day of the battle, in the thickest of the fight, urging his men forward, he was severely wounded, and was carried from the field. Soldiers of the army still enjoy telling of the General's rage and fearful imprecations at the loss of his sword. It had been in his hand at the moment the ball struck his wrist, and it was thrown some distance from him. The position was very exposed, and the staff wanted to carry him instantly off. He refused to go till his sword should be found. Those about him insisted, but he was peremptory, and the missing sword was brought to him before he would suffer himself to be taken to the hospital.

He was conveyed to Washington, and the day following his arrival the President and other distinguished persons in civil and military life gathered around him with cordial expressions of sympathy and praise. Shortly afterward he received his appointment as Major-General of volunteers, and accompanying it a letter from Secretary Stanton, in which he stated that no official act of his was ever performed with more pleasure than the forwarding of the enclosed appointment. For some time his condition was critical, and he recovered very slowly The right arm proved to be permanently injured, and he has never been able to write with it since.

General Schenck's services in the field closed with the second battle of Bull Run. Over six months elapsed before he was again fit for field duty. Meantime his great reputation and experience in civil affairs had suggested him as the fit commander for the troublesome Middle Department, embracing the turbulent Rebels of Maryland. It had once tasked the energies of Butler. It was now to prove the signal capacity of Schenck. He was assigned by the President to the command of the Middle Department, Eighth Army Corps, with head-quarters at Baltimore, before his recovery from his wound, on the 11th of December, 1862. He assumed command on the 22d of the month, and on that day, in a general order, announced, briefly, the rule by which he would regulate his official conduct toward the citizens. After stating that in the contest arising out of the rebellion there could be but two sides, with no middle ground, he proceeded to show the difference between the loyal and the disloyal, including in the latter class all aiders of, and sympathizers with, the rebellion; and he declared plainly that "any public or open demonstrations, or declarations of sympathy with treason would provoke a strict and needful observation of the conduct of the party offending, and lead even to punishment or restraint, if accompanied by acts of complicity, or anything tending to danger or disorder." The rule was clear; its enforcement was relentless.

General Schenck's administration in the Middle Department was what might have been expected from one of his known executive ability, firmness, and determination. In some instances persons were arrested whose "expressions of sympathy" and "accompanying acts of complicity" brought them under the rule so plainly laid down in the General Order above quoted. One case, that of a newspaper publisher in Philadelphia, caused some excitement, and efforts

were made, apparently for political effect, to bring about a conflict between the judicial authorities of the State of Pennsylvania and the General Government; but the disavowal by the arrested party of all knowledge of the article which led to his arrest, his utter condemnation of its character, and his pledge that nothing of a similar nature should again appear in his paper, procured his release, and the excitement subsided. Another case was that of a Baltimore clergyman, who tore down and trampled upon the American Flag in a public hall, where his congregation was in the habit of worshiping. In this instance, also, the arrested party, having made proper acknowledgments, and having given pledges for his future conduct, was promptly set at liberty.*

During the march of Lee into the southern border of Pennsylvania, in July, 1863, General Schenck rendered valuable aid to the Union cause. The armed force in his department was numerically small, and was stationed in detachments at various points away from his immediate command. It was feared, too, that Baltimore itself would be subjected to an attack in case the Rebel army had any success north of the Potomac. After sending against Lee every man that could be spared, the General at once set about the defense of Baltimore, by calling out the citizens, by barricading the approaches, and by throwing, with great rapidity, a defensive line of works around the city.

The autumn elections in Maryland for members of Congress excited much interest. It was apprehended, upon good grounds, that violence would be offered in some districts to Union men if they attempted to vote; and that men, notorious for their disloyalty, would not only vote, but would seek to take possession of the polls, and to control the elections.

"General Order Fifty-Three," so obnoxious to all secession sympathizers, was thereupon issued. This order provided that Provost Marshals and other military officers should prevent violence at the polls, should support the judges of election in requiring an oath of allegiance from any one whose vote might be challenged on the ground of disloyalty, and that they should report to headquarters any judge of election who refused to require the oath from a voter so

*A volume might be filled with instances of General Schenck's treatment of treasonable practices, and of the sagacity and adroitness with which he enforced his rule.

A single example may be given, showing how he encountered what commanders in disloyal districts came to designate as "the woman difficulty." Men dared not insult the soldiers; women could and did with impunity, relying on their sex to protect them. In Baltimore they were particularly virulent. Finally they came to wearing the Rebel colors, flauntingly displayed, taking care to promenade the streets in great numbers on any occasion when such a display might be particularly annoying. For another phase of this difficulty General Butler brought down upon himself unmeasured odium by his mal-adroit "Woman of the Town" order. General Schenck made a more skillful use of the same means. A number of the most noted women of the town were selected. Each was instructed to array herself as elegantly as possible, to wear the Rebel colors conspicuously displayed upon her bosom, and to spend her time promenading the most fashionable streets of the city. Whenever she met any one of the ladies of Baltimore wearing the same badges, she was to salute her affectionately as a "Sister in the Holy Cause;" and for these services she was to be liberally paid. The effect was marvelous. In less than a week not a respectable woman in Baltimore dared to show herself in public ornamented by any badge of the rebellion. From that time to the end of Schenck's administration the "woman difficulty" was settled.

challenged. A letter from the Governor of Maryland to President Lincoln was thus elicited. The Governor complained that this military proclamation interfered with his functions as Chief Magistrate of the State. In reply the President changed the first section of the order, not, as he said, because it was wrong in principle, but because it was liable to abuse, and then sustained the remainder, remarking characteristically that General Schenck permitted a Rebel to vote if he recanted upon oath, and that was "*cheap enough.*" A similar course was pursued in the election subsequently held in Delaware, with the hearty co-operation of the Governor of that State.

On the 5th of December, 1863, General Schenck resigned his commission to take a seat in the lower house of Congress, to which he had been elected from the Third Ohio Congressional District in 1862, defeating Clement L. Vallandigham by a handsome majority, while suffering from the wound he received at the Second Battle of Bull Run. His administration of affairs in Maryland and Delaware received the unqualified approval of Union men within the Department, and he had been presented with highly-flattering testimonials from City Councils, County Conventions, and Union Leagues. He had also been warmly praised and indorsed by the War Department and the President.

Upon resuming his seat in Congress, a dozen years after he had vacated it, General Schenck was appointed by the Speaker Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. This was a position of much responsibility, and involved continuous and exhausting labor. Nevertheless the General participated freely in matters of legislation, and was one of the most active debaters in the House.

A history of his course in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, and Fortieth Congresses (for he was renominated by his party without opposition at each election), would be a complete history of the military legislation of the country through the most eventful years of the war and after its close, and a comprehensive account of the whole course of public affairs in Congress during that period

Into that we can not enter. It is enough to say that in military matters he was laborious and vigilant; the firm friend of the volunteer as against what he thought the encroachments and assumptions of the regulars; the remorseless enemy of deserters; a vigorous advocate of the draft, and the author of the disfranchisement of those who ran away from it; the champion of the private soldiers and subordinate officers. He opposed for a time the Lieutenant-General Bill, on the ground that the high reward it offered should be reserved till the end of the war, to be then bestowed upon him whom the events of the war should show to have deserved most of the Republic.

He not unfrequently opposed the wishes of the War Department and of the Senate Committee, believing them to be sometimes too much influenced by the schemes of the West Point circle. He proved himself utterly fearless as to loss of personal popularity, and championed measures which were generally felt to be needful, but from which most of his colleagues shrank back through fear of the prejudices of their constituents. He was often in a minority at the outset

on favorite measures, but he adhered to them with bull-dog tenacity; fought for them at every stage, against the House, against the Senate, in committees of conference, and was never finally defeated on any leading feature of his military propositions.

In general politics he resumed his old place as one of the leaders of his party. We have seen that as a Whig he was antislavery. The war made him more radical. No man in Congress seemed so much actuated, not merely by the general ideas of Radical Republicans, but especially and conspicuously by a vehement, fervid *hatred* of Rebels and the rebellion. He soon learned to distrust President Johnson, and throughout the contest with the Executive he was a leader in the claims for the power and policy of Congress.

He carried much of his old political bitterness into the House. This and the recollection of his rule in Maryland made him especially odious to the opposition. No man on the Republican side was so much hated by the Democratic members.

Many of his characteristics, as displayed in his speeches and general conduct in the House, are happily exemplified in the fairly ferocious onslaught which he made upon Mr. Fernando Wood, in the spring of 1864, in the course of the debate upon the resolution for the expulsion of Mr. Alexander Long. Mr. Wood had just closed a defense of Mr. Long, which, on several accounts, had been peculiarly obnoxious to the Republicans. General Schenck rose to reply, speaking, as always, without notes:

"A student in natural history would have much to learn on this floor. Some specimens of the snake family are so slippery that it seems impossible to classify them, or to hold them to any position.

"I find myself at a great loss to understand what ground is occupied by the member from New York, who has just taken his seat. He avows that he disagrees with the position taken by the member from Maryland (Mr. Harris), who was on Saturday visited with the censure of the House; he dissents from the arguments and propositions of my colleague (Mr. Long), whose case we are now considering; and yet he says to his fellow-copperheads—those, if any there are, who crawl with him—that there is no such thing as a War Democrat, for a creation of that kind is anomalous! I may be pardoned, therefore, if I have difficulty in comprehending his own nature.

"But, at the close of his remarks, the member from New York seemed in some small degree to develop his peculiar views and purposes. Being neither against the war nor for the war, he would send commissioners to Richmond to treat with those arrayed in arms against the country, to offer them terms of peace. How many others on his side of the House may agree with him I know not.

"But I do know this: Whenever any such propositions of Northern Democrats have appeared in print, their offers or suggestions of peace have invariably been received by the Rebels at Richmond with scoffing, and repelled with scorn.

"The member and his friends, then, are willing and propose to crawl on their bellies to the feet of Rebels and insurgents in arms, and, looking up piteously, to say, 'O, our Masters, notwithstanding all your scoffing and scorn, though you may spurn us from your presence, we implore you to say whether you will not graciously agree to make some terms with us.' I can not comprehend this abasement in any other way.

"Thank God! I belong to no such party as that! For the sake of manhood and humanity, I would not trust too far those who do. I never will make peace with armed Rebels. I am for concluding no treaties, holding no conferences with insurgent States claiming to be an independent and separate nationality. I believe that the only safety for this country consists in fighting

this war to the end; in suppressing this rebellion so effectually that its hydra head will never again be raised in the land.

"Upon this middle ground, upon which we have agreed no patriot or true man can stand, the member from New York selects his uncertain footing. It is the dark, oozy, unwholesome soil between the solid earth on either hand, over which unclassified copperheads do creep and mark their slimy and doubtful track.

"When our difficulties with the South were ripening into war, when hostilities were actually commenced, when it was not known how far disaffection might extend throughout the several States of the Union, there was a Mayor of New York who proposed that the city should secede from the Government, and set up for itself as a free city."

Mr. Fernando Wood: "Mr. Speaker"—

Mr. Schenck: "I can not be interrupted, sir, but will continue, as the member insisted upon doing just now, when others sought to interrupt him.

"Not that alone, sir; the same Mayor of New York, after rebellion was rampant, when boxes filled with arms were stopped by the loyal city authorities on the wharves of New York, and not permitted to go South that weapons might be put into the hands of those who were seeking to overthrow the Government of the country, that same Mayor regretted that he had no power over the matter, or he would gladly prevent any interference with such transmission of these munitions of war."

Mr. Fernando Wood: "Mr. Speaker"—

Mr. Schenck: "Yes, I know that this has been denied here, recently, by that member, on this floor, and without hearing him now, I give him the benefit of that denial; but he shall also have the benefit of the positive proof, produced and published widely in the papers of New York, a few days afterward, nailing upon him the falsity of the denial which he presented to this House."

Mr. Fernando Wood: "Mr. Speaker"—

Mr. Schenck: "I am not to be interrupted by that member."

Mr. Fernando Wood: "The gentleman states"—

Mr. Schenck: "O, I have met Rebels before, when they had something more than tongues with which to contend; and I am not to be interrupted and put down by the member from New York."

General Schenck then went on to cite the proofs of his charges. He next recalled Mr. Wood's appearance as a War Democrat at the great Union meeting at Cooper Institute, after the fall of Sumter, and continued:

"I say, therefore, that I do not know what kind of a War Democrat he may be hereafter; whether he will be against his own people and the Government of the United States, as he is now, or against the insurgents, as he was then. His present profession is to be neither, but to crawl along the border between the two.

"He would propose terms of peace, and that peace he would offer to those who scorn him. But still he will press upon them his good offices. He sings the siren song of peace, for the effect it may have at home. For that he is willing to crawl prostrate to the feet of insurgents in arms and say to them: 'Do with us as you will; tear from the flag of our glorious Union half its gleaming stripes; blot out as many of those stars as you can reach and extinguish; only join us again, that you may help us to save the Democratic party, so that we may hereafter, as heretofore, enjoy power and the offices together. For these we will so humble ourselves as none of God's creatures ever humbled themselves before.'

"I can understand how in the Revolution, when these States, then colonies, broke away from the mother country, many a man who was attached to monarchical institutions, fearful of rushing upon the untried experiment of a new form of government, to be reached through the horrors of war, might have shrunk back and been a tory of that day. But how, after the better part of a century has gone by, and this great Government, under the constitution adopted at the close of that Revolution, has gone on prospering and to prosper, when it has made its mark high on the roll of nations, and the hopes of a world have clustered around it, how any one with this history of this triumph, can to-day doubt, or distrust, or bargain away his country's nationality, is more

than I can comprehend. Sir, I declare that in my opinion the worst tory of the Revolution was a patriot and gentleman compared with the copperheads of 1864.

"Mr. Speaker, we are in the presence of the enemy. Every man in this Union is, in a legal sense, a citizen-soldier. Our people are either in the lines of the Union army in front facing and fighting the foe, or they are in the rear, striving by every means possible to strengthen and advance the common cause. Now, if a soldier marching with the army toward the enemy, or holding his place in the line of battle, should turn to his comrades about him, saying to one, 'We can not beat the enemy;' to another, 'We had better lay down our arms;' to another, 'Our cause is wrong and we can never conquer;' to another, 'Let us demand of our commanding officers to stop shedding blood and have a truce between the two armies'—if a soldier at such a time should talk thus in the ranks, what would you do with him? You would shoot him on the spot.

"And is a citizen-soldier, who undertakes to breed distraction in the country, who claims that we can not put down the rebellion, who insists that the rebellion is altogether right and justifiable, who would temporize, who would compromise, who would have his Government debased to the condition of begging from the insurgents—is *he* less deserving execration and punishment? We may not execute such a man, perhaps, on his appropriate gallows, erected for criminals, yet, thank God! there is a gibbet of public opinion, on which we can hang him as high as Haman, and hold him there, to the scorn of all the nations of the world."

An eye-witness of the remarkable scenes attending the delivery of this impassioned invective, writes in one of the newspapers of the day: "Standing there, square, compact, and muscular, his shattered right hand hanging idle at his side, or thrust nervously into the breast of his closely-buttoned coat, after a forgetful attempt to use it in gesticulation, the sharply-cut sentences rattling like quick, well-delivered volleys, one can not help thinking of him as one of those old knights, fresh from honorable fields, who were used, with all their armor on, to enter the old councils, and bring something of the sharp clang of war to the stern debate."

The speech, however, was not all invective. Toward the close, the orator came to consider the charges of violating the Constitution, which were constantly urged by the enemies of the Union, against those who were waging war to save it:

"Sir, I desire to say in conclusion, in relation to this whole matter of the war and our country's trials, that—believing in strong remedies for desperate diseases, and considering that constitutional power may sometimes have been strained, but that it has not been exceeded—I fail to see anything so terrible in the figure which gentlemen use when they speak with such horror of the possibility of overleaping the Constitution in order to save the country.

"What is the Constitution? It is the form and frame-work of our system, under and through which the people may carry on their government. It is, after all, the form only and not the life itself.

"Mark this difference. The builders of this, our frame-work, have provided in itself the mode of its own amendment and renewal. But no such change was ever contemplated for the Nation. The Constitution may undergo alteration; but the nationality for which it was made, must be one and eternal! To those, then, who talk idly of permitting this Nation to be destroyed rather than see any provision in the Constitution in the least exceeded, I say that, under the pretense of saving the Constitution, they are making war or encouraging those who do make war upon the very existence of the Nation, while we, who stand by the Government, would try all the powers of that Constitution, and strain them to the utmost, that the Nation itself might live!"

In the winter preceding the outbreak of the war, General Schenck became

a candidate for the office of United States Senator, to succeed Mr. Chase, who had just resigned to enter Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. His opponents were Mr. John Sherman, then Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House, and Mr. Dennison, then Governor of the State. The facts that he had been out of politics for years, and that he had not been cordial in co-operating with the Republican party in its first National canvass, operated against Mr. Schenck. Had the Western Reserve members known how radical he really was, they would have elected him, almost on the first ballot. As it was, the contest dragged on for weeks. Finally, by a curious illustration of the blindness that often shrouds the vision of the keenest-sighted in political affairs, Garfield, Cox, and Monroe, the Radical triumvirate of the State Senate, threw their influence in favor of the Conservative John Sherman as against the Radical Schenck, and decided the contest.

Mr. Schenck has been kept in Congress by the people of his district since his return in 1863, without solicitation or effort on his part. He seems sure of a life representation of the district, if he should want it.

When Mr. Sherman's first term in the United States Senate was about to expire, Mr. Schenck became again a candidate against him. The influence of the Senator actually in power was, however, too great to be overcome; and in the course of the heated contest Mr. Schenck's own management of his interests was probably unwise. The two causes insured his defeat. Another may have increased the vote for Sherman. There was a general feeling that Sherman was in his place in the Finance Committee of the Senate, and Schenck in his as Chairman of the Military Committee of the House; and that neither could well be spared from the position he occupied.

Our brief narrative of the events in General Schenck's career seems sufficiently to portray his character. In military and in civil life he has been the same bold, bitter, fearless fighter. He practices no concealments, displays little strategy, never shrinks from a course because it will increase the number of his enemies, strikes with a broadsword rather than thrust with a rapier, hews his way through difficulties, rather than take the trouble to turn into an equally good path that may carry him around them. He has all the combative energy of his American birth, and all the tenacity of his Dutch ancestry When he has friends, they are warm friends; when he has enemies, they never forgive him.

As an effective, forcible, hard-hitting orator he has few superiors in the nation. He is very careless, however, as to his productions, never revises the reports even of his most important speeches, and takes his satisfaction in cursing the reporters for apprehending his meaning so imperfectly! As a political leader his judgment is excellent, and his counsels are always sagacious; but his conduct is sometimes imprudent, and is always sure to lash his antagonists into the display of their utmost energy. His enemies, and even those who bear him no personal hostility, generally speak of him as selfish; his friends call him "whole-souled," "generous," "big-hearted," "hospitable." His general

habits are exclusive; people sometimes complain of him as being "aristocratical," and he utterly scorns the ordinary practices of demagogues, or even of many reputable politicians in conducting their campaigns. He is a man of wide culture and varied accomplishments—a good lawyer, thoroughly well read in political history, an admirable French and Spanish scholar, familiar with the whole range of modern literature.

In military matters he approved himself a good Corps Commander. On a larger scale he was never tried. But there are no blots on his military record. History will confirm the verdict of General Scott, that he deserved praise rather than blame for his conduct at Vienna. It will award him credit for aiding to protect the routed army at Bull Run and to prevent that great defeat from becoming also a fatal disaster. It will record his unvaried gallantry on every field, and regret the wound which, at the Second Battle of Bull Run, too soon removed him from active service.

Of his administration of the mixed civil and military affairs of the Middle Department, there will be diversity of views. But those who believe in the triumph of loyalty and the punishment of treason, will never fail to hold his services in Baltimore in grateful remembrance. Winter Davis and the other Union leaders of Maryland were accustomed to speak of him as the savior of the State.

General Schenck is of about the middle height, square, compact, and broad-chested. His rugged features fairly indicate his strong passions and inflexible will. He has been for many years a widower, and of late has not kept up an establishment in Dayton, residing for the greater part of the year with his three daughters in Washington. In his railroad and other operations he had once accumulated a handsome fortune. Too great willingness to oblige his friends, and particularly his old teacher, Governor Thomas Corwin, led to the loss of a large part of it, though he still possesses a competence. He has several times refused to be the candidate of his party for Governor of Ohio, and seems now to have no other ambition than to continue in the service of his native State in Washington.

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES A. GARFIELD.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, Major-General of volunteers, Representative in Congress, and the most able and prominent of the young politicians who entered the army at the outbreak of the war, and after an honorable career returned to higher stations in the civil service of the Government, was born in the village of Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio (twelve or fifteen miles from Cleveland), on the 19th of November, 1831, the youngest of four children, who were orphaned by the death of their father within two years after the birth of this last of them.

Both his parents were of New England extraction. The father, Abraham Garfield, though born in Otsego County, New York, was of a family that had resided in Massachusetts for several generations. The mother, Eliza Ballou (niece of Rev Hosea Ballou, the noted Universalist clergyman), was born in Cheshire County, New Hampshire.

The death of Abraham Garfield, in 1833, left the widow and her four young children, without fortune, in the backwoods. But there was a little farm, and on this they worked, the youngest by and by coming to be able to bear a share of the burden. In the winters there was a village school, with such small store of books as the neighborhood afforded for private reading. So the winters and the summers passed till the family had grown up, and the youngest, now sixteen years of age, had learned a little of the carpenter's trade.

But this did not prove very remunerative. So, in his seventeenth year, young Garfield secured employment on the Ohio Canal, and from driver on the tow-path rose, after a time, to be boatman. The irregular life disagreed with him, and the fall of 1848 found him back under his mother's roof, slowly recovering from a three months' siege of the fever and ague.

Up to this time he would seem to have cherished little ambition for anything beyond the prospects offered by the laborious life he had entered. But it happened that this winter the district school was taught by a promising young man named Samuel D. Bates.* He had attended a high school in an adjacent township, known as the "Geauga Seminary," and with the proselyting spirit common among young men in the backwoods, who were beginning to taste the pleasures of education, he was very anxious to take back several new students with him. Garfield listened and was tempted. He had intended to become a a sailor on the lakes, but he was yet too ill to carry out this plan; and so he finally resolved to attend the high school one term, and postpone sailing till

* Since an esteemed minister of the Gospel at Marion, Ohio.

the next fall. That resolution made a scholar, a Major-General, and a Congressman out of him, instead of a sailor before the mast on a Lake Erie schooner.

Early in March, 1849, young Garfield reached Chester (the site of the "Geauga Academy"), in company with a cousin and another young man from his native village. They carried with them frying-pans and dishes, as well as their few school books. Being too poor to pay for boarding, they were to "board themselves." They rented a room in an old, unpainted frame house near the academy, and went to work. Garfield bought the second Algebra he had ever seen, and began it. English Grammar, Natural Philosophy, and Arithmetic made up the list of his studies. His mother had scraped together a little sum of money to aid him at the start, which she gave him with her blessing when he left her. After that he never had a dollar in his life that he did not earn. As soon as he began to feel at home in his classes, he sought among the carpenters of the village for employment at his trade. He worked mornings, evenings, and Saturdays, and thus earned enough to pay his way. When the summer vacation came he had a longer interval for work; and so, when the fall term opened he had money enough laid up to pay his tuition and give him a start again.

By the end of this fall term young Garfield had made such progress that the lad of eighteen thought he was able to teach a district school. Then his future seemed easy to him. The fruits of the winter's teaching were enough, with his economical management, to pay his expenses for the spring and fall terms at the academy. Whatever he could make in addition, by his mornings' and evenings' work at the carpenter's trade, would go to swell another fund, the need of which he had begun to feel.

For the backwoods lad, village carpenter, tow-path canal hand, would-be sailor, had now resolved to enter college. "It is a great point gained," he wrote years afterward, when, in our hurrying times, "a young man makes up his mind to devote several years to the accomplishment of a definite work." It was so now in his own case. With a definite purpose before him, he began to save all his money and to shape all his exertions to the one end. Through the summer vacation of 1850 he worked at his trade, helping to roof and weather-board houses within a stone's throw of the academy benches on which he had recently been construing Latin. At the opening of the next session he was able to rise a little in the world; he could now abandon boarding himself. But he was thereby indulging in no extravagance. He found boarding, lodging, and washing, at some miraculously cheap house, for one dollar and six cents per week.

The next winter he taught again; then, in the spring, removed to Hiram, and attended the "Institute," over which he was afterward to preside. So he continued, teaching a term each winter, attending school through spring and fall, and keeping up with his classes by private study during the time he was absent. Before he left the Hiram Institute he was the finest Latin and Greek scholar that school had ever seen.

At last, by the summer of 1854, our carpenter and tow-path boy had gone as far as the high schools and academies of his native region could carry him.

He was now nearly twenty-three years old. The struggling, hard-working boy had developed into a self-reliant man. He was the neighborhood wonder for scholarship, and a general favorite for the hearty, genial ways that have never deserted him. He had been brought up in the Church of the Disciples, as it loved to call itself, of which Alexander Campbell was the great light. At an early age he had followed the example of his parents in connecting himself with this church. His life corresponded with his profession. Everybody believed in and trusted him.

He had saved from his school-teaching and carpenter work about half enough money to carry him through the two years in which he thought he could finish the ordinary college course. He was growing old, and he determined that he must go that fall. How to procure the rest of the needed money was a mystery; but at last his good character and the good will this brought him solved the question. He was in vigorous, lusty health, and a life-insurance policy was easily obtained. This he assigned to a gentleman who thereupon loaned him what money was needed, knowing that if he lived he would pay it, and that if he died the policy would secure it.

Pecuniary difficulties thus disposed of, he was ready to start. But where? He had originally intended to attend Bethany College, the institution sustained by the church of which he was a member, and presided over by Alexander Campbell, the man above all others whom he had been taught to admire and revere. But as study and experience had enlarged his vision, he had come to see that there were better institutions outside the limits of his peculiar sect. A familiar letter of his, written about that time, from which a fortunate accident enables us to quote, shall tell us how he reasoned and acted:

"There are three reasons why I have decided not to go to Bethany: 1st. The course of study is not so extensive or thorough as in Eastern colleges. 2d. Bethany leans too heavily toward slavery. 3d. I am the son of Disciple parents, am one myself, and have had but little acquaintance with people of other views; and, having always lived in the West, I think it will make me more liberal, both in my religious and general views and sentiments, to go into a new circle, where I shall be under new influences. These considerations led me to conclude to go to some New England college. I therefore wrote to the Presidents of Brown University, Yale, and Williams, setting forth the amount of study I had done, and asking how long it would take me to finish their course.

"These answers are now before me. All tell me I can graduate in two years. They are all brief, business notes, but President Hopkins concludes with this sentence: 'If you come here we shall be glad to do what we can for you.' Other things being so nearly equal, this sentence, which seems to be a kind of friendly grasp of the hand, has settled the question for me. I shall start for Williams next week.'

Some points in this letter of a young man about to start away from home to college will strike the reader as remarkable. Nothing could show more mature judgment about the matter in hand than the wise anxiety to get out from the Disciples' influence, and see something of other men and other opinions. It was notable that one trained to look upon Alexander Campbell as the master intellect of the churches of the day should revolt against studying in his college, because it leaned too strongly to slavery. And in the final turning of the decis-

ion upon the little friendly commonplace that closed one of the letters, we catch a glimpse of the warm, sympathetic nature of the man, which much and wide experience of the world in after years has never hardened.

So, in the fall of 1854 the pupil of the Geauga Seminary and of the Hiram Institute applied for admission at the venerable doors of Williams College. He knew no graduate of the college, and no student attending it; and of the President he only knew that he had published a volume of lectures which he liked,* and that he had said a kindly word to him when he spoke of coming.

The Western carpenter and village school-teacher received many a shock in the new sphere he had now entered. On every hand he was made to feel the social superiority of his fellow-students. Their ways were free from the little awkward habits of the untrained laboring youth. Their speech was free from the uncouth phrases of the provincial circles in which he had moved. Their toilets made the handiwork of his village tailor look sadly shabby. Their free-handed expenditures contrasted strikingly with his enforced parsimony. To some tough-fibered hearts these would have been only petty annoyances. To the warm, social, generous mind of young Garfield they seem, from more than one indication of his college life that we can gather, to have been a source of positive anguish. But he bore bravely up, maintained the advance standing in the Junior Class to which he had been admitted on his arrival; and at the end of his two years' course (in 1854) bore off the Metaphysical honor of his class—reckoned at Williams among the highest within the gift of the institution to her graduating members.

He was four hundred and fifty dollars in debt, and he had only his clothes, his books, and his diploma.

But now on his return to his home, the young man who had gone so far East as to old Williams, and had come back decorated with her honors, was thought good enough for anything. He was straightway made teacher of Latin and Greek in the Hiram Eclectic Institute, in which only two years before he had been a pupil; and so he began to work for money to pay his debts. So high a position did he take, and so popular did he become, that the next year he was made President of the Institute—a position which he continued to hold until his entrance into political life, but a little before the outbreak of the war.

Two years of teaching (during which time he married) left him even with the world. Through the school year of 1858-59 he even began to save a little money At the same time he commenced the study of law.

Meantime he had begun to attract attention through wider circles than a mere Academy teacher would have been expected to reach. He had the temperament of an orator—the warm feelings, the fervid imagination, the intensity of purpose. He was gifted with a copious flow of language, to which his thorough study of the Greek and Latin classics had given strength and purity. He was still a student, but he was already a comprehensive scholar, versed in

*It was the reading of this volume of lectures that made young Garfield think of writing to Williams, when he was applying to the Yale and Brown, both of which were far better known in the West than Williams.

an unusually wide range of subjects. His capacities and his acquirements thus combined to make a public speaker of him. As the President of the Institute it was natural that he should appear on the platform on every public occasion. The Church of the Disciples, like the Society of Friends, is accustomed to accord large privileges of speaking to its laity; and so it came to be expected that President Garfield should address his pupils on Sundays—briefly even when ministers of the Gospel were to preach—more at length when no one else was present to conduct the services. The remarks of the young President were always forcible, sometimes even eloquent; and the community presently began to regard him as its foremost public speaker, to be put forward on every occasion, to be heard with attention on every subject.* His pupils also helped to swell his reputation and the admiration for his talents.

It was thus quite natural that in 1859 he should be thought of by the strong anti-slavery people of Portage and Summit counties as a suitable champion to represent them in the State Senate. He was elected by a large majority; and the speeches which he had made throughout the district during the canvass—warm, fresh, and impassioned—had greatly added to his popularity.

Senator Garfield at once took high rank in the Legislature as a man well-informed on the subjects of legislation, and effective and powerful in debate. He seemed always prepared to speak; he always spoke fluently and to the point; and his genial, warm-hearted nature served to increase the kindness with which both political friends and opponents regarded him. Three Western Reserve Senators formed the Radical triumvirate in that able and patriotic Legislature, which was to place Ohio in line for the war. One was a highly-rated Professor of Oberlin College; another, a lawyer already noted for force and learning, the son-in-law of the President of Oberlin; the third was our village carpenter and village teacher from Hiram. He was the youngest of the three, but he speedily became the first. The trials of the next six years were to confirm the verdict of the little group about the State Capitol that soon placed Garfield before both Cox and Monroe. The College Professor was abundantly satisfied with the success in life which made him a Consul at a South American port. The adroit, polished, able lawyer became a painstaking General, who, perhaps, oftener deserved success than won it, and who at last, profiting by the gratitude of the people to their soldiers, rose to be Governor of the State, but there (for the time at least) ended. The village carpenter started lower in the race of the war and rose higher, became one of the leaders in our National Councils, and confessedly one of the ablest among the younger of our statesmen.

When the secession of the Southern States began, National considerations came to occupy a large share of the attention of the Senate. Mr. Garfield's

* The frequency of Mr. Garfield's appearance in the pulpit of the Institute in the absence of the regular minister, and in accordance with the liberal usages of the Disciples, finally led the outside public to think of him as actually a minister of the Gospel, a position which his unblemished character seemed to befit, as much as his unusual abilities did to adorn. But he had never entertained any idea of becoming a minister, and, as we have seen, was already at work—just as soon as he got relief from the debts with which his stay at college had burdened him—preparing for the practice of the law, to which profession he had long been looking forward.

course was manly and outspoken. He was foremost in the very small number (only six voting with him) who thought the spring of 1861 a bad time for adopting the Corwin Constitutional Amendment, forbidding Congress from ever legislating on the subject of slavery in the States. He was among the foremost in maintaining the right of the National Government to coerce seceded States. "Would you give up the forts and other government property in those States, or would you fight to maintain your right to them?" was his adroit way of putting the question to a Conservative Republican who deplored his incendiary views. He took the lead in revising the old statute about treason, with a view of adapting it to the instant exigencies. When the "Million War Bill," as it was popularly known at the time, came up, he was the most conspicuous of its defenders. Judge Key, of Hamilton County (subsequently a noted member of McClellan's staff), preluded his vote for it with a protest against the policy of the Administration in entering upon the war. It was left to Garfield to make the reply. The newspapers of that day all make mention of his effort in terms of the highest admiration. 'He regretted that Senator Key should have turned from honoring his country to pay his highest tribute of praise, at a time like this, to party. The Senator approved a defense of national property; but denounced any effort to retake it if only it were once captured. Did he mean that if Washington were taken by the Rebels he would oppose attempts to regain possession of the National Capital? Where was this doctrine of non-resistance to stop? He had hoped that the Senator would not, in this hour of the Nation's peril, open the books of party to re-read records that ought, now at least, to be forgotten. But since the Senator had thought this a fitting time to declare his distrust of the President and of the Cabinet, and particularly of Ohio's honored representative in that Cabinet, he had only this to say in reply: that it would be well for that Senator, amid his partisan recollections, to remember whose Cabinet it was that embraced traitors among its most distinguished members, and sent them forth from its most secret sessions to betray their knowledge to their country's ruin!'

When the time came for appointing the officers for the Ohio troops, the Legislature was still in session. Garfield at once avowed his intention of entering the service. But he displayed at the outset his signal want of tact and of skill in advancing his own interests. Of the three leading Radical Senators Garfield had the most personal popularity. Cox was at that time, perhaps, a more compact and pointed speaker—he had matured earlier, as (to change the figure) he was to culminate sooner. But he had never aroused the warm regard which Garfield's whole-hearted, generous disposition always excited. Yet Cox had the sagacity to see how his interests were to be advanced. He abandoned the Senate-chamber; installed himself as an assistant in the Governor's office, made his skill felt in the rush of business, and soon convinced the appointing power of his special aptitude for military affairs. In natural sequence he was presently appointed a Brigadier-General. Garfield was sent off on a mission to some Western States to see about arms for the Ohio volunteers, and on his re-

turn he was offered the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of one of the Reserve regiments. But his making haste slowly was not to injure his future career.

On the 14th of August, 1861, some months after the adjournment of the Legislature, and after the successful close of McClellan's West Virginia campaign, the ex-Senator was finally appointed by Governor Dennison Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Ohio—a regiment not yet organized, a company for which had been recruited among the pupils of the "Hiram Eclectic Institute." It was understood that, if he had cared to push the matter, Garfield might have been Colonel; but with a modesty quite unusual in those early days of the war, he preferred to start low, and rise as he learned. Five weeks were spent in diligently drilling the regiment, and finally, about the time its organization was complete, the Lieutenant-Colonel was, without his own solicitation, promoted to the Colonelcy

It was not until the 14th of December that orders for the field were received. The regiment was then sent to Catlettsburg, Kentucky; and the Colonel was directed to report in person to General Buell. That astute officer, though as opposite as the poles to Garfield in his political convictions, soon perceived the military worth of the young Colonel. On the 17th of December he assigned Colonel Garfield to the command of the Seventeenth Brigade, and ordered him to drive the Rebel forces under Humphrey Marshall out of the Sandy Valley, in Eastern Kentucky.

Up to this date no active operations had been attempted in the great Department that lay south of the Ohio River. The spell of Bull Run still hung over our armies. Save the campaigns in Western Virginia, and the unfortunate attack by General Grant at Belmont, not a single engagement had occurred over all the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. General Buell was preparing to advance upon the Rebel position at Bowling Green, when he suddenly found himself hampered by two co-operating forces skillfully planted within striking distance of his flank. General Zollicoffer was advancing from Cumberland Gap toward Mill Spring; and Humphrey Marshall, moving down the Sandy Valley, was threatening to overrun Eastern Kentucky. Till these could be driven back, an advance upon Bowling Green would be perilous, if not actually impossible. To General George H. Thomas, then just raised from his Colonelcy of regulars to a Brigadier-Generalship of volunteers, was committed the task of repulsing Zollicoffer; to the untried Colonel of the raw Forty-Second Ohio, the task of repulsing Humphrey Marshall. And on their success the whole army of the Department waited.

Colonel Garfield thus found himself, before he had ever seen a gun fired in action, in command of four regiments of infantry, and some eight companies of cavalry,* charged with the work of driving out of his native State the officer reputed the ablest of those, not educated to war, whom Kentucky had given to the rebellion. Marshall had under his command nearly five thousand men,

*The brigade was composed of the Fortieth and Forty-Second Ohio, the Fourteenth and Twenty-Second Kentucky Infantry, six companies of the First Kentucky Cavalry, and two companies of McLaughlin's (Ohio) Cavalry.

stationed at the village of Paintville, sixty miles up the Sandy Valley. He was expected by the Rebel authorities to advance toward Lexington, unite with Zollicoffer, and establish the authority of the Provisional Government at the State Capital. These hopes were fed by the recollection of his great intellectual abilities, and the soldierly reputation he had borne ever since he led the famous charge of the Kentucky volunteers at Buena Vista.

Colonel Garfield joined the bulk of his brigade at the mouth of the Big Sandy, and moved with it directly up the valley. Meantime he ordered the small force at Paris to march overland and effect a junction with him a little below Paintville. The force with which he was able to move numbered about twenty-two hundred.

Marshall heard of the advance, through the sympathizing citizens, and fell back to Prestonburg, leaving a small force of cavalry near his old position, to act as an outpost and to protect his trains. As Garfield approached* he ascertained the position of this cavalry, and sent some of his own mounted forces to attack it, while, with the rest of his column, he passed around to the westward, to make a reconnoissance in force of the positions which he still supposed Marshall's main body to occupy. He speedily discovered Marshall's retreat; then hastily sent word back to his cavalry not to attack the enemy's cavalry until he had time to plant his force on its line of retreat. Unfortunately the circuitous route delayed the courier, and before Garfield's orders could be delivered the attack had been made, and Marshall's cavalry had been driven back in considerable confusion. When, pushing on with the main column, he reached the road on which he had hoped to intercept their retreat, he found it strewn with overcoats, blankets, and cavalry equipments—proofs that they had already passed in their rout. Colonel Garfield pushed the pursuit with his cavalry till the infantry outposts were reached; then, drawing back, encamped with his whole force at Paintville. Here, next morning, he was joined by the troops that had marched from Paris, so that his effective force was now raised to about thirty-four hundred men.

After waiting a day for rations, which were taken through with the utmost difficulty, on the 9th of January Garfield advanced upon Marshall's new position near Prestonburg. Before nightfall he had driven in the enemy's pickets, and had sent orders back to Paintville to forward the few troops—less than one thousand in all—who had not been supplied with rations in time to move with the rest of the column. The men slept on their arms, under a soaking rain. By four o'clock in the morning† they were in motion.

Marshall was believed to be stationed on Abbott's Creek. Garfield's plan, therefore, was to get over upon Middle Creek, and so plant himself on the enemy's rear. But in fact Marshall's force was upon the height's of Middle Creek itself, only two miles west of Prestonburg. So, when Garfield, advancing cautiously westward up the creek, had consumed some hours in these movements, he came upon a semi-circular hill, scarcely one thousand yards in front of which was Marshall's position, between the forks of the creek. The expected

*January 7, 1862. †January 10, 1862.

re-enforcements from Paintville had not yet arrived; and, conscious of his comparative weakness, Colonel Garfield determined first to develop the enemy's position more carefully. A small body of picked men, sent dashing up the road, drew a fire both from the head of the gorge through which the road led and from the heights on its left. Two columns were then moved forward, one on either side of the creek, and the Rebels speedily opened upon them with musketry and artillery. The fight became somewhat severe at times, but was, on the whole, desultory. Garfield re-enforced both his columns, but the action soon developed itself mainly on the left, where Marshall speedily concentrated his whole force. Meantime Garfield's reserve was now also under fire from the commanding position held by the enemy's artillery. He was entirely without artillery to reply; but the men stationed themselves behind trees and rocks, and kept up a brisk though irregular fusilade.

At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the re-enforcements from Paintville arrived. As we now know, these still left Marshall's strength superior to that of his young assailant; but the troops looked upon their opportune arrival as settling the contest. Unbounded enthusiasm was aroused, and the approaching column was received with prolonged cheering. Garfield now promptly formed his whole reserve for attacking the enemy's right and carrying his guns. The troops were moving rapidly up in the fast-gathering darkness, when Marshall hastily abandoned his position, fired his camp equipage and stores, and began a retreat which was not ended till he had reached Abingdon, Virginia. Night checked the pursuit. Next day it was continued for some distance, and some prisoners were taken; but a further advance in that direction was quite impossible without more transportation, and indeed would have been foreign to the purpose for which General Buell had ordered the expedition.*

A fresh peril, however, now beset the little force. An unusually violent rain-storm broke out, the mountain gorges were all flooded, and the Sandy rose to such a height that steamboatmen pronounced it impossible to ascend the stream with supplies. The troops were almost out of rations, and the rough, mountainous country was incapable of supporting them. Colonel Garfield had gone down the river to its mouth. He ordered the "Sandy Valley," a small steamer, which had been in the quartermasters' service, to take on a load of supplies and start up. The Captain declared it was impossible. Efforts were made to get other vessels, but without success.

Finally Colonel Garfield ordered the Captain and crew on board, stationed a competent army officer on deck to see that the Captain did his duty, and himself took the wheel. The Captain still protested that no boat could possibly stem the raging current, but Garfield turned her head up the stream and began the perilous trip. The water in the usually shallow river was sixty feet deep,

* Speaking of these movements on the Sandy, after he had gained more experience of war, Garfield said: "It was a very rash and imprudent affair on my part. If I had been an officer of more experience I probably should not have made the attack. As it was, having gone into the army with the notion that fighting was our business, I did n't know any better."

and the tree-tops along the banks were almost submerged. The little vessel trembled from stem to stern at every motion of the engines; the waters whirled her about as if she were a skiff; and the utmost speed that steam could give her was three miles an hour. When night fell the Captain of the boat begged permission to tie up. To attempt ascending that flood in the dark he declared was madness. But Colonel Garfield kept his place at the wheel. Finally, in one of the sudden bends of the river, they drove, with a full head of steam, into the quicksand of the bank. Every effort to back off was in vain. Mattocks were procured and excavations were made around the imbedded bow. Still she stuck. Garfield at last ordered a boat to be lowered to take a line across to the opposite bank. The crew protested against venturing out in the flood. The Colonel leaped into the boat himself and steered it over. The force of the current carried them far below the point they sought to reach; but they finally succeeeded in making fast to a tree and rigging a windlass with rails snfficiently powerful to draw the vessel off and get her once more afloat.

It was on Saturday that the boat left the mouth of the Sandy. All night, all day Sunday, and all through Sunday night they kept up their struggle with the current, Garfield leaving the wheel only eight hours out of the whole time, and that during the day. By nine o'clock Monday morning they reached the camp, and were received with tumultuous cheering. Garfield himself could scarcely escape being borne to head-quarters on the shoulders of the delighted men.

Through the months of January, February, and March, several small encounters with guerrillas in the mountains occurred, generally favorable to the Union arms, and finally resulting in the expulsion of the bands of marauders from the State. Just on the border, however, at the rough pass across the mountains, known as Pound Gap, eighty miles north of Cumberland Gap, Humphrey Marshall still kept up a post of observation, held by a force of about five hundred men. On the 14th of March Garfield started with five hundred infantry and a couple of hundred cavalry against this detachment. The distance was forty miles, and the roads were at their worst, but by the evening of the next day he had reached the foot of the mountain, two miles north of the Gap. Next morning he sent the cavalry directly up the Gap Road, to attract the enemy's attention, while he led the infantry along an unfrequented foot-path up the side of the mountain. A heavy snow-storm helped to conceal the movements. While the enemy watched the cavalry, Garfield had led the infantry, undiscovered, to within a quarter of a mile of their camp. Then he ordered an attack. The enemy were taken by surprise, and a few volleys dispersed them. They retreated in confusion down the eastern slope of the mountain, followed for several miles into Virginia by the cavalry. Considerable quantities of stores were captured. The troops rested for the night in the sixty comfortable log huts which the enemy had built, and the next morning burnt them down, together with everything else left by the enemy which they could not carry away.

Six days afterward an order was received to leave a small garrison at Pike ton, and to transfer the rest of the command rapidly to Louisville.

These operations in the Sandy Valley had been conducted with such energy and skill as to receive the special commendation of the commanding General and of the Government. General Buell had been moved to words of unwonted praise.* The War Department had conferred the grade of Brigadier-General, the commission bearing the date of the battle on Middle Creek. And the country, without understanding very well the details of the campaign (of which, indeed, no satisfactory account was published at the time†), fully appreciated the tangible result. The discomfiture of Humphrey Marshall was a source of special chagrin to the Rebel sympathizers of Kentucky, and of amusement and admiration throughout the loyal West, and Garfield took rank in the public estimation among the most promising of the younger volunteer Generals.

Later criticism will confirm the general verdict then passed upon the Sandy Valley campaign. It was the first of the brilliant series of successes that made the spring of 1862 so memorable. Mill Springs, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Nashville, Island No. 10, Memphis, followed in quick succession; but it was Garfield's honor that he opened this season of victories. His plans, as we have seen, were based on sound military principles; the energy which he threw into their execution was thoroughly admirable, and his management of the raw volunteers was such that they acquired the fullest confidence in their commander, and endured the hardships of the campaign with a fortitude not often shown in the first field service of new troops. But the operations were on a small scale, and their chief significance lay in the capacity they developed, rather than in their intrinsic importance.

On his arrival from the Sandy Valley at Louisville, General Garfield found that the Army of the Ohio was already beyond Nashville, on its march to Grant's aid at Pittsburg Landing. He hastened after it, reported to General Buell about thirty miles south of Columbia, and, under his orders, at once assumed command of the Twentieth Brigade, then a part of the division under General Thomas J. Wood. He reached the field of Pittsburg Landing about one o'clock on the second day of the battle, and participated in its closing scenes.

The next day he moved with Sherman's advance, and had a sharp encoun-

* The following is the text of General Buell's congratulatory order:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
"*Louisville, Kentucky, January* 20, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS No. 40.

"The General commanding takes occasion to thank General Garfield and his troops for their successful campaign against the Rebel force under General Marshall on the Big Sandy, and their gallant conduct in battle. They have overcome formidable difficulties in the character of country, the condition of the roads, and the inclemency of the season; and, without artillery, have, in several engagements, terminating in the battle on Middle Creek on the 10th inst., driven the enemy from his intrenched positions, and forced him back into the mountains with the loss of a large amount of baggage and stores, and many of his men killed or captured.

"These services have called into action the highest qualities of a soldier—fortitude, perseverance, courage."

† Aside from the official reports, the most comple account of the Middle Creek battle that I have seen is in Harper's Pictorial History of the Rebellion, Vol. I, pp. 221–22–23.

ter with the enemy's rear-guard, a few miles beyond the battle-field. His brigade bore its full share in the tedious siege operations before Corinth, and was among the earliest in entering the abandoned town after General Beauregard's evacuation.

Then when General Buell, turning eastward, sought to prepare for a new aggressive campaign with his inadequate forces, General Garfield was assigned to the task of rebuilding the bridges and re-opening the Memphis and Charleston Railroad eastward from Corinth to Decatur. Crossing the Tennessee here, he advanced to Huntsville, where he remained during the rest of his service in that campaign. He was presently put at the head of the court-martial for the trial of General Turchin, whose conduct at Athens had been the occasion of a parting howl against General Mitchel, and had been one of the earliest subjects forced upon the attention of General Buell on his arrival.* His manifest capacity for such work led to his subsequent detail on several other courts-martial.

The old tendency to fever and ague, contracted in the days of his tow-path service on the Ohio Canal, was now aggravated in the malarious climate of the South, and General Garfield was finally sent home on sick-leave about the first of August. Near the same time the Secretary of War, who seems at this early day to have formed the high estimate of Garfield which he continued to entertain throughout the war, sent orders to him to proceed to Cumberland Gap and relieve General George W Morgan of his command. But when they were received he was too ill to leave his bed. A month later the Secretary ordered him to report in person at Washington, as soon as his health would permit.

On his arrival it was found that the estimate placed upon his knowledge of law, his judgment, and his loyalty, had led to his selection as one of the first members of the court-martial for the noted trial of Fitz John Porter. In the duties connected with this detail most of the autumn was consumed. General Garfield was understood to be one of the clearest and firmest in the conviction that General Porter had wilfully permitted Pope's defeat at the second Bull Run, and that no less punishment than dismissal from the service would be at all adequate to his offense.

The intimacy that sprang up during this trial between General Garfield and General Hunter, the President of the court-martial, led to an application for him for service in South Carolina, whither Hunter was about to start. Garfield's strong antislavery views had been greatly strengthened by his experience thus far during the war, and the South Carolina appointment, under a com-

* This case attracted great attention at the time, and General Turchin was vehemently championed by the newspapers, particularly those of Chicago. The charges against him were neglect of duty, to the prejudice of good order and discipline, in permitting the wanton and disgraceful pillage of the town of Athens, Alabama; conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, in failing to pay a hotel bill in the town; and insubordination in disobeying the orders against the molestation of peaceful citizens in persons and property. Some of the specifications particularized very shameful conduct. The court found him guilty (except as to the hotel-bill story), and sentenced him to dismissal from the army. Six of its members recommended him to clemency on account of mitigating circumstances, but the sentence was executed.

mander so radical as Hunter, was on this account peculiarly gratifying. But in the midst of his plans and preparations, the old army in which he had served plunged into the battle of Stone River. A part of the bitter cost of the victory that followed was the loss of Garesché, the lamented chief of staff to the commanding General. Garfield was at once selected to take his place; the appointment to South Carolina was revoked; and early in January he was ordered out to General Rosecrans.

The Chief of Staff should bear the same relation to his General that a Minister of State does to his sovereign. What this last relation is the most brilliant of recent historians shall tell us: "The difference between a servant and a Minister of State lies in this: that the servant obeys the orders given him, without troubling himself concerning the question whether his master is right or wrong; while a Minister of State declines to be the instrument for giving effect to measures which he deems to be hurtful to his country. The Chancellor of the Russian Empire was sagacious and politic. That the Czar was wrong in these transactions against Turkey no man knew better. But, unhappily for the Czar and for his Empire, the Minister did not enjoy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon his sovereign, nor even, perhaps, to offer him counsel in his angry mood."* We are now to see that in some respects our Chief of Staff came to a similar experience.

From the day of his appointment, General Garfield became the intimate associate and confidential adviser of his chief. But he did not occupy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon him.

The time of General Garfield's arrival marks the beginning of that period of quarrels with the War Department, in which General Rosecrans frittered away his influence and paved the road for his removal. We have seen, in tracing the career of that great strategist and gallant soldier, how unwise he always was in caring for his own interests, and how imprudent was the most of his intercourse with his superiors. Yet he was nearly always right in his demands. General Garfield earnestly sympathized with his appeals for more cavalry† and for revolving arms. But he did all that lay in his power to soften the tone of asperity which his chief adopted in his dispatches to Washington.‡ Sometimes he took the responsibility of totally suppressing an angry message. Oftener he ventured to soften the phraseology. But in all this there was a limit beyond which he could not go; and when Rosecrans had pronounced certain statements of the Department "a profound, grievous, cruel, and ungenerous official and personal wrong," the good offices of the Chief of Staff were no longer efficacious—the breach was irreparable. Thenceforward he could only strive to make victories in the field atone for errors in council.

He regarded the organization of the army as vitally defective. We have

* Kinglake's Crim. War, Vol. I, Chap. XVI.

† A demand which General Buell had made, quite as emphatically as his successor, and with an accurate prediction of the evils that would flow from its absence.

‡ For a full illustration of the nature of this correspondence, see *ante*, Life of Rosecrans.

already pointed out, in tracing the actions of its chief, the great mistake of retaining as commanders of the wings such incapables as A. M. McCook and T. L. Crittenden. Almost the first recommendation made by General Garfield was for their displacement. It is gratifying now to know that he was so little moved by popular prejudice, and so well able to perceive real ability beneath concealing misfortunes, that he urged upon Rosecrans to replace them by Irvin McDowell and Don Carlos Buell. With George H. Thomas already in command, with men like these as his associates, and with the energy and genius of Rosecrans to lead them, the Army of the Cumberland would have been the best officered army in the service of the Nation. But Rosecrans was unwilling to adopt the suggestion—for a reason creditable to his kindness of heart, but not to his military character. Crittenden and McCook ought to be removed—of that he had no doubt, but—"he hated to injure two such good fellows." And so the "two good fellows" went on until Chickamauga.*

From 4th January to 24th June General Rosecrans lay at Murfreesboro'. Through five months of this delay General Garfield was with him. The War Department demanded an advance, and, when the spring opened, urged it with unusual vehemence. General Rosecrans delayed, waiting for cavalry, for re-enforcements, for Grant's movements before Vicksburg, for the movements of the enemy, for the opinions of his Generals. The Chief of Staff at first approved the delays, till the army should be strengthened and massed; but long before the delaying officers were ready he was urging movement with all his power. He had established a secret-service system, then perhaps the most perfect in any of the Union armies. From the intelligence it furnished he felt sure that Bragg's force had been considerably reduced, and was now greatly inferior to that of Rosecrans. As he subsequently said, he refused to believe that this army, which defeated a superior foe at Stone River, could not now move upon an inferior one with reasonable prospects of success.

Finally General Rosecrans formally asked his corps, division, and cavalry Generals as to the propriety of a movement. With singular unanimity, though for diverse reasons, they opposed it. Out of seventeen Generals, not one was in favor of an immediate advance, and not one was even willing to put himself upon the record as in favor of an early advance.

General Garfield collated the seventeen letters sent in from the Generals in reply to the questions of their commander, and fairly reported their substance, coupled with a cogent argument against them and in favor of an immediate movement. This report we venture to pronounce the ablest military document known to have been submitted by a Chief of Staff to his superior during the

*To the above statement it should be added that General Garfield made the recommendation for the removal of Crittenden and McCook in the course of a discussion of the battle of Stone River, in which Rosecrans explicitly said that these officers had shown themselves incompetent in that engagement. Garfield did not take the ground that Buell and McDowell had approved themselves equal to the high commands they had formerly held; but, without discussing this, he argued at length their masterly qualifications for important subordinate positions, as well as the fact that this offer of an opportunity to come out from the cloud under which they rested would insure their gratitude and incite them to their very best efforts.

war. General Garfield stood absolutely alone, every General commanding troops having, as we have seen, either openly opposed or failed to approve an advance. But his statements were so clear and his arguments so forcible that he carried conviction. As an interesting feature in the history of a notable campaign, we give this remarkable paper in full:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND,
Murfreesboro', June 12, 1863.

GENERAL: In your confidential letter of the 8th inst. to the corps and division commanders and Generals of cavalry of this army, there were substantially five questions propounded for their consideration and answer, viz.:

1. Has the enemy in our front been materially weakened by detachments to Johnston, or elsewhere?

2. Can this army advance on him at this time with strong reasonable chances of fighting a great and successful battle?

3. Do you think an advance of our army at present likely to prevent additional re-enforcements being sent against General Grant by the enemy in our front?

4. Do you think an *immediate* advance of this army advisable?

5. Do you think an *early* advance advisable?

Many of the answers to these questions are not categorical, and can not be clearly set down either as affirmative or negative. Especially in answer to the first question there is much indefiniteness, resulting from the difference of judgment as to how great a detachment could be considered a "material reduction" of Bragg's strength. For example: One officer thinks it has been reduced ten thousand, but not "materially weakened."

The answers to the second question are modified in some instances by the opinion that the Rebels will fall back behind the Tennessee River, and thus no battle can be fought either successful or unsuccessful.

So far as these opinions can be stated in tabular form, they will stand thus:

	Yes.	*No.*
Answer to first question	6	11
Answer to second question	2	11
Answer to third question	4	10
Answer to fourth question		15
Answer to fifth question		2

On the fifth question three gave it as their opinion that this army ought to advance as soon as Vicksburg falls, should that event happen.

The following is a summary of the reasons assigned why we should not, at this time, advance upon the enemy:

1. With Hooker's army defeated, and Grant's bending all its energies in a yet undecided struggle, it is bad policy to risk our only reserve army to the chances of a general engagement. A failure here would have most disastrous effects on our lines of communication, and on politics in the loyal States.

2. We should be compelled to fight the enemy on his own ground, or follow him in a fruitless stern chase; or if we attempted to outflank him and turn his position, we should expose our line of communication and run the risk of being pushed back into a rough country well-known to the enemy and little to ourselves.

3. In case the enemy should fall back without accepting battle he could make our advance very slow, and with a comparatively small force posted in the gaps of the mountains could hold us back while he crossed the Tennessee River, where he would be measurely secure and free to send re-enforcements to Johnston. His forces in East Tennessee could seriously harass our left flank, and constantly disturb our communications.

4. The withdrawal of Burnside's Ninth Army Corps deprives us of an important reserve and flank protection, thus increasing the difficulty of an advance.

5. General Hurlbut has sent the most of his forces away to General Grant, thus leaving West Tennessee uncovered, and laying our right flank and rear open to raids of the enemy.

The following incidental opinions are expressed:

1. One officer thinks it probable that the enemy has been strengthened rather than weakened, and that *he* (the enemy) would have a reasonable prospect of victory in a general battle.

2. One officer believes the result of a general battle would be doubtful, a victory barren, and a defeat most disastrous.

3. Three officers believe that an advance would bring on a general engagement. Three others believe it would not.

4. Two officers express the opinion that the chances of success in a general battle are nearly equal.

5. One officer expresses the belief that our army has reached its maximum strength and efficiency, and that inactivity will seriously impair its effectiveness.

6. Two officers say that an increase of our cavalry by about six thousand men would materially change the aspect of our affairs and give us a decided advantage.

In addition to the above summary, I have the honor to submit an estimate of the strength of Bragg's army, gathered from all the data I have been able to obtain, including the estimate of the General commanding in his official report of the battle of Stone River and facts gathered from prisoners, deserters, and refugees, and from Rebel newspapers. After the battle Bragg consolidated many of his decimated regiments and irregular organizations, and at the time of his sending re-enforcements to Johnston his army had reached its greatest effective strength. It consisted of five divisions of infantry, composed of ninety-four regiments and two independent battalions of sharp-shooters; say ninety-five regiments. By a law of the Confederate Congress, regiments are consolidated when their effective strength falls below two hundred and fifty men. Even the regiments formed by such consolidation (which may reasonably be regarded as the fullest) must fall below five hundred. I am satisfied that four hundred is a large estimate of the average strength.

The force then would be:

Infantry,	95	Regiments,		400	each	38,000
Cavalry,	35	"	say	500	"	17,500
Artillery,	26	Batteries,	say	100	"	2,600
		Total				58,600

This force has been reduced by detachments to Johnston. It is as well known as we can ever expect to ascertain such facts, that three brigades have gone from McCown's division, and two or three from Breckinridge's; say two. It is clear that there are now but four infantry divisions in Bragg's army, the fourth being composed of fragments of McCown's and Breckinridges's divisions, and must be much smaller than the average. Deducting the five brigades, and supposing them composed of only four regiments each, which is below the general average, it gives an infantry reduction of twenty regiments, four hundred each: eight thousand, leaving a remainder of thirty thousand.

It is clearly ascertained that at least two brigades of cavalry have been sent from Van Dorn's command to Mississippi, and it is asserted in the Chattanooga Rebel of June 11th, that General Morgan's command has been permanently detached and sent to Eastern Kentucky. It is not certainly known how large his division is, but it is known to contain at least two brigades. Taking this minimum as the fact, we have a cavalry reduction of four brigades.

Taking the lowest estimate, four regiments to the brigade, we have a reduction by detachment of sixteen regiments, five hundred each, leaving his present effective cavalry force nine thousand five hundred.

With the nine brigades of the two arms thus detached it will be safe to say there have gone

6 Batteries, 80 men each	480
Leaving him 20 Batteries	2,120
Making a total reduction of	16,480
Leaving of the three arms	41,680

In this estimate of Bragg's present strength I have placed all doubts in his favor, and I have no question that my estimate is considerably beyond the truth. General Sheridan, who has taken great pains to collect evidence on this point, places it considerably below these figures. But assuming these to be correct, and granting what is still more improbable, that Bragg would abandon all his rear posts, and entirely neglect his communications and could bring his last man into battle, I next ask, What have we with which to oppose him?

The last official report of effective strength, now on file in the office of the Assistant Adjutant-General, is dated June 11th, and shows that we have in this Department, omitting all officers and enlisted men attached to Department, Corps, Division, and Brigade head-quarters:

1. Infantry—One hundred and seventy-three regiments; ten battalions sharp-shooters; four battalions pioneers, and one regiment engineers and mechanics, with a total effective strength of seventy thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

2. Cavalry—Twenty-seven regiments and one unattached company, eleven thousand eight hundred and thirteen.

3. Artillery—Forty-seven and a half batteries field artillery, consisting of two hundred and ninety-two guns and five hundred and sixty-nine men, making a general total of eighty-seven thousand eight hundred.

Leaving out all commissioned officers, this army represents eighty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven bayonets and sabers.

This report does not include the Fifth Iowa Cavalry, six hundred strong, lately armed; nor the First Wisconsin Cavalry; nor Coburn's brigade of infantry, now arriving; nor the two thousand three hundred and ninety-four convalescents now on light duty in "Fortress Rosecrans."

There are detached from this force as follows:

At Gallatin	969
At Carthage	1,149
At Fort Donelson	1,485
At Clarksville	1,138
At Nashville	7,292
At Franklin	900
At Lavergne	2,117
Total	15,130

With these posts as they are, and leaving two thousand five hundred efficient men in addition to the two thousand three hundred and ninety-four convalescents to hold the works at this place, there will be left sixty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-seven bayonets and sabers to throw against Bragg's forty-one thousand six hundred and eighty.

I beg leave, also, to submit the following considerations:

1. Bragg's army is now weaker than it has been since the battle of Stone River, or is likely to be again for the present, while our army has reached its maximum strength, and we have no right to expect re-enforcements for several months, if at all.

2. Whatever be the result at Vicksburg, the determination of its fate will give large re-enforcements to Bragg. If Grant is successful, his army will require many weeks to recover from the shock and strain of his late campaign, while Johnston will send back to Bragg a force sufficient to insure the safety of Tennessee. If Grant fails, the same result will inevitably follow, so far as Bragg's army is concerned.

3. No man can predict with certainty the result of any battle, however great the disparity in numbers. Such results are in the hand of God. But, viewing the question in the light of human calculation, I refuse to entertain a doubt that this army, which in January last defeated Bragg's superior numbers, can not overwhelm his present greatly inferior forces.

4. The most unfavorable course for us that Bragg could take would be to fall back without giving us battle, but this would be very disastrous to him. Besides the loss of *materiel* of war, and the abandonment of the rich and abundant harvest now nearly ripe in Central Tennessee, he would lose heavily by desertion. It is well known that a wide-spread dissatisfaction exists among his Kentucky and Tennessee troops. They are already deserting in large numbers. A retreat would greatly increase both the desire and the opportunity for desertion, and would very

materially reduce his physical and moral strength. While it would lengthen our communications, it would give us possession of McMinnville, and enable us to threaten Chattanooga and East Tennessee; and it would not be unreasonable to expect an early occupation of the former place.

5. But the chances are more than even that a sudden and rapid movement would compel a general engagement, and the defeat of Bragg would be in the highest degree disastrous to the rebellion.

6. The turbulent aspect of politics in the loyal States renders a decisive blow against the enemy at this time of the highest importance to the success of the Government at the polls, and in the enforcement of the Conscription Act.

7. The Government and the War Department believe that this army ought to move upon the enemy. The army desires it, and the country is anxiously hoping for it.

8. Our true objective point is the Rebel army, whose last reserves are substantially in the field, and an effective blow will crush the shell, and soon be followed by the collapse of the Rebel government.

9. You have, in my judgment, wisely delayed a general movement hitherto, till your army could be massed, and your cavalry could be mounted. Your mobile force can now be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and your cavalry, if not equal in numerical strength to that of the enemy, is greatly superior in efficiency and morale.

For these reasons I believe an immediate advance of all our available forces is advisable, and, under the providence of God, will be successful.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

[Signed] J. A. GARFIELD,
Brigadier-General, Chief of Staff.

Major-General ROSECRANS, Commanding Department Cumberland.

Twelve days after the reception of this report the army moved—to the great dissatisfaction of its leading Generals. One of the three corps commanders, Major-General Thomas L. Crittenden, approached the Chief of Staff at the head-quarters on the morning of the advance: "It is understood, sir," he said, "by the general officers of the army, that this movement is your work. I wish you to understand that it is a rash and fatal move, for which you will be held responsible."

This rash and fatal move was the Tullahoma campaign—a campaign perfect in its conception, excellent in its general execution, and only hindered from resulting in the complete destruction of the opposing army by the delays which had too long postponed its commencement. It might even yet have destroyed Bragg but for the terrible season of rains which set in on the morning of the advance, and continued uninterruptedly for the greater part of a month. With a week's earlier start it would have ended the career of Bragg's army in the war.

There now sprang up renewed differences between General Rosecrans and the War Department. In the general policy that controlled the movements of the army Garfield heartily sympathized; he had, in fact, aided to give shape to that policy. But he deplored his chief's testy manner of conducting his defense to the complaints of the War Department, and did his best to soften the asperities of the correspondence.

At last came the battle of Chickamauga. Such had by this time come to be Garfield's influence, that he was nearly always consulted and often followed. He wrote every order issued that day—one only excepted. This he did rarely as an amanuensis, but rather on the suggestions of his own judgment, afterward submitting what he had prepared to Rosecrans for approval or change. The

one order which he did not write was the fatal order to Wood which lost the battle. The meaning was correct; the words, however, did not clearly represent what Rosecrans meant, and the division commander in question so interpreted them as to destroy the right wing.

The General commanding and his Chief of Staff were caught in the tide of the disaster and borne back toward Chattanooga. The Chief of Staff was sent to communicate with Thomas, while the General proceeded to prepare for the reception of the routed army.

Such at least were the statements of the reports, and, in a technical sense, they were true. It should never be forgotten, however, in Garfield's praise, that it was on his own earnest representations that he was sent—that, in fact, he rather procured permission to go to Thomas, and so back into the battle, than received orders to do so. He refused to believe that Thomas was routed or the battle lost. He found the road environed with dangers; some of his escort were killed, and they all narrowly escaped death or capture. But he bore to Thomas the first news that officer had received of the disaster on the right, and gave the information on which he was able to extricate his command. At seven o'clock that evening, under the personal supervision of General Gordon Granger and himself, a shotted salute from a battery of six Napoleon guns was fired into the woods after the last of the retreating assailants. They were the last shots of the battle of Chicamauga, and what was left of the Union army was master of the field. For the time the enemy evidently regarded himself as repulsed; and Garfield said that night, and has always since maintained, that there was no necessity for the immediate retreat on Rossville.

Practically this was the close of General Garfield's military career. A year before, while he was absent in the army, and without any solicitation on his part, he had been elected to Congress from the old Giddings district, in which he resided. He was now, after a few weeks further service with Rosecrans at Chattanooga, sent on to Washington as the bearer of dispatches. He there learned of his promotion to a Major-Generalship of volunteers, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chickamauga." He might have retained this position in the army; and the military capacity he had displayed, the high favor in which he was held by the Government, and the certainty of his assignment to important commands, seemed to augur a brilliant future. He was a poor man, too, and the Major-General's salary was more than double that of the Congressman. But on mature reflection he decided that the circumstances under which the people had elected him to Congress bound him up to an effort to obey their wishes. He was furthermore urged to enter Congress by the officers of the army, who looked to him for aid in procuring such military legislation as the country and the army required. Under the belief that the path of usefulness to the country lay in the direction in which his constituents pointed, he sacrificed what seemed to be his personal interests, and on the 5th of December, 1863, resigned his commission, after nearly three years' service.

In Congress General Garfield at once took high rank. He was made a

member of the Committee on Military Affairs, where, by his activity, industry, and entire familiarity with the wants of the army, he did as signal service as in the field. He also acted as chairman of the select committee of seven appointed to investigate alleged frauds in the money-printing bureau of the Treasury Department. He soon became known as a powerful speaker, remarkably ready, and always effective in debate. One of his early performances gave him high rank from the outset. Mr. Alexander Long delivered an exceedingly ultra Peace-Democratic speech, proposing the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, which attracted to an unusual degree the attention of the House. By common consent it was left to the young member who had so recently left the army to reply. The moment Long took his seat Garfield rose. His first sentences struck the thrilling fibers of the House. In a moment he was surrounded by a crowd of members from the remoter seats; and, in the midst of great excitement and the general applause of his side, he poured out an invective rarely surpassed in that body for power or elegance:

"MR. CHAIRMAN: I am reminded by the occurrences of this afternoon of two characters in the war of the Revolution, as compared with two others in the war of to-day.

"The first was Lord Fairfax, who dwelt near the Potomac, a few miles from us. When the great contest was opened between the mother country and the colonies, Lord Fairfax, after a protracted struggle with his own heart, decided that he must go with the mother country. He gathered his mantle about him and went over grandly and solemnly.

"There was another man who cast in his lot with the struggling colonists, and continued with them till the war was well-nigh ended. In an hour of darkness that just preceded the glory of the morning, he hatched the treason to surrender forever all that had been gained to the enemies of his country. Benedict Arnold was that man!

"Fairfax and Arnold find their parallel in the struggle of to-day.

"When this war began many good men stood hesitating and doubting what they ought to do. Robert E. Lee sat in his house across the river here, doubting and delaying, and going off at last almost tearfully to join the army of his State. He reminds one in some respects of Lord Fairfax, the stately royalist of the Revolution.

"But now, when tens of thousands of brave souls have gone up to God under the shadow of the flag; when thousands more, maimed and shattered in the contest, are sadly awaiting the deliverance of death; now, when three years of terrific warfare have raged over us; when our armies have pushed the rebellion back over mountains and rivers, and crowded it into narrow limits, until a wall of fire girds it; now, when the uplifted hand of a majestic people is about to hurl the bolts of its conquering power upon the rebellion; now, in the quiet of this hall, hatched in the lowest depths of a similar dark treason, there rises a Benedict Arnold and proposes to surrender all up, body and spirit, the Nation and the Flag, its genius and its honor, now and forever, to the accursed traitors to our country! And that proposition comes—God forgive and pity my beloved State—it comes from a citizen of the time honored and loyal Commonwealth of Ohio!

"I implore you, brethren, in this House, to believe that not many births ever gave pangs to my mother State such as she suffered when that traitor was born! I beg you not to believe that on the soil of that State another such growth has ever deformed the face of nature and darkened the light of God's day."

The speech continued in the same sustained strain of polished and powerful invective. Its delivery on the spur of the moment, in immediate reply to an elaborate effort, which had taken him as well as the rest of the House by surprise, stamped Garfield at once as one of the readiest and most forcible

speakers in Congress. This standing he never lost. It was, however, to prove in some respects injurious to his rising fame. He spoke so readily that members were constantly asking his services in behalf of favorite measures; and in the impulsive eagerness of a young man and a young member, he often consented. He thus came to be too frequent a speaker; and by and by the House wearied a little of his polished periods, and began to think him too fond of talking. After a time this little reaction in the general feeling of the House toward him wore off.

Meantime in the committees he had proved himself an invaluable worker. He was renominated by acclamation by the convention of the party in his district for the Thirty-Ninth Congress, and re-elected by a majority of over twelve thousand. So highly was he now ranked in the House that he was given a leading place on its leading committee, that on "Ways and Means."* Here he soon rose to great influence. He studied the whole range of financial questions with the assiduity of his old college days, and was spoken of by the Secretary of the Treasury (who had particularly requested his appointment) as one of the best-informed men on such topics then in public life.

Meantime he continued to be a frequent debater, and maintained his old standard. This account of his Congressional career may fitly close with some further extracts from some of his most notable speeches.

Beginning a brief speech in favor of the Constitutional Amendment, prohibiting slavery anywhere within the limits of the United States, he said:

"MR. SPEAKER: We shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic and in this hall till we know why sin is long-lived and Satan is immortal. With marvelous tenacity of existence, it has outlived the expectations of its friends and the hopes of its enemies. It has been declared here and elsewhere to be in all the several stages of mortality, wounded, moribund, dead. The question was raised by my colleague (Mr. Cox) yesterday whether it was indeed dead, or only in a troubled sleep. I know of no better illustration of its condition than is found in Sallust's admirable history of the great conspirator, Cataline, who, when his final battle was fought and lost, his army broken and scattered, was found far in advance of his own troops, lying among the dead enemies of Rome, yet breathing a little, but exhibiting in his countenance all that ferocity of spirit which had characterized his life. So, sir, this body of slavery lies before us among the dead enemies of the Republic, mortally wounded, impotent in its fiendish wickedness, but with its old ferocity of look, bearing the unmistakable marks of its infernal origin.

"Who does not remember that thirty years ago—a short period in the life of a nation—but little could be said with impunity in these halls on the subject of slavery? How well do gentlemen here remember the history of that distinguished predecessor of mine, Joshua R. Giddings, lately gone to his rest, who, with his forlorn hope of faithful men, took his life in his hand, and in the name of justice protested against the great crime, and who stood bravely in his place until his white locks, like the plume of Henry of Navarre, marked where the battle for freedom raged fiercest!

"We can hardly realize that this is the same people, and these the same halls, where now scarcely a man can be found who will venture to do more than falter out an apology for slavery, protesting in the same breath that he has no love for the dying tyrant. None, I believe, but that man of more than supernal boldness, from the city of New York (Mr. Fernando Wood), has ventured, this session, to raise his voice in favor of slavery for its own sake. He still sees in its features the reflection of beauty and divinity, and only he. 'How art thou fallen from heaven,

*The committee which matures the financial legislation of Congress and provides the means of raising the revenue.

O, Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!' Many mighty men have been slain by thee; many proud ones have humbled themselves at thy feet! All along the coast of our political sea these victims of slavery lie like stranded wrecks, broken on the headlands of freedom. How lately did its advocates, with impious boldness, maintain it as God's own, to be venerated and cherished as divine. It was another and higher form of civilization. It was the holy evangel of America dispensing its mercies to a benighted race, and destined to bear countless blessings to the wilderness of the West. In its mad arrogance it lifted its hand to strike down the fabric of the Union, and since that fatal day it has been a 'fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth.' Like the spirit that Jesus cast out, it has, since then, 'been seeking rest and finding none.'

"It has sought in all the corners of the Republic to find some hiding place in which to shelter itself from the death it so richly deserves.

"It sought an asylum in the untrodden territories of the West, but, with a whip of scorpions, indignant freeman drove it thence. I do not believe that a loyal man can now be found who would consent that it should again enter them. It has no hopes of harbor there. It found no protection or favor in the hearts or consciences of the freemen of the Republic, and has fled for its last hope of safety behind the shield of the Constitution. We propose to follow it there, and drive it thence as Satan was exiled from heaven."

On the question of reconstruction and the proper treatment of the negroes, he said, in one of his speeches:

"We should do nothing inconsistent with the spirit and genius of our institutions. We should do nothing for revenge, but everything for security; nothing for the past, everything for the present and the future. Indemnity for the past we can never obtain. The four hundred thousand graves in which sleep our fathers and brothers, murdered by rebellion, will keep their sacred trust till the angel of the resurrection bids the dead come forth. The tears, the sorrow, the unutterable anguish of broken hearts can never be atoned for. We turn from that sad but glorious past, and demand such securities for the future as can never be destroyed.

"We must recognize in all our action the stupendous facts of the war. In the very crisis of our fate, God brought us face to face with the alarming truth that we must lose our own freedom or grant it to the slave. In the extremity of our distress we called upon the black man to help us save the Republic, and amid the very thunder of battle we made a covenant with him, sealed both with his blood and ours, and witnessed by Jehovah, that when the nation was redeemed he should be free and share with us the glories and blessing of freedom. In the solemn words of the great Proclamation of Emancipation, we not only declared the slaves forever free, but we pledged the faith of the nation 'to maintain their freedom'—mark the words, '*to maintain their freedom.*' The Omniscient witness will appear in judgment against us if we do not fulfill that covenant. Have we done it? Have we given freedom to the black man? What is freedom? Is it a mere negation; the bare privilege of not being chained, bought and sold, branded and scourged? If this be all, then freedom is a bitter mockery, a cruel delusion, and it may well be questioned whether slavery were not better.

"But liberty is no negation. It is a substantive, tangible reality. It is the realization of those imperishable truths of the Declaration 'that all men are created equal,' that the sanction of all just government is 'the consent of the governed.' Can these truths be realized until each man has a right to be heard on all matters relating to himself? We have passed the Red Sea of slaughter; our garments are yet wet with its crimson spray. We have crossed the fearful wilderness of war, and have left our four hundred thousand heroes to sleep beside the dead enemies of the Republic. We have heard the voice of God, amid the thunders of battle, commanding us to wash our hands of iniquity, to 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.' When we spurned His counsels we were defeated, and the gulfs of of ruin yawned before us. When we obeyed His voice, He gave us victory. And now, at last, we have reached the confines of the wilderness. Before us is the land of promise, the land of hope, the land of peace, filled with possibilities of greatness and glory too vast for the grasp of the imagination. Are we worthy to enter it? On what condition may it be ours to enjoy and transmit to our children's children? Let us pause and make deliberate and solemn preparation.

Let us, as Representatives of the people, whose servants we are, bear in advance the sacred ark of republican liberty, with its tables of the law inscribed with the 'irreversible guarantees' of liberty. Let us here build a monument on which shall be written not only the curses of the law against treason, disloyalty, and oppression, but also an everlasting covenant of peace and blessing with loyalty, liberty, and obedience; and all the people will say, Amen."

In the course of a speech on confiscation, he gave this leaf from his army experience:

"I would have no man there, like one from my own State, who came to the army before the great struggle in Georgia, and gave us his views of peace. He came as the friend of Vallandigham, the man for whom the gentleman on the other side of the House from my State worked and voted. We were on the eve of the great battle. I said to him, 'You wish to make Mr. Vallandigham Governor of Ohio. Why?' 'Because, in the first place,' using the language of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Fernando Wood), 'you can not subjugate the South, and we propose to withdraw without trying it longer. In the next place, we will have nothing to do with this abolition war, nor will we give another man or another dollar for its support.' (Remember, gentlemen, what occurred in regard to the conscription bill this morning.) 'To-morrow,' I continued, 'we may be engaged in a death-struggle with the Rebel army that confronts us, and is daily increasing. Where is the sympathy of your party? Do you want us beaten, or Bragg beaten?' He answered that they had no interest in fighting, that they did not believe in fighting.

"Mr. Noble: A question right here.

"Mr. Garfield: I can not yield; I have no time. You can hear his name, if you wish. He was the agent sent by the copperhead Secretary of State to distribute election blanks to the army of the Cumberland. His name was Griffiths.

"Mr. Noble: A single question.

"Mr. Garfield: I have no time to spare.

"Mr. Noble: I want to ask the gentleman if he knows that Mr. Griffiths has made a question of veracity with him by a positive denial of the alleged conversation, published in the Cincinnati Enquirer.

"Mr. Garfield: No virtuous denials in the Cincinnati Enquirer can alter the facts of this conversation, which was heard by a dozen officers.

"I asked him further, 'How would it affect your party if we should crush the Rebels in this battle, and utterly destroy them?' 'We would probably lose votes by it.' 'How would it affect your party if we should be beaten?' 'It would probably help us in votes.'

"That, gentlemen, is the kind of support the army is receiving in what should be the house of its friends. That, gentlemen, is the kind of support these men are inclined to give this country and its army in this terrible struggle. I hasten to make honorable exceptions. I know there are honorable gentlemen on the other side who do not belong to that category, and I am proud to acknowledge them as my friends. I am sure they do not sympathize with these efforts, whose tendency is to pull down the fabric of our Government, by aiding their friends over the border to do it. *Their friends*, I say, for when the Ohio election was about coming off in the army at Chattanooga, there was more anxiety in the Rebel camp than in our own. The pickets had talked face to face, and made daily inquiries how the election in Ohio was going. And at midnight of the 13th of October, when the telegraphic news was flashed down to us, and it was announced to the army that the Union had sixty thousand majority in Ohio, there arose a shout from every tent along the line on that rainy midnight, which rent the skies with jubilees, and sent despair to the hearts of those who were 'waiting and watching across the border.' It told them that their colleagues, their sympathizers, their friends, I had almost said their emissaries at the North, had failed to sustain themselves in turning the tide against the Union and its army. And from that hour, but not till that hour, the army felt safe from the enemy behind it.

"Thanks to the 13th of October. It told thirteen of my colleagues that they had no constituencies!"

Beginning with another bit of personal experience, he traced the slow progress of legislation and practice regarding the negro:

"I can not forget that less than five years ago I received an order from my superior officer in the army, commanding me to search my camp for a fugitive slave, and, if found, to deliver him up to a Kentucky Captain, who claimed him as his property; and I had the honor to be, perhaps, the first officer in the army who peremptorily refused to obey such an order. We were then trying to save the Union without hurting slavery. I remember, sir, that when we undertook to agitate in the army the question of putting arms into the hands of the slaves, it was said, 'Such a step will be fatal; it will alienate half our army, and lose us Kentucky.' By and by, when our necessities were imperious, we ventured to let the negroes dig in the trenches, but it would not do to put muskets into their hands. We ventured to let a negro drive a mule team, but it would not do to have a white man or a mulatto just in front of him or behind him; all must be negroes in that train; you must not disgrace a white soldier by putting him in such company. 'By and by,' some one said, 'Rebel guerrillas may capture the mules; so, for the sake of the mules, let us put a few muskets in the wagons and let the negroes shoot the guerrillas if they come.' So for the sake of the mules we enlarged the limits of liberty a little. [Laughter.] By and by we allowed the negroes to build fortifications, and armed them to save the earthworks they had made—not to do justice to the negro, but to protect the earth he had thrown up. By and by we said in this hall that we would arm the negroes, but they must not be called soldiers, nor wear the national uniform, for that would degrade white soldiers. By and by we said, 'Let them wear the uniform, but they must not receive the pay of soldiers.' For six months we did not pay them enough to feed and clothe them; and their shattered regiments came home from South Carolina in debt to the Government for the clothes they wore. It took us two years to reach a point where we were willing to do the most meager justice to the black man, and to recognize the truth that,

'A man's a man for a' that.'"

On another occasion he arrested the passage of a resolution of thanks to General Thomas for the battle of Chickamauga; and in a few pregnant words protested against the unjust slur thereby sought to be cast upon General Rosecrans, and eulogized his old chief.

In the course of the debate on the proposition to override the New Jersey grant of a railroad monopoly between New York and Philadelphia to the Camden and Amboy Company, by giving United States sanction to another road, he disposed of the "State Sovereignty" pretense with arguments which have since become so familiar that few know to whom to assign their credit:

"Mr. Coleridge somewhere says that abstract definitions have done more harm in the world than plague and famine and war. I believe it. I believe that no man will ever be able to chronicle all the evils that have resulted to this nation from the abuse of the words 'sovereign' and 'sovereignty.' What is this thing called 'State sovereignty?' Nothing more false was ever uttered in the halls of legislation than that any State of this Union is sovereign. Consult the elementary text-books of law, and refresh your recollection of the definition of 'sovereignty.' Speaking of the sovereignty of nations, Blackstone says:

"'However they began, by what right soever they subsist, there is and must be in all of them a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the *jura summi imperii* or rights of sovereignty reside.'

"Do these elements belong to any State of this Republic? Sovereignty has the right to declare war. Can New Jersey declare war? It has the right to conclude peace. Can New Jersey conclude peace? Sovereignty has the right to coin money. If the Legislature of New Jersey should authorize and command one of its citizens to coin a half-dollar, that man, if he made it, though it should be of solid silver, would be locked up in a felon's cell for the crime of counterfeiting the coin of the real sovereign. A sovereign has the right to make treaties with foreign nations. Has New Jersey the right to make treaties? Sovereignty is clothed with the right to regulate commerce with foreign states. New Jersey has no such right. Sovereignty has the right to put ships in commission upon the high seas. Should a ship set sail under the authority of New Jersey it would be seized as a smuggler, forfeited and sold. Sovereignty has a flag.

But, thank God, New Jersey has no flag; Ohio has no flag. No loyal State fights under the 'lone star,' the 'rattlesnake,' or the 'palmetto tree.' No loyal State of this Union has any flag but 'the banner of beauty and of glory,' the flag of the Union. These are the indispensable elements of sovereignty. New Jersey has not one of them. The term can not be applied to the separate States, save in a very limited and restricted sense, referring mainly to municipal and police regulations. The rights of the States should be jealously guarded and defended. But to claim that sovereignty in its full sense and meaning belongs to the States is nothing better than rankest treason. Look again at this document of the Governor of New Jersey. He tells you that the STATES entered into the '*national compact!*' National compact! I had supposed that no Governor of a loyal State would parade this dogma of nullification and secession which was killed and buried by Webster on the 16th of February, 1833.

"There was no such thing as a sovereign State making a compact called a Constitution. The very language of the Constitution is decisive: 'We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution.' The States did not make a compact to be broken when any one pleased, but the people *ordained* and *established* the Constitution of a sovereign Republic; and woe be to any corporation or State that raises its hand against the majesty and power of this great nation."

We might prolong such extracts indefinitely; but we have given enough to show what fruitage the life of the village carpenter and rural school-teacher is bearing. In August, 1866, he was renominated by acclamation, and his majority at the fall election again ranged above ten thousand. Through the contests of the Fortieth Congress with the President, he was firmly on the Radical side. His health had become seriously impaired by his laborious discharge of public duties, and about the close of the summer session of 1867, he accepted his physician's advice and sailed for Europe.

General Garfield's military career was not of a nature to subject him to trials on a large scale. He approved himself a good independent commander in the small operations in the Sandy Valley His campaign there opened our series of successes in the West; and, though fought against superior forces, began with us the habit of victory. After that he was only a subordinate. But he always enjoyed the confidence of his immediate superiors, and of the Department. As a Chief of Staff he was unrivalled. There, as elsewhere, he was ready to accept the gravest responsibilities in following his convictions. The bent of his mind was aggressive; his judgment of purely military matters was good; his papers on the Tullahoma campaign will stand a monument of his courage and his far-reaching, soldierly sagacity; and his conduct at Chickamauga will never be forgotten by a nation of brave men.

In political life he is bold, manly, and outspoken. He seems to care far more for the abstract justice of propositions, than for any prejudices his constituents may happen to entertain regarding them; and he has on several occasions been willing to espouse very unpopular measures, and act with very small minorities. He once recorded his vote, solitary and alone, against that of every other voting member of the House, on a call of the yeas and nays. But he is not factious; and, without ever surrendering his independence of judgment, he is still reckoned among the most trusty of the Radical majority

Personally he is generous, warm-hearted, and genial. No man keeps up more cordial relations with his political antagonists—a trait of character in

which he is the exact opposite of his intimate friend, General Schenck—and no man has warmer or more numerous personal attachments. He retains the studious habits of his early life; and probably makes more exhaustive examination of subjects before the House than almost any other of its leading members. In comprehensive and critical scholarship no man of his age now in public life in the country can be compared with him; and, beyond Senator Sumner, he is probably without superiors. While in the army he used to carry the pocket editions of the Greek and Latin classics, for leisure reading, as other men would the latest novels. He is still poor; though he has probably been able to lay up a little out of his salary, and has made a little by some fortunate oil speculations, suggested by what he saw while in the army on the West Virginia border. He married in Hiram where he had taught school, and he still maintains his residence there.

In person Garfield is nearly or quite six feet high, with a broad chest, and somewhat heavily-moulded figure. His head is unusually large; and his round, German-looking face, seems the very mirror of good nature.

NOTE.—At the first regular session of the Fortieth Congress General Garfield was transferred from the Ways and Means Committee back to that on Military Affairs, being made its Chairman in place of General Schenck, who was made Chairman of Ways and Means.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM B. HAZEN.

WILLIAM BABCOCK HAZEN was born at West Hartford, Windsor County, Vermont, on the 27th day of September, 1830. His father, Stillman Hazen, and his mother, Ferone Fenno, were of steady New England stock. Their ancestors resided at Litchfield, Connecticut, were present at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and served throughout the Revolution, Joseph Hazen attaining the rank of Colonel, and Moses Hazen that of Brigadier-General.

In 1833 Stillman Hazen removed to Huron, Portage County, Ohio, and settled upon the farm he now occupies, where he reared a family of six children, three sons and three daughters, the General being next to the youngest. All the children received a good common-school education. When nearly twenty-one years of age, William sought and obtained the appointment of Cadet at the Military Academy of West Point. He graduated in June, 1855, and was appointed Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Fourth United States Infantry In September of the same year he sailed for his regiment, then serving on the Pacific Coast.

Joining his company at Fort Reading, in the North Sacramento Valley, he moved in command of it one week afterward to the Ranger River country, in Southern Oregon, where the Indian war of that year was being waged with considerable energy He served through that war; and during the year 1856 built Fort Yamhill. Having been appointed a Second-Lieutenant in the Eighth Infantry in the spring of 1856, he came East, and in the fall proceeded to Texas, finding his company at Fort Davis. During the two following years Lieutenant Hazen was engaged almost constantly on the plains of Western Texas and New Mexico, in punishing the marauding Indians, and was four times complimented in general orders, from the head-quarters of the army, for bravery and good conduct. On the 3d of November, 1859, while in a hand-to-hand combat with a Camanche Indian, during an engagement with a party of these warriors, he received a severe wound through the left hand and right side, the bullet still remaining in the muscles of the back. This occurred about eighty miles north west of Fort Inge, and it was eight days before he reached that post, or received any medical attention. On the 1st of February, 1860, having so far recovered from his wounds as to be able to travel, he left Texas, and, on his departure, was presented with a sword by the people of that State, accompanied with the most sincere expressions of gratitude for the services he had rendered on the frontier. In July, 1860, Lieutenant Hazen was brevetted a First-Lieutenant for gallant conduct in Texas, and on the 1st of April, 1861, was promoted to a

full First-Lieutenancy in his regiment. On the 14th of May following he received the appointment of Captain in the Seventeenth Infantry, which he declined, in consequence of receiving a promotion to the same grade in his old regiment.

In February, 1861, which was as soon as he was able to perform any duty, he was assigned as Assistant-Professor of Infantry Tactics at West Point. After the first call for volunteer troops for suppressing the rebellion, Captain Hazen made constant efforts to enter upon active service. He was requested to assume command of several volunteer regiments, but could not obtain permission from the Adjutant-General of the Army to accept. In September Captain Hazen received "leave of absence," with authority to take command of the Forty-First Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry. During the early part of November Colonel Hazen was posted at Gallipolis, Ohio, to observe the movements of Jenkins, who was then threatening to cross the Ohio River. He here organized a plan to defeat and clear the country of these marauding bands, but authority to execute it was not granted.

On the 20th of November he reported to General Buell at Louisville, Kentucky, was assigned to General Nelson's division, and, on the 6th of January, 1862, was appointed to command the Nineteenth Brigade of the Army of the Ohio. In February he marched with his division to West Point, and, embarking, proceeded to Nashville. He moved with General Buell's army to Pittsburg Landing, crossed the river, and confronted the enemy on the 6th of April, and opened the fight on the succeeding morning. He was hotly engaged, and about eleven o'clock A. M. led his brigade in a charge, capturing two batteries, a large number of prisoners, and driving the enemy in his front far to the rear. He moved with the army to the siege of Corinth, and afterward served in Northern Alabama until ordered to assume command of the post of Murfreesboro' When that section of the country was abandoned, in September, he marched to Louisville, and from there to Perryville, where only his skirmish-line was engaged. He led the pursuit of the retreating Rebels, constantly skirmishing with and six times sharply engaging the rear of Bragg's army, until, reaching London, the column was deflected to Nashville.

On the 26th of December, 1862, General Rosecrans's army moved toward Murfreesboro', and on the 31st engaged the enemy at Stone River. Colonel Hazen's brigade was posted across the pike and railroad, forming the extreme left of the army. Here it received and repulsed four well-conducted assaults, and held the position, behind which the entire army re-formed, refusing the right wing. No ground was yielded here, and the brigade never withdrew from the front of the fight. During the entire day this portion of the line was exclusively controlled by Colonel Hazen, and the value of the service which he rendered can not be fully estimated. Both General Polk, in his official report, and General Bragg, in his official dispatches, acknowledged their inability to dislodge the left of the National lines. On the 2d of January, when Breckinridge assailed and routed the division posted on the north of Stone River, Colonel Hazen was sent across the stream, where he drove

the enemy from the field. In May, 1862, Colonel Hazen had been appointed Brigadier-General, but the appointment had not been confirmed by the Senate. After this battle he was re-appointed, and was confirmed, to rank from November 29, 1862.

On the 8th of January, 1863, General Hazen was posted at Readyville, where he skirmished almost daily with the enemy until the army moved on Tullahoma. After participating in that campaign he moved with his command, in August, to the Tennessee Valley, above Chattanooga, where three more brigades were added to his command; and, demonstrating on that part of the river, he led the enemy to believe that the entire army was concentrating there, while in reality the main portion crossed the river thirty miles below the city. Moving across to Grayton, on the 9th of September, he there rejoined his division, and participated in the operation which resulted in the battle of Chickamauga.

On the first day of that battle his brigade formed the advance of Palmer's division, and attacked the forces of the enemy while crossing Chickamauga Creek, and threw them into disorder. At five o'clock P M. of that day, when Van Cleve's division had been forced across the Lafayette Road, the enemy gaining possession of it, he placed four field batteries in position, enfilading the Rebel lines, and, firing canister, drove them back and regained the road to Gordon's Mills. On the second day General Hazen occupied a position on the left center, where the assaults were the fiercest, but were always repulsed. At three o'clock P. M. he moved across to the right, where General Thomas in person directed the battle, and was engaged sharply there until the combat closed. Hazen's brigade was the last organized command to leave the field. It arrived at Rossville at eleven o'clock P M.

At two o'clock A. M. on the 27th of October thirteen hundred picked men, under General Hazen, embarked, noiselessly, at Chattanooga in fifty-two boats, floated past Lookout Mountain, along seven miles of the Rebel picket-line, landed at Brown's Ferry at about five o'clock A. M.; surprised a Rebel picket-post, and seized a ridge of hills about one thousand yards long. Slight defenses were thrown up and an abattis cut before the Rebel brigade, posted just under the hill, could prepare to contest its occupation; and after a slight skirmish, in which the Rebels lost about one hundred men, they withdrew, and the siege of Chattanooga was virtually raised. Two days after General Hooker, moving up the valley with his columns, completed the work, and the army in Chattanooga had not only the river, but a short line of railroad, to its supplies at Bridgeport. The Richmond *Press*, referring to this affair, said: "By the admirably executed *coup* on the morning of the 27th of October, at Brown's Ferry, the Confederacy loses the fruits of the battle of Chickamauga. The occupation of Chattanooga by the Federal army is no longer problematical."

General Hazen moved out on the right of the division on the 23d of March, and made a demonstration on Orchard Knob. This position was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the Twenty-Eighth Alabama Infantry, with its colors, was captured. The brigade was among the first to reach the crest of Mission Ridge, and captured eighteen pieces of artillery, with their

appendages, and several hundred prisoners. On reaching the summit of the ridge General Hazen, in person, gathered four or five hundred men from the fragments of several regiments, and moving to the right, cleared the crest of the masses of the enemy gathered about Bragg's head-quarters.

On the 28th of November the Fourth Corps moved to the relief of Knoxville, arriving there December 7th. Hazen's brigade at once joined in the pursuit of Longstreet, and until the 15th of March, 1864, was engaged in marching and counter-marching and skirmishing in Eastern Tennessee.

Hazen's brigade moved on the Atlanta campaign May 1st, and was warmly engaged at Rocky Face Ridge, and again at the battle of Resaca, where it held a line so near the enemy as to be able to silence three batteries. At Pickett's Mills, on the 27th of May, the brigade formed the advance of a column of six brigades and moved against what was thought to be the right flank of the enemy It was resisted by a Rebel division and a severe battle ensued, in which the brigade lost five hundred men. General Hazen was daily engaged until the 17th of August, when he was transferred to the Army of the Tennessee, and placed in command of the Second Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps. On the 30th of the same month the division formed the advance in a movement from Fairborne to Jonesboro' It seized and fortified a commanding position, which proved to be the key of the battle-field, and upon which Hardee's corps charged and was repulsed with considerable loss.

The division marched in pursuit of Hood, and when near Gadsen, Alabama, engaged Wheeler's cavalry It afterward returned to Atlanta, moved on the Georgia campaign, and was engaged with the enemy at Statsboro', on the Oconee River, and again at the Cannouchee River. General Sherman's army arrived before Savannah on the 10th of December, with its supplies exhausted. An abundance of provision had been shipped to meet the army at the coast, and to obtain this was all that was necessary to enable General Sherman to complete the campaign successfully. All the inlets of the sea about Savannah were commanded by forts, well armed and manned; one of these, Fort McAllister, situated on the right bank of the Ogeeche, at the junction of the sea-marsh and high ground, completely commanded the river, which was the inlet so much needed for the supply of the army. On the morning of the 13th of December General Hazen, with his division, was sent to capture this fort. Nine regiments were deployed in line five hundred yards from the fort, and at the sound of the bugle they advanced to the charge. In five minutes the fort was carried, and the entire garrison, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, and a complete armament for the fort, were captured.

General Hazen embarked his division at Thunderbolt Bay for Beaufort, South Carolina, on the 14th of January, 1865, and on the 30th crossed Port Royal Ferry on the South Carolina campaign. At the Salkahatchie, South and North Edisto, Congaree Creek, and Broad River, his troops were sharply engaged. At Bentonville General Hazen's division was moved to the support of General Slocum, and afterward engaged the enemy on the left of the Fifteenth Corps. General Hazen moved through Goldsboro' to Raleigh, then to

Washington City, and afterward at Louisville, Kentucky. General Hazen was appointed and confirmed Major-General, to date from the capture of Fort McAllister, and on the 19th of May, 1865, was appointed by the President to command the Fifteenth Army Corps.

General Hazen is of medium height, and is Saxon in hair and complexion. He carries himself erect, with a dignified bearing, which is so well in keeping with his profession, and which so plainly stamps him a soldier. As a disciplinarian he was severe, but not harsh; and though never familiar with his men; yet, upon proper occasions and under proper circumstances, no man was more approachable. In the organization of his regiment he drew around him, as officers, mostly young men, and by instructing them thoroughly, as a necessary consequence, made soldiers of them. The regiment's efficiency, and the position and reputation of many of its officers are flattering evidences of the ability of its instructor.

He entered into the war with enlarged ideas of his duties as a soldier. He expected a desperate struggle on the part of the South, but, in view of the practically inexhaustible resources of the North, he foresaw what the end must be. But he saw more; he saw that the difficulties in regard to slavery, which peaceful measures had failed to settle, must now be settled by the sword. These views, as occasion offered and circumstances demanded, the General did not hesitate to express.

In the field his record is enviable. Others have risen more rapidly, but none more worthily. Others have achieved more brilliant successes, but none have made fewer mistakes. If he thought at times that his advancement was slow, he remembered that he was educated a soldier, endured his disappointment without murmuring, and set to work again with greater determination, until, at last, the honors came for which he had so long fought, and for which he had so long waited; and the measure of his cup of greatness was filled when he rode down Pennsylvania Avenue at the head of the Fifteenth Corps on the day of the great review.

So long as Stone River, Chickamauga, Brown's Ferry, Orchard Knob, Mission Ridge, Atlanta, and Fort McAllister, are remembered—and can they ever be forgotten?—the memory of General Hazen will be preserved and cherished.

MAJOR-GENERAL JACOB D. COX.

JACOB DOLSON COX was born on the 27th of October, 1828. His parents were both natives of the United States, his mother being a lineal descendant of Elder William Brewster, of the Mayflower. His father was a master-builder in the city of New York, but being engaged in superintending the roof-framing and carpenter-work on the church of Notre Dame in Montreal, Lower Canada, he removed his family temporarily to that place, and it was during the sojourn there that General Cox was born. His father returned to New York in the following year, and his childhood and youth were spent in that city. He removed to Ohio in 1846, graduated at Oberlin College in 1851, and began the practice of law at Warren in 1852. He was elected to the Ohio Senate from the Trumbull and Mahoning District in 1859, by the Republican party, and he held that position at the outbreak of the war. He had for some time held a commission as General officer in the State militia, and during the latter part of the session of the Legislature he was active in endeavoring to prepare the State for the coming storm. Throughout that important and, at times, stormy Legislature he and James A. Garfield were universally recognized as the Radical leaders in the Senate, and both took high rank, from the ability they displayed. Senator Cox was supposed to be peculiarly bound over to Radicalism, not merely by his general record, and his coming from the Reserve, but still more by his marriage with the daughter of the President of Oberlin College.

Upon receiving the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and the President's call for troops, Senator Cox abandoned all other duties to assist in organizing the Ohio contingent, and on the 23d of April, 1861, he was commissioned by Governor Dennison a Brigadier-General of Ohio Volunteers, in the three months' service. All the officers under that call were appointed by the Governors of the several States. General McClellan was at the same time appointed Major-General of Ohio Volunteers, and Generals Joshua Bates and Newton Schleich were appointed Brigadiers. The first military duty devolving upon General Cox was to assist General McClellan in an inspection of the State Arsenal, and in making estimates for arming and equipping ten thousand men. The arsenal was found to contain little that was serviceable—not even enough to put into the field a battalion of infantry or a battery of artillery. The First and Second Ohio Infantry were organized, and dispatched to the defense of

Washington, unarmed and unequipped; their arms and equipments being drawn from the United States arsenals and issued to them at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Camp Jackson was established for the reception of volunteers at Columbus, and General Cox was placed in command. However, a larger camp for the organization and instruction of recruits was evidently needed, and Camp Dennison was selected. On the 30th of April General Cox, with the Eleventh and part of the Third Ohio Infantry, took train from Columbus and landed at the new camp. The color-line was formed on the west of the railroad, and General Rosecrans, at that time a civil engineer, laid out the camp and staked off the company streets. Lumber was soon on the ground, and before night barracks were nearly completed. An old barn, subsequently used for a hospital, became the Quartermaster's and Commissary's depot; camp-kettles and mess-pans were issued, and Ohio soldiers began their first experience in real camp-life—cooked rations having been issued in all previous places of rendezvous. The two regiments were quickly followed by the Fourth, Seventh, Eighth, Twelfth, and Thirteenth; and a few weeks later General Bates brought his brigade from Camp Harrison, consisting of the Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, and Tenth regiments. These completed the contingent for Ohio, assembled at Camp Dennison under the first call; and until the latter part of June the time was employed industriously in fitting them for the field.

The organization of troops for three years having begun, all of the original regiments re-enlisted, and General Cox was appointed by the President Brigadier-General of Volunteers, to rank from the 15th of May, 1861. On the 6th of July he was ordered by General McClellan to take a brigade, consisting of the Eleventh and Twelfth Ohio, and the First and Second Kentucky, to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, in West Virginia, where he would be joined by the Twenty-First Ohio, Cotter's Ohio Battery, and Pfau's Cincinnati Troop of Horse. The Valley of the Great Kanawha was formed into the District of the Kanawha. General Cox was assigned to the command, and upon arriving at Point Pleasant, opposite Gallipolis, he received orders to advance toward Charleston and Gauley Bridge. The nature of the valley is such that operations were necessarily confined to the immediate vicinity of the river, and the gorges through which the roads pass afforded great advantages to the enemy's force, which held the valley defensively, under General Henry A. Wise. On the 17th of July a brisk engagement took place at Scary Creek, between the Twelfth, with a detachment of the Twenty-First Ohio, and the Rebels. Having resulted in a repulse it was styled a reconnoissance. It established the fact that the Rebel position was too strong to attack in front, and as it commanded the river, wagon transportation would be needed before the principal column could advance, as was originally intended, along the north bank. Supplies had hitherto been carried on small steamers, which had accompanied the march of the troops along the stream.

A week later, wagons and animals having arrived, the advance was resumed. General Cox crossed the Pocotaligo, and making a detour to the left,

turned the position at Scary Creek, as well as another at Tyler Mountain, seven miles below Charleston, on the north bank of the Kanawha. The enemy, finding the latter position threatened in flank and rear, hastily abandoned it, and all positions below Charleston. On the following day General Cox advanced, and Wise evacuated Charleston, burning the suspension bridge over Elk River. A bridge of boats was built by the engineer company of the Eleventh Ohio, under Captain P P Lane, of Cincinnati, and the chase was resumed. Upon reaching the Gauley General Cox was ordered by General McClellan to halt and fortify, the little column having advanced as far as was deemed prudent or necessary In this pursuit of Wise General Cox captured one piece of artillery, about fifteen hundred stand of small arms, and a large number of prisoners. Floyd, having joined Wise, assumed command and ordered a new advance; and during the month of August General Cox's little command waged an unequal conflict with nearly four times its numbers. The various defiles leading out from the Gauley were the scenes of almost daily combats and skirmishes; but although the Rebels several times penetrated to the Kanawha, below the post occupied by General Cox, they did not succeed in obtaining a permanent foothold, or in stopping communication with the Ohio. Immediately after the retreat of Floyd from Carnifex Ferry General Cox advanced against Wise, who retreated to Dogwood Gap, and then to Sewell Mountain. General Cox had been joined by Robert L. McCook's brigade, and with his whole force he followed the enemy to Sewell Mountain, where General Rosecrans directed a halt until the army could concentrate, which it soon did under that officer in person. General R. E. Lee arrived with re-enforcements for Floyd, and assumed command of the Rebels. The weather, however, had become very unfavorable for active operations, and but little was done until the latter part of November, when a portion of the troops were ordered to Kentucky, and the remainder were concentrated in winter-quarters, from Gauley Bridge to Charleston. General Rosecrans removed his head-quarters to Wheeling, leaving General Cox in command of the Kanawha District, as before.

During the winter of 1861–2 General Fremont assumed command in West Virginia, and projected a plan for the spring campaign, in which one column, under his immediate command, was to advance from Beverly, and other points in North-Western Virginia, toward Lynchburg, simultaneously with an advance of General Cox's column up the Kanawha and New River Valleys toward Newbern. The troops in the Kanawha District had been increased to four brigades; one, under Colonel Lightburn, held the lower valley; one, under Colonel Crook, advanced toward Lewisburg from Gauley Bridge; and the remaining two, commanded by Colonel Scammon and Colonel Moor, advanced, under the immediate command of General Cox, from Gauley Bridge by Fayetteville and Raleigh toward Parisburg. The campaign opened early in May by a concerted movement of the columns. Colonel Crook routed a Rebel brigade under General Heth, and drove it from Lewisburg. The column on the south side of New River, commanded by General Cox in person, had also made rapid progress. The Rebels had been driven from Raleigh and Princeton, and the

advance-guard of General Cox's force had entered Parisburg, when the movement was brought to a stand-still by the National reverses in the Shenandoah Valley General Fremont was called off from his march on Lynchburg to attack Jackson, and General Cox received information that the concerted movement was abandoned, and that he must use his own discretion in protecting his command against the force in that part of Virginia, which was now left free to concentrate upon him. At once the enemy assumed the aggressive; a superior Rebel force, under Generals Humphrey Marshall and Wheeler, passed through the East River Mountains, moved straight on Princeton, and drove out General Cox's rear-guard. General Cox at once removed back to Princeton, drove out the enemy, and re-established communications with the rear. It was determined to retire to Flat Top, a strong mountain range between Princeton and Raleigh, and there intrench, and await the result of Fremont's movement in the Shenandoah Valley Accordingly, on the 21st of May, General Cox went into position on Flat Top Mountain, and Crook's brigade took up a strong defensible position at Meadow's Bluff, a few miles west of Lewisburg.

Near the middle of August General Cox received orders to send about one-half of his command to the Army of Virginia, then operating near Culpepper C. H. At his own request the order was modified so as to permit him to accompany the portion of the command thus detached. The division was known as the Kanawha Division, comprising Crook's and Scammon's brigades, consisting of the Eleventh, Twelfth, Twenty-Third, Twenty-Eighth, Thirtieth, and Thirty-Sixth Ohio, Mullins's and Simmonds's batteries, and Pfau's troop of horse. They marched to the head of navigation on the Kanawha, a distance of ninety miles, in three days and a half, and thence were transported by steamers to Parkersburg, where they took the cars for Washington. Two regiments of Crook's brigade reaching Washington first were sent forward to General Pope, then at Warrenton Junction, and retreating. A break in the railroad at Long Bridge prevented the remainder of the command from following, and General Cox was ordered to rendezvous at Alexandria, and to report to General McClellan, who was then landing his troops from the Peninsula. General Cox was ordered by General McClellan to occupy Forts Ramsey and Buffalo, on Upton Hill, near Fall's Church, regarded as the key-point to the whole line of fortifications about Washington. He remained here until General Pope's army retired within the line of the defenses after the second battle of Bull Run, when he was rejoined by the two regiments from Crook's brigade, and the whole division was once more together.

In September the Kanawha Division was assigned to the Ninth Corps, and held the advance in the movement of the right wing of the Army of the Potomac to South Mountain. It drove the Rebels from Monocacy Bridge, and out of Frederick City, and was the first of the National army to enter, amidst the most enthusiastic rejoicings of the citizens. On the 14th of September General Cox's division again had the advance in the attack upon South Mountain. It carried the ridge by storm in the morning, and the remainder of the battle consisted of fruitless attempts on the part of the Rebels to retake the position

carried by the Kanawha Division. General Reno was killed soon after he came upon the field, and the command of the corps devolved upon General Cox, who was highly complimented for his successful efforts both by General Burnside and General McClellan. General Cox continued in command of the Ninth Corps through the battle of Antietam. His troops carried the enemy's position at the famous Stone Bridge, on the National left, and penetrated to the suburbs of Sharpsburg, when they were drawn off to meet the attack of Jackson and Hill, who advanced in rear of the National left.

For services in this campaign, and on the earnest recommendation of Generals Burnside and McClellan, General Cox was promoted to the rank of Major-General, to date from October 7th, 1862. He was soon after ordered back to West Virginia, to take command of the whole new State, from which the National troops had recently been driven. In a brief but active campaign, the Rebels were forced back, the lines were re-established along the Alleghany and Flat Top Mountain ranges, and many of the troops were again withdrawn to be used in other departments. West Virginia remained quiet during the winter of 1862–3, and was never after seriously disturbed. The list of promotions sent in to the Senate at that session of Congress was held to be in excess of the number allowed by law, and the whole list was returned to the President, with the request that he reduce it about one-half, to bring it within the limit fixed by statute. General Cox, with many others, lost his grade at that time, by no demerit of his own, but solely owing to a misunderstanding between the President and Senate as to the number the former was authorized to appoint.

A new organization of departments was made in the spring of 1863, and General Cox was ordered to report to General Burnside, by whom he was assigned to the command of the District of Ohio, with head-quarters at Cincinnati. In December, at his own request, he was ordered into the field in East Tennessee, arriving at Knoxville immediately after the siege of that place. He was assigned to the Twenty-Third Corps, and, being the senior officer present, was in command of the corps during the winter campaign. When General Schofield was assigned to the Department, General Cox acted for a few weeks as Chief of Staff, and then assumed command of the Third Division, Twenty-Third Corps. The winter and spring of 1864 was a period of constant activity, but no important engagement occurred. Early in May the Twenty-Third Corps crossed the Georgia line, and, through the long series of engagements which made the Atlanta campaign an almost constant battle, at Rocky Face, Resaca, New Hope Church, Lost Mountain, Kenesaw, Chattahoochie, Atlanta, Jonesboro, and Lovejoy, General Cox led his division with uniform good fortune and success.

After the fall of Atlanta, and during the active campaign in October, in chase of Hood's army through Northern Georgia and Alabama, General Cox was in command of the Twenty-Third Corps, General Schofield being temporarily absent. On Sherman's advance from Atlanta to Savannah, the Twenty-Third Corps, under General Cox, was ordered into Tennessee. At Columbia he interposed by his advance between Hood's army and the National cavalry, and

prevented the Rebel General from occupying that town and cutting off the retreat of the National forces from Pulaski. When Columbia was evacuated, with one division General Cox held back Lee's corps, which was ordered to force a crossing of Duck River and to unite with the rest of Hood's army, which was operating upon the rear of the National army at Spring Hill. After a warm engagement, lasting through most of the day of the 29th of November, General Cox marched at seven o'clock in the evening, passed the rest of the National forces on the road, and entered Franklin before daybreak of the 30th, having marched twenty-five miles during the night. Here the corps was ordered to intrench and to cover the retreat of the army across the Harpeth; and here, too, it bore the brunt of Hood's attack in the desperate battle of the 30th of November. On reaching Nashville General Thomas assumed command of the entire force; General Schofield returned to the corps, and General Cox resumed command of his Third Division. In the battle of Nashville it bore its full part, carrying a Rebel position by a determined charge, and capturing eight pieces of artillery.

After the fall of Atlanta, Generals Sherman and Schofield united in urging the promotion of General Cox, and he was a second time appointed Major-General, to rank from December 7th, 1864. The Nashville campaign having resulted in the almost total destruction of the Rebel army in the Gulf States, the Twenty-Third Corps was ordered to the East in January, 1865, and arrived in Washington toward the end of that month. On the 4th of February, General Cox's division sailed from Alexandria, and on the 9th landed at Fort Fisher. In the advance upon Wilmington, General Cox's troops constituted the land force, on the south side, which captured Fort Anderson, routed and captured most of Haygood's Rebel brigade at Town Creek, and by a rapid advance opposite to Wilmington, compelled the evacuation of that place.

On the 26th of February General Cox was ordered to Newbern to take command of a provisional corps of three divisions, for the purpose of advancing on Kingston and rebuilding the railroad, with a view to furnishing means of supplying Sherman's army when it reached Goldsboro' He arrived at Newbern on the 2d of March; the next day was given to the organization of the command, and on the 4th the movement began. The lack of wagon transportation made it necessary to regulate the movement of the troops by the rebuilding of the railroad. On the 8th, near Kingston, General Cox was attacked by Bragg, and although the advance was driven back in some confusion and with considerable loss in prisoners, the principal line easily repulsed the enemy. On the 10th Bragg renewed the attack, his force consisting of the remains of Hood's army and Hoke's division, in all sixteen thousand men. The Rebels were repulsed with great loss, and during the night they retreated precipitately beyond the Neuse River. The next day General Cox was joined by the Twenty-Third Corps, and Kingston was occupied without further opposition. Goldsboro' was occupied on the 22d of March, and there the troops under General Schofield joined Sherman's grand army.

On the 27th, by order of the War Department, General Cox was placed

permanently in command of the Twenty-Third Corps, and was with the corps in the movement to Raleigh. Upon the surrender of General Johnston, he was placed in command of the western half of North Carolina, where he superintended the parole of Johnston's troops at Greensboro' In July he was ordered to the command of the District of the Ohio, with head-quarters at Columbus, and was in charge of the mustering out and discharge of Ohio soldiers, till the close of the year, when, having been elected Governor of the State, he resigned, to enter upon the duties of his new office.

The military character of General Cox may be read in the barrenest record of his career. He was not a great General. He was not even a great corps commander. He never seemed brilliant, but he was generally safe. He never displayed the inspiration of war, but he generally followed sound rules of war. He was too cold to be loved by his troops, but when they had been sometime under his command, they never failed to respect him. He was too tame and methodical to be admired by his commanders, but when they came to know him well they never failed to trust and to advance him. And it can be truly said of him—so correct and prudent was he—that on the day of his muster-out he stood higher in the esteem of the Government and the country, than he had on any previous day throughout his military career.

To this last remark, perhaps an exception must be made. Before his muster-out he had been chosen Governor of Ohio. But he had greatly embarrassed the party which nominated him, and the old friends whose faith in him had caused all his previous political advancement, by an unexpected blow in behalf of Conservatism. Some Oberlin friends addressed certain inquiries to him touching his views of the negro problem, and particularly of negro suffrage. His reply was skillful, polished, and scholarly; but it greatly disappointed them. He had been misled by a phase of feeling which he had found among his friends in the army, into the belief that the men whose fighting saved the Country had prejudices against the blacks so strong that they would not tolerate the acknowledgment of their political rights. At the end of the war he had learned no more than those who, at its outbreak, deluded themselves into the belief that the wisest settlement of the negro question would be that form of National self-abuse to be found in the forcible deportation of three million native-born laborers. The publication of this letter discouraged his party, reduced its majority, and caused his own vote to fall considerably behind that cast for the rest of the ticket. The coolness thus engendered was increased by his subsequent course. After some of the most objectionable and extraordinary of President Johnson's performances, he espoused his cause as against the Republican majority in Congress, and strove in an elaborate letter to the members of that party in the House and Senate from Ohio, to bring them over to his views. Mr. Johnson, indeed, soon went to extremes to which Governor Cox found it impossible to follow, but he remained strongly conservative, in opposition to his antecedents and to the expectations of those who had elected him.

It was, perhaps, in consequence of this feeling that, as the close of his term approached, no general movement appeared for his re-nomination. Doubtless, seeing this (although he assigned private business as his motive), he declined in advance becoming again a candidate. The convention of his party nominated General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Cincinnati, as his successor, but passed the customary resolution of compliment to the administration of the retiring Governor.

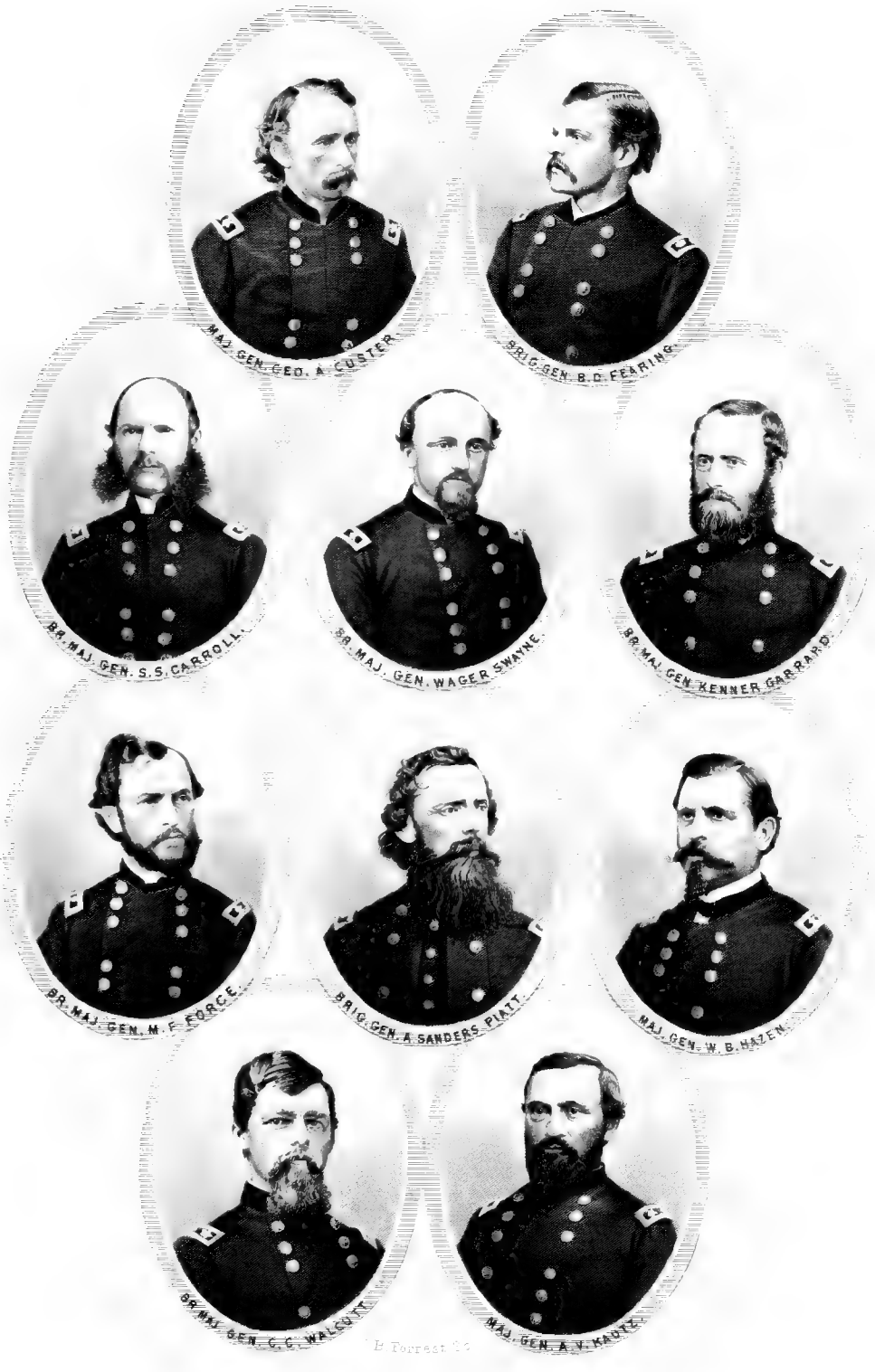
In personal appearance General Cox is trim, compact, and elegant. His accomplishments correspond to the ideas which his appearance suggests. Without a spark of genius, he was still, perhaps, the most many-sided man in the army. He was a well-read lawyer. He was versed in belles-lettres. He read French fluently, and was as familiar with French novels as with French works of tactics. He was learned in military literature—was, indeed, before the outbreak of the war, something of a military scholar. He was well read in remoter channels—in history and the philosophy of politics. He wrote with nervous grace and force. His style in extemporaneous debate was a model of condensed power and skill. On the freer arena of "the stump," he acquitted himself creditably. He was a good horseman. He had a still rarer accomplishment: he fenced well. Yet this young "Admirable Crichton" of our hurrying, modern times, rarely excited more than admiration. He was too cold for friendship or popularity. In war, his soldiers had no enthusiasm for him; in politics, his party regarded him as a dead-weight. But he never ceased to command respect, and his military services, beginning with the first troops enlisted in Ohio and continuing till the last were discharged, will never cease to deserve gratitude.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE A. CUSTER.

GEORGE A. CUSTER was born at New Rumley, Harrison County, Ohio, on the 5th of December, 1839. He obtained a good English education, and then engaged in teaching. Through the influence of the Honorable John A. Bingham, he received the appointment of cadet at West Point. He entered the Military Academy in June, 1857, graduated in June, 1861, and was appointed Second-Lieutenant, company G, Second United States Cavalry, formerly commanded by Robert E. Lee.

Leaving the Military Academy on the 18th of July, 1861, he reported to Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott on the 20th, the day preceding the battle of Bull Run. The Commander-in-Chief gave Lieutenant Custer the choice of a position on his staff or of joining his company. then under General McDowell, near Centreville. Longing to see active field-service, he chose the latter, and after riding all night alone, he reached General McDowell's head-quarters about three o'clock on the morning of the 21st. Already preparations for the battle had begun, and after delivering dispatches from General Scott, and partaking of a hasty breakfast, he joined his company. This company was among the last to leave the field, which it did in good order, bringing off General Heintzleman, who had been wounded. He continued to serve with his company near Washington until the lamented Phil. Kearney was appointed Brigadier-General of volunteers, when that distinguished officer selected Lieutenant Custer on his staff. He continued in this position until an order was issued by the War Department, prohibiting officers of the regular army from serving on the staff of Generals of volunteers. He then returned to his company, but not before his services on the staff were acknowledged in a flattering manner.

With his company he moved with that part of the Army of the Potomac which marched to Manassas upon the evacuation of that point by the Rebels. The cavalry was in the advance, under General Stoneman, and encountered the enemy's cavalry for the first time near Catlett's Station. A call was made for volunteers to charge the enemy's advanced post. Lieutenant Custer volunteered, and in command of his company made his first charge, driving the Rebels across Muddy Creek, wounding a few, and having one of his own men wounded; and thus drawing the first blood in the campaign under McClellan. He accompanied the Army of the Potomac to the peninsula, remaining with his company until the army settled down before Yorktown, when he was detailed as assistant engineer of the left wing under Sumner. In this capacity he planned and erected the earthwork nearest to the enemy's lines. In the pursuit of the



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enemy from Yorktown he accompanied the advance under General Hancock. At the battle of Williamsburg he acted as Aid-de-Camp to that General, and captured the first battle-flag ever captured by the Army of the Potomac. When the army reached the Chickahominy he was the first person to cross the river, which he did, in the face of the enemy's pickets, by wading up to his armpits. For this act he was promoted by General McClellan to Captain, and was made a personal aid. He remained with the General during the entire peninsula campaign, participating in all the engagements, including the seven days' battle. In this capacity he marked out the position occupied by the Union forces in the battle of Gaines's Mills, and he also participated in the campaign ending with the battles of South Mountain and Antietam.

When General McClellan was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, Captain Custer accompanied him on his retirement, and so was off active service in the field until the battle of Chancellorsville, where he served as First-Lieutenant, company M, Fifth Cavalry, having been mustered out as Captain and additional Aid-de-Camp. Immediately after the battle General Pleasanton, then commanding a division of cavalry, made Lieutenant Custer a personal aid. In this capacity he participated in numerous cavalry engagements, including those at Beverly Ford, Upperville, and Barbour's Cross Roads. When General Pleasanton was made a Major-General and assigned to a cavalry corps, he requested the appointment of four Brigadiers to command under him. Upon his recommendation, indorsed by Generals Hooker and Meade, Lieutenant Custer was promoted to Brigadier-General. He was immediately assigned to a brigade composed of the First, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Michigan cavalry. At the battle of Gettysburg he held the right of the line, and opposed his force to Hampton's division of cavalry, utterly routing him and preventing him from reaching the train of the Union army, for which he was striking. In this battle General Custer had two horses shot under him.

Immediately after the battle he was sent to attack the enemy's train, then making its way to the Potomac. His command destroyed upward of four hundred wagons (Ewell's entire train) and captured eighteen hundred prisoners between Gettysburg and the Potomac. At Hagerstown, Maryland, a severe engagement took place, and General Custer again had his horse shot under him; and when the enemy finally crossed the South Branch of the Potomac his command was the only one that molested the crossing. This was at Falling Waters, where, with his brigade, he attacked the entire Rebel rear-guard. General Pettigrew, who commanded it, was killed, and his command was routed, with a loss of thirteen hundred prisoners, four battle-flags, and two pieces of cannon.

During the fall he was engaged constantly in skirmishing with the enemy, and during the winter in picketing the Rapidan between the two armies. In the spring of 1864 he participated in the opening battle of the Wilderness, and on the 9th of May set out under General Sheridan on the raid toward Richmond. His brigade, leading the column, captured Beaver Dam, burned the station and a train of cars loaded with supplies, and released four hundred Union prisoners. He rejoined Grant's army on the Pamunkey, and participated in several engage-

ments, in one of which another horse was shot under him. At the battle of Trevillian station he was sent to surprise the enemy's rear. He executed the movement promptly, but Torbert, who was to attack in front, delayed, and the enemy was thus enabled to devote his entire attention to Custer. Five brigades surrounded his one, and against such odds the battle was waged for three hours. One of his guns was captured twice, and each time retaken. His color-bearer was killed, and the battle-flag was only saved from capture by General Custer himself tearing it from the standard and concealing it around his body. The arrival of Torbert's force enabled him to extricate his command with comparatively little loss.

At the first battle in the Shenandoah Valley, near Shepherdstown, his brigade was opposed to Breckinridge's corps, and was surrounded; but it succeeded in effecting its escape. At Winchester the brigade was engaged from before daylight until after dark, and was the first to break through the enemy's lines. In this battle Custer captured nine battle-flags, and a greater number of prisoners than he had men engaged. Again, at the battle of Fisher's Hill, his command rendered most important service. When General Averill was relieved, General Custer was assigned to the command of the Second Division of Cavalry, Army of the Shenandoah; but a few days after, when General Wilson was relieved from the command of the Third Division, to which General Custer formerly belonged, he was assigned to that division, and remained in command of it until after Lee's surrender. At the battle of Cedar Creek the division was on the right, and was not engaged in the rout of the morning. When Sheridan arrived on the field, after his famous ride, he found one command ready for action; and his immediate orders were, "Go in, Custer." Custer went in, and did not turn back until the enemy was driven several miles beyond the battle-ground, The division captured several hundred prisoners, including a Major-General, and also forty-five pieces of artillery of the forty-eight captured by the entire army. For his conduct in this battle General Custer was brevetted Major-General of volunteers, and as a further mark of approval, General Sheridan detailed him to bear the report of the battle and the captured flags to Washington.

On the 9th of October a brisk engagement occurred between General Custer and General Rosser, in which the latter was entirely routed, with a loss of six pieces of artillery, two battle-flags, his entire train, and many prisoners. For his conduct on this occasion he received thanks and congratulations in a special order from the War Department. The fall and winter was spent in constant skirmishing, and in February, 1865, Sheridan's cavalry started up the valley. At Waynesboro' a portion of Custer's division, about one thousand strong, with two pieces of artillery, became engaged with the remnant of Jubal Early's army, numbering about two thousand. Early commanded in person, and his force was well posted and well intrenched. The Second Ohio Cavalry, with two other regiments, turned the enemy's flank, and a vigorous charge in front completed his discomfiture. A vigorous pursuit resulted in the capture of eighteen hundred prisoners, eleven battle-flags, fourteen pieces of artillery, and two hundred wagons, including General Early's private baggage. He himself

only escaped capture by jumping upon a locomotive already steamed up and in waiting. General Custer lost one man killed and four wounded.

After this he moved to Petersburg, preparatory to the final campaign around Richmond. At the battle of Dinwiddie C. H. Custer's division reached the field when the Union forces were gradually yielding ground. According to his common custom, he ordered the band to strike up a National air, and to the tune of Hail Columbia, he threw his entire force against the advancing column, and not only checked it but drove it backward over the lost ground. At Five Forks the division occupied the left of the line, and was the first to cross the enemy's works. It drove the enemy in utter confusion until darkness had set in, and only ceased when ordered to do so by Sheridan's Chief-of-Staff. At Sailor's Creek, the First and Second Cavalry Divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Merritt and Crook, were ordered to break the enemy's line, and to delay his retreat until the arrival of the infantry After gallant but ineffectual attempts by both these divisions, Sheridan exclaimed: "I wish to God* old Custer was here; he would have been into the enemy's train before this time." Accordingly "old Custer's" division was ordered into the fight. The men charged gallantly, and actually leaped their horses over the breastworks. Lieutenant T. W Custer, the General's brother and Aid, was among the first to enter the works; which he did in the manner described. He snatched a Rebel standard from its bearer, and received a Minie ball through his cheek and neck; he however retained his trophy, and shot down his opponent with a pistol. The division destroyed a large number of wagons, captured sixteen pieces of artillery, thirty-one battle-flags, and five thousand prisoners, including seven general officers; among them, Custis Lee, a son of Robert E. Lee, Semmes, brother of pirate Semmes, and Ewell. After the battle Custer was riding up to General Sheridan, who was surrounded by his staff and other officers of rank, when the latter and all his staff, with caps waving, proposed three cheers for Custer, which were given with a will.

When the Rebels fell back to Appomattox General Custer had the advance of Sheridan's command, when it succeeded in planting itself on Lee's line of retreat. The fight at Appomattox Station, which resulted in victory, lasted, in a desultory way, from about an hour before sunset until one o'clock at night, and the enemy was driven back to Appomattox C. H.† The infantry came up

*General Custer is by ten years the junior of General Sheridan.

†Custer's share in this action is graphically sketched in the entertaining account of a Staff Officer "With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign," pp. 200, 201:

"When the sun was only an hour high in the west, energetic Custer, in advance, spied the depot and four heavy trains of freight cars lying there innocently, with the white smoke of the locomotives curling over the trees; he quickly ordered his leading regiments to circle out to the left through the woods, and then, as they gained the railroad beyond the station and galloped down upon the astonished engineers and collared them before they could mount their iron horses, he led the rest of his division pell-mell down the road, and enveloped the trains as quick as winking. Custer might not well conduct a siege of regular approaches; but for a sudden dash, Custer against the world. Many another might have pricked his fingers badly with meddling gently with this nettle, but he took it in his hand boldly and crushed it; for it was a nettle, and

during the night, and the next day the surrender took place. General Custer being on the advance, was the first to receive the white flag sent in by General Lee. He took possession of this trophy and still retains it. After the terms of surrender had been signed by Generals Grant and Lee, General Sheridan purchased from Mr. McLean, in whose house the negotiations had been conducted, the table upon which the important and historic document was signed, and presented it to Mrs. Custer, with the following autograph letter:

"APPOMATTOX C. H., VA., April 9, 1865.

"MY DEAR MADAM: Permit me to present to you the table upon which were signed the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, under General Robert E. Lee; and, in conclusion, let me add, that I know of no person more instrumental in bringing about this most desirable event, than your own most gallant husband.

"I am, madam, most truly your friend,

"PHILIP H. SHERIDAN, MAJ. GEN., U. S. A."

"MRS. GEN. G. A. CUSTER."

For his conduct in these closing battles, General Custer was appointed Major-General of volunteers; and after the review at Washington he accompanied General Sheridan to the Military Division of the Gulf, where he was assigned to an important command in Texas, with head-quarters at Austin. His administration of civil affairs in that State received the approval of Generals Grant and Sheridan; and when he left Governor Hamilton expressed by letter regret at his departure. He was relieved from command on the 15th of February, 1866, by muster-out, when he returned to service in the regular army.

At the time of his appointment as Brigadier and Major-General, General Custer was the youngest officer of his rank in the army. He never lost a gun or a color; he captured more guns, flags, and prisoners, than any other General not an army commander; these guns and flags were all taken in action and field service, not in arsenals and deserted forts; and his services throughout were brilliant.

A good idea of the "boy Cavalry General's" appearance may be derived

a very keen one, as appeared in a moment when there opened on his slap-dash party a banging of batteries going off like a bunch of fire-crackers. Custer was a good deal struck aback but not upset. He kept his wits about him enough to man the trains, and start them off toward Farmville for safe-keeping, and they were puffing up the road as General Sheridan, in the midst of Custer's galloping division, reached the station. Then he turned his attention to the guns, and dashed into the woods to see who was firing so wildly, and to see if it could n't be stopped. General Sheridan rode rapidly to the right to look at the ground, and sent word to Merritt to bring Devin up there at a trot, and put him to work in the enemy's rear, and then returned to Custer, who, concluding that there was more sound than force in the woods, was going in to silence the one and bag the other. Devin, under Merritt's directions, took a wood-path to the right, and soon found a fine open field, dipping gently to a broad valley, and rising again beyond to the ridge of a commanding hill, from whose top the last gleams of sunset were just ricochetting into the air. Dismounting his men as they came into line, he moved down into the valley, where a marsh bothered him some, and then bearing to his left, went into the woods on the hillside. He was a little slow for the crisis, but no harm came of it, for Custer had meanwhile scoured about in his random way, recklessly riding down all opposers, and, the force with the guns proving more noisy than numerous, he had captured nearly all of both before Devin opened his fire. Then they pushed on together, mounted and dismounted, driving before them, toward Appomattox C. H., the surprised and demoralized enemy."

from this bit of a picture in Colonel Newhall's "With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign:"

"The cavalry on the right trotted out in advance of the infantry line, and made ready to take the enemy in flank if he should stand to fight, or dash at his trains, which were now in full view beyond Appomattox C. H. At the head of the horsemen rode Custer, of the golden locks, his broad sombrero turned up from his hard, bronzed face, the ends of his crimson cravat floating over his shoulders, gold galore spangling his jacket sleeves, a pistol in his boot, jangling spurs on his heels, and a ponderous claymore swinging at his side, a wild, dare-devil of a General, and a prince of advance-guards, quick to see and act. Seeing him pass by, a stranger might smile and say 'Who's that?' as he noticed his motley wear, his curls, and his quick, impetuous way, but would wonder to see him in the thick of a fight; for Custer loves fighting, and hated his enemies then.

"As he is about to strike a final blow for the good cause, his hand is stayed and his great sword drops back again into the scabbard, for out from the enemy's lines comes a rider, 'bound on bound,' bearing a white flag of truce, to ask for time to consummate surrender. General Sheridan is just behind, and word is sent to him at once, though the wild cheers of the men have passed the good news back on the wind, and he meets the messenger half way. The General notifies General Ord, and the whole line is halted on the crest overlooking Appomattox C. H. and the valley beyond, in which lies broken the Army of Northern Virginia."

The last words in the first of the above paragraphs—"hated his enemies *then*"—refer to the fact that after the rupture between Mr. Johnson and Congress, General Custer made himself more conspicuous than his old chief General Sheridan, and many others of his judicious friends approved, in his indorsement of Mr. Johnson's policy. He even accompanied the President on the tour to the Douglas monument dedication, which the apt wit of a popular caricature has embalmed as the "Swinging round the Circle," and was, on one or two occasions, but particularly when passing through his native county, made to feel somewhat keenly the dissatisfaction of a portion of his old friends. In pursuance of the same policy he also took a conspicuous part in the Philadelphia Union Convention of 1866, and in the subsequent Soldier's Convention at Cleveland. It was currently believed that he hoped thus to secure high grade in the reorganization of the regular army. In this he must have been disappointed. He was only made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventh Cavalry, which, with a brevet as Major-General in the regular service, was his rank at the close of the year 1867.

General Custer's career was active, highly energetic, and honorable; but he gave no evidences of great generalship. As a subordinate, to a leader like Sheridan, he was in his proper sphere. In such a capacity, for quick dashes and vigorous spurts of fighting, he had no superiors, and scarcely an equal. His career was exceptionally fortunate; but it is to his credit that attention was first attracted to him, and his sudden and high promotion was secured by the fact that he was found always ready for fight and eager to be among the foremost.

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES B. STEEDMAN.

JAMES B. STEEDMAN, a noted Democratic politician, and during the war an officer of volunteers, always distinguished for energy and gallantry, and at times for signally valuable services, was born in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, on the 30th of July, 1818. His parents were not in good circumstances, and, in the absence of a good common school system, he grew up with only an indifferent education; but, at the age of fifteen, he was sent to a school better even than those which the beneficent system of most of the States now sets open before the poorest of their children. He was apprenticed to learn the printing business in a newspaper office.

The newspaper was the Lewisburg (Pennsylvania) Democrat, then edited by Judge George R. Barrett. Here the apprentice learned at once Democracy, rudimentary branches of education, and business. So well did he improve his opportunities that in a couple of years he had come to be regarded as fit for a man's work and responsibilities. About this time an opportunity was offered him to leave that printing office and take charge of a gang of hands engaged on one of the public works. He succeeded so well that he was emboldened to undertake similar contracts on his own account. Removing to Ohio, he established himself at Napoleon, in Henry County, and, while awaiting some opening in public works, which he had reason to expect, he purchased a printing office at Defiance and published the North-western Democrat. Meanwhile, being not yet quite twenty-one years of age, and a country printer with an office to pay for, he married. His bride was a young lady in the village, Miss Miranda Stiles, who had removed thither from New Jersey In a short time the contracts were let on the Wabash and Erie Canal. Young Steedman secured one of them, and presently had a gang of three hundred men at work upon it. He managed the business so well as to make the contract quite profitable. Then, with his head fairly above water, he entered upon a series of similar undertakings. In company with General R. H. Gilson, he contracted for and built fifty miles of the Toledo, Wabash, and Western Railroad between Defiance and Fort Wayne. This, and other similar operations, placed him in comparatively easy circumstances.

All this time he had kept up his Democracy and his newspaper He now became one of the local leaders of his party, was elected for two successive

terms to the lower branch of the State Legislature, and was presently recognized as one of the powers of the party in the State. He was next made a member of the Board of Public Works—an office for which his experience gave him special fitness. He remained in the Board for four years, during three of which he served as its President.

In 1857, after a vigorous and protracted contest, he was elected public printer at Washington, There had been charges of corruption against other candidates, and his election was heralded by leading organs of the Democratic party as a "great moral triumph." The defeated party chose to regard this in a jocose light, and for a long time they were accustomed to speak of the public printer as "Moral Triumph Steedman." He took a very active part for Douglas, and was selected as a delegate to the Charleston Convention, in which he adhered to his candidate until the nomination was made at Baltimore. On his return from the convention he was nominated as the Douglas candidate for Congress, and canvassed the district with his opponent, Mr. Ashley, who was elected.

In 1861, Mr. Steedman, having disposed of his interests in the public printing at Washington, was at his home, which he had now removed to Toledo. Among the earliest of the patriotic Democrats who forgot party, when the country was in peril, he telegraphed to Governor Dennison, offering a regiment for the service, within a day or two after the call for volunteers. Within three days after his appointment as Colonel, he had the regiment ready for the field, and nine days after the firing on Sumter, he took it from Toledo to Camp Taylor, near Cleveland, where it was drilled and fully organized.

What followed in the history of this Fourteenth Ohio Regiment we need not here repeat.* With its energetic Colonel always at its head it was among the foremost of the State troops to tread the soil of Virginia; it opened up the Parkersburg Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, fell upon Porterfield at Philippi, and in that little skirmish opened the war; led in pressing upon the enemy at Laurel Hill; led in the hot pursuit, and fought, almost alone, the sharp little action of Carrick's Ford, in which the Rebel General commanding was killed; was recognized everywhere as among the trustiest and best of the Ohio regiments. Re-enlisting for three years, it entered into Kentucky, took part in the affair at Wild Cat; was the first to enter the Rebel works at Mill Springs. By this time the merits of Colonel Steedman as an officer were so well recognized that he was withdrawn from his regiment and placed in command of a brigade. In the advance of Buell's army he had no further opportunity for fighting, but he so well handled his command that there was a general feeling of approval in the army when, on the 17th of July, 1862, he was appointed a Brigadier-General of volunteers.

His first important action was at Perryville. Here he had a large brigade (numbering forty-one hundred muskets) supporting McCook, and preventing the enemy from turning his right. He came into the battle at an opportune

* See history regiment, Volume II.

moment, saving Loomis's battery, of which the enemy was just taking possession. His conduct received the commendation of so cautious a critic as General Buell, who complimented him for his energy and gallantry

General Steedman next marched with the army as far as Tunnel Hill, when, with his brigade, he was halted to clear and repair two tunnels—half a mile each in length—which had been partially destroyed by John Morgan. After putting the tunnels in thorough repair, he again joined the army, and skirmished with the enemy's cavalry during the battle of Stone River, but was not heavily engaged during any part of that action.

Shortly after the battle of Stone River General Steedman was assigned to the command of a division of infantry. For the next three months he held an independent position on the Nolinsville Turnpike, twenty-five miles south of Nashville, and fifteen miles away from the main army—skirmishing with the enemy almost every day. General Thomas, with whom Steedman was always a great favorite, now complimented him for the energy and capacity he displayed in these affairs, and when obliged to supersede him on account of rank, expressed, in written form, his regret that "rank and the fortunes of war" should deprive General Steedman of a command in which he had given so much satisfaction to his commanding officer.

In the campaign from Murfreesboro', which forced Bragg's army out of Tullahoma, General Steedman was in command of a brigade which occupied the Old Tullahoma Road, and after heavy fighting with the Rebels, who were posted to hold that approach, was the first to enter the enemy's works at Tullahoma. When the Army of the Cumberland was concentrated at Winchester, Tennessee, in July, 1863, Steedman was assigned to the command of the First Division of the Reserve Corps. He marched his division from Murfreesboro' to Chickamauga. Here he took a distinguished part. He was stationed at "Red House Bridge," over the Chickamauga River, and was ordered to "hold it at all hazard." In front of it there was no enemy. He knew that Thomas was sore pressed, and that his troops were needed; and he took the responsibility of disobeying the orders requiring him to hold his position. In going to General Thomas, having no knowledge of the country, or the position of either army, he marched to the "sound of the cannon." He had severe skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry on the way; but he arrived just in the nick of time. He was hotly engaged with the enemy in thirty minutes after reporting to General Thomas.

In this battle General Steedman's conduct was the subject of general admiration—the officers and soldiers of the army being his warmest eulogists. He was shortly after, "for distinguished and gallant services on the field," made Major-General of volunteers.

He took an active part in the campaign of General Sherman which resulted in the fall of Atlanta; having command of the "District of the Etowah," extending from Bridgeport, Alabama, to the Allatoona Mountains, protecting the railroad communications which supplied General Sherman's army. During

this time Steedman's command had frequent fights and skirmishes with the enemy, but one of these actions deserves special mention. In June, 1864, the Rebel General Wheeler, with about six thousand cavalry, passed around the flank of General Sherman's army, to cut the railroad, and attacked a little garrison of four hundred of our troops stationed at Dalton, Georgia, commanded by a brave German Colonel—Liebald, of St. Louis. Wheeler drove Liebald into a small earthwork and demanded his surrender. The telegraph not being cut Liebald refused to surrender, and telegraphed Steedman at Chattanooga. Steedman immediately started by rail with twelve hundred men—six hundred colored and six hundred white—to relieve the garrison at Dalton. Within three miles of the enemy he took his troops off the cars. After resting them for an hour or two, at break of day he fell upon Wheeler with his twelve hundred men, routing the six thousand cavalry in thirty minutes, and saving the garrison and the railroad.

When General Sherman started on his "march to the sea" he left General Steedman in command of the "District of the Etowah," to tear up the railroad, burn the bridges south of Dalton, and support General Thomas, if Hood attacked Nashville. Hood crossed the Tennessee River at Florence, Alabama, and moved on Nashville. Steedman, with ten thousand men and three batteries of artillery, loaded on fourteen trains of cars, moved from Chattanooga by rail to support General Thomas, reaching Nashville with his command just as the enemy were investing the place.

In the battle of Nashville General Steedman commanded the left wing of the army, and brought on the engagement, attacking the enemy's right and carrying his first line of works early in the first day's fight. On the second day it was his command, with that of General Wood, that stormed Overton Hill, the enemy's center.

It was in this battle, and in successfully assaulting the enemy's center, that the colored troops, under the command of General Steedman, did the brilliant fighting for which they were complimented by most of the officers of the Army of the Cumberland, and especially by its honored commander, General George H. Thomas.

At the close of the war General Steedman was assigned to the command of the State of Georgia, which he held until he asked to be relieved from it. The service in time of peace had become irksome and distasteful; and, preferring private life, he resigned, and his resignation was accepted July 19, 1866. Before this time he had been required, as a last act, to make a tour of inspection through the South, to examine the workings of the Freedmen's Bureau, and report to President Johnson. His report was tinged by his political views. He was now offered one or two civil offices, which he declined; but he finally accepted the Collectorship of Internal Revenue at New Orleans. He has been often spoken of by the President in connection with the portfolio of the War Department.

General Steedman's career during the war was highly honorable; and it

can scarcely be said that any Ohio General, not in command of a large army, rendered more valuable or distinguished service. He was a bold, energetic fighter, and his voice was always for fight. He never belonged to the school of delaying Generals. His troops had unbounded confidence in and admiration for him. Personally he is warm-hearted and generous, careless as to appearances, and often neglectful of his own interests; hearty in his ways, with the free-and-easy manners of the people among whom he grew up. He never betrays a friend. Politically he is shrewd, and, according to the verdict of his antagonists, unscrupulous. His own party has great faith in him, and he is still looked upon as one likely to rise higher in its favors.

MAJOR-GENERAL GODFREY WEITZEL.

SECOND to none among the younger members of the Engineer Corps, in the value of the services rendered during the rebellion, or in general military capacity, stands Major-General Godfrey Weitzel. He was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, November 1, 1835. He received his early education in the public schools of that city, and was a member of the first class in the old Central High School.

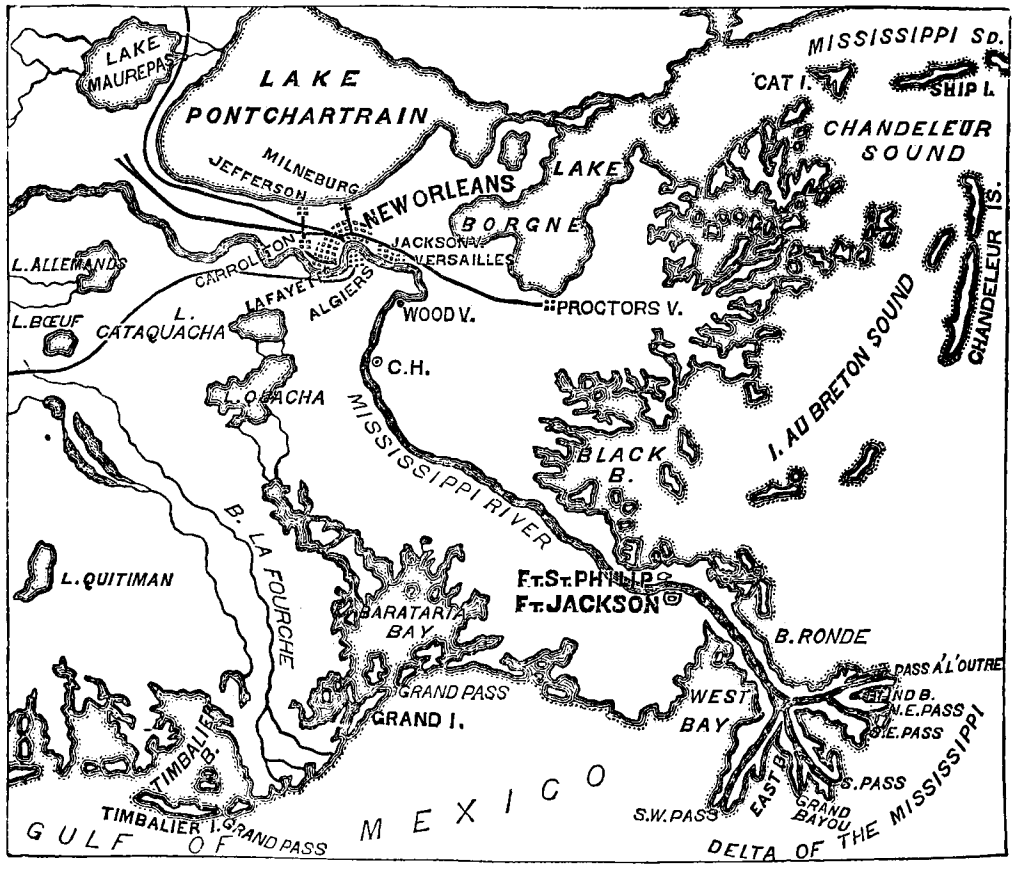
Upon the recommendation of the Honorable David T. Disney he was appointed a cadet at West Point in 1851. He graduated in 1855, standing second in a class of thirty-three. He was appointed Brevet Second-Lieutenant of Engineers July 1, 1855, was promoted to Second-Lieutenant August, 1856, to First-Lieutenant July 1, 1860, and to Captain March 3, 1863.

On the 1st of November, 1855, he reported to Captain and Brevet Major P G. T. Beauregard for duty as assistant in the construction and repairs of the fortifications in Louisiana. In August, 1859, he was relieved and ordered to the Military Academy as Acting Assistant Professor of Civil and Military Engineering. In January, 1861, he was ordered to report to First-Lieutenant J. C. Duane, commanding company A, engineers, and with this company he proceeded to Washington City. On the 4th of March it was the body-guard of His Excellency, the President, during the inauguration ceremonies. In April, Lieutenant Weitzel accompanied his command to Fort Pickens, Florida. While at this post he twice crossed the bay and penetrated the enemy's lines to reconnoiter, under confidential orders from Colonel Brown. He returned to West Point on the 1st of October, 1861, and soon after was ordered to report to General Mitchel, commanding the District of Ohio, as chief engineer, and also to recruit for company D, engineers. On the 10th of December, 1861, he was ordered to report with the engineer battalion in the Army of the Potomac, and upon arriving was placed in command of company C, engineers. In addition, he was assigned to the special duty of placing together some of the pontoon trains for the Army of the Potomac.

All this while his reputation as an engineer had been gradually rising in the army, so that now, when General Butler's expedition to New Orleans was undertaken, young Weitzel was selected as its engineer, and was ordered to report to General Butler accordingly, for duty on his staff.

We have seen that four years of his army life had been spent under Beauregard in the repair and construction of fortifications in Louisiana. His intimate knowledge of the country below and about New Orleans, thus acquired, now became of signal service.

General McClellan had doubted the feasibility of any undertaking against New Orleans with a force of less than fifty thousand. But the entire force available for the expedition proved to be but thirteen thousand seven hundred These rendezvoused on Ship Island, one of the inconsiderable sand-bars lying in the Gulf of Mexico, between the mouths of the Mississippi and Mobile. Lieutenant Weitzel was at once taken into the consultation between Captain (since Admiral) Farragut and General Butler. He described the forts on the Mississippi to be passed before reaching New Orleans, and gave the commanders an accurate idea of the nature of the surrounding country. He held Fort St. Philip, on the east bank of the Mississippi, the more vulnerable to attack by the land forces, and advised that it should be either assaulted or turned by means of the shallow water approaches to Bird Island and points in its rear and above it. Before this should be attempted, it was decided to see what could be done by bombarding the forts.



DEFENSES OF NEW ORLEANS.

Captain Farragut accordingly moved up with his fleet. For three days the bombardment went on. Then a fresh council of officers was called, at which the determination was reached to run past the forts. First, however, the great chain, stretched across the river and supported by hulks anchored at regular distances in line across the stream, must be cut. This was done at night, not without serious damage to the gunboats which undertook it. A further delay of two days gave time to make the necessary repairs, and meantime the bombard-

ment was kept up. Then, on the night of the fifth day after the appearance of the fleet before the forts, they steamed up. A fierce conflict ensued; several of the vessels were seriously damaged or quite disabled; some failed to get through the gap cut in the chain across the stream; others had trouble avoiding the fire-ships sent down from above, and the half-finished gunboats which the Rebels employed; but Captain Farragut finally found himself with an effective squadron above the forts, with an almost open road to New Orleans. He had been greatly aided by the suggestions of Lieutenant Weitzel as to the nature of the fire from the forts, and the best way of inducing the Rebel gunners to overshoot.

The moment the fleet passed the forts General Butler started to put his troops in motion. Lieutenant Weitzel conducted them to Bird Island; then, in small boats, through intricate bayous and channels not known to another man in that army, to the Quarantine Station on the Mississippi, five miles above the forts. The works which Farragut had passed, Butler and Weitzel had now completely turned and cut off from the city they were meant to defend. They soon surrendered, and the troops, with the full control of the river behind them to the Gulf, were ready to move up to New Orleans.

Within a few days Lieutenant Weitzel, in consequence of his intimate knowledge of the city, country, and people, not more, we may well believe, than because of the sound judgment he had displayed in the previous operations, was appointed Assistant Military Commander and Acting Mayor of New Orleans. He was also placed in charge of the organization of troops in Louisiana, and under his supervision the First and Second Louisiana Infantry, and companies A, B, C, and D of the First Louisiana Cavalry were organized. After the battle of Baton Rouge, he was ordered to report there for temporary duty, and while at that post he laid out the intrenchments which have since served as the basis for the fortifications at that point.

On the 16th of September, 1862, our young Lieutenant was appointed Brigadier-General of volunteers, a promotion due to the esteem he had inspired by his services thus far, and particularly to the warm friendship of General Butler. He was immediately placed in command of a brigade, consisting of five regiments of infantry, four companies of cavalry, and two batteries. Of this entire command only one battery had ever been under fire; one regiment of infantry and three companies of cavalry had just been organized; and the batteries were so reduced by disease, that each could only man one section.

Before the brigade was in a condition anything like satisfactory to General Weitzel, he was ordered by General Butler, in connection with four light gunboats, operating by way of Berwick's Bay, to clear the La Fourche District of Rebels. Accordingly he left Carrollton on the 24th of October, and proceeding up the Mississippi, landed at Minor's plantation six miles below Donaldsonville. He advanced against the town, and occupied it after a slight skirmish. After collecting a sufficient number of transports, he moved down Bayou La Fourche, and on the 27th encountered the enemy at Georgia Landing, about a mile and half above the village of Labadierville. He immediately assaulted the position, and after a short resistance the enemy fled, with a loss of twenty-five killed,

forty wounded, and two hundred and sixty captured; also three pieces of artillery and a large number of small arms. The National loss was thirty killed, seventy wounded, and three captured.

The march was resumed toward Thibodeaux, and about a mile and a half below the town the Rebels made another stand; but they fell back without waiting for an attack. This precipitate retreat was occasioned by the appearance of the gunboats off Berwick's Bay. A northerly gale prevented the boats from entering the bay and cutting off the retreat. With the exception of a few skirmishes with the enemy's pickets at Plaquemine and Brashear City, General Weitzel held undisputed possession of his district until the following April, and it was as safe for an officer or soldier to go through the country alone as it was to walk the streets of New Orleans. This was the only important military operation undertaken by General Butler during his command of the Department.

In April, 1863, Weitzel's brigade, with other troops, moved across the country to Port Hudson, destroying the Rebel navy in the streams and bayous which they crossed, capturing fifteen hundred prisoners and large quantities of arms, ammunition, and supplies. During the siege of Port Hudson the General commanded sometimes a division and sometimes a brigade. For forty days his troops were under fire, hard at work, without tents, and with short rations.

After the surrender, he was placed in command of the First Division, Nineteenth Corps, and was ordered to Donaldsonville. From there he proceeded to New Orleans, and served on a board, of which General Franklin was President, convened to prepare a general system of defense for the Department. After the board was dissolved he was detained as a witness before a court-martial until August, when he returned to the command of his division.

He left Baton Rouge on the 2d of September with the expedition to Sabine Pass, Texas. He was in personal command of five hundred picked men on board the transport General Banks. His orders were to follow the gunboats closely, and at a certain time to land and attack the enemy's works. However, the two best gunboats were disabled and the other two did nothing; and General Franklin ordered him back without an attempt to land. The two disabled boats struck to the enemy, and with them went one hundred and five men of Weitzel's division, detailed on them as sharp-shooters.

He next moved with his division on the Western Louisiana campaign, the operations apparently being only a feint to enable General Banks to land troops on the coast of Texas, which was accomplished. He was ordered to Ohio on recruiting service in December, 1863, and upon returning, preferring service under the chief with whom he had first risen to prominence, he applied to the War Department to be relieved from duty in Louisiana. Until the result of his application could be known, he was assigned to duty in the defenses of New Orleans.

The request was granted, and in April, 1864, he reported to General Butler in Virginia, and was assigned to duty in two capacities, as Chief Engineer of the Department, and in command of the Second Division, Eighteenth Corps. He participated in several skirmishes near Petersburg and Richmond, includ-

ing the action of Swift Creek. In the dissensions between General Butler and the two noted engineers who were his Corps Generals, Weitzel sided with Butler.

As Chief Engineer of the Department, he constructed the various lines of defense, works, and bridges on the James and Appomattox Rivers, including the approaches and piers for the famous pontoon bridge by which the Army of the Potomac crossed the James. In September he was sent on a reconnoissance to the blockading fleet at the mouth of Cape Fear River, expecting to command an expedition against Fort Fisher during the succeeding three weeks. This expedition was postponed, chiefly because the enemy received information of it, and because troops could not be spared. Upon returning he was assigned to the command of the Eighteenth Corps, numbering only five thousand and one hundred effective men. He was attacked on the 30th of September by two Rebel divisions, assisted by the entire fleet in the James. The assault was repulsed handsomely, the Rebels losing over six hundred killed and wounded, over two hundred captured, and eight battle flags. General Weitzel lost only fifteen killed and seventy-nine wounded. On the 29th of October he commanded the corps in a division on the Williamsburg and Nine Mile Roads, to favor a movement to the left of the Army of the Potomac. In this affair his loss was nine hundred, mostly prisoners.

In December, 1864, he was assigned to the command of the Twenty-Fifth Corps, colored. He held the position until the corps was disbanded, and he was mustered out of service. During this month, December, he accompanied the first expedition to Fort Fisher as second in command, and conducted a reconnoissance of the work, ordered by General Butler, to ascertain to what extent the fire of Admiral Porter's fleet had damaged it. The expedition was a failure, through want of co-operation between the army and navy. General Weitzel's verdict was against the proposition to assault. He found comparatively little damage done by Admiral Porter's fire, the sand embankments very well resisting a bombardment; and, with the customary caution of the engineer, he was unwilling to advise an attack of great hazard and extremely doubtful prospects of success. The fort was subsequently carried by assault, but under circumstances which prevent the fact from constituting any reflection upon the wisdom of General Weitzel's counsel.

He was engaged in the final operations around Richmond, and was in command of all that portion of the army north of the Appomattox and James Rivers. It was his rare good fortune to clutch the prize for which for four years the armies of the East had struggled. He entered Richmond unopposed, with about nine thousand men, on the 3d of April, 1865. He took up his head-quarters at the residence of Mr. Jeff. Davis, abandoned by him only the evening before. Here he received President Lincoln on the occasion of his memorable visit to the fallen Rebel capital; and here occurred the interviews with Judge Campbell and others, in which the crafty Rebel functionaries sought to secure from Mr. Lincoln the recognition of their State government. Under his direction, General Weitzel gave public notice to the State Legislature that they would

be permitted to assemble. A day or two later, under similar direction, he published his orders withdrawing this permission.

On the 12th of April he proceeded to concentrate his corps at City Point, for removal to Texas, where he remained on duty, under General Sheridan, until February, 1866, when he was mustered out as Major-General of volunteers, and returned to his grade in the engineer corps of the regular army

During his service in Texas he was, for a large part of the time, on duty along the Mexican frontier. Here he cast his influence, in accordance with his own wishes, as well as those of General Sheridan and the Government, in favor of Juarez against Maximilian and the Imperialists. The notorious General Mejia having captured some Juarist prisoners, was about, under Maximilian's orders, to execute them. General Weitzel, on hearing of it, immediately addressed this protest to the Imperialist commander:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
"*Brownsville, Texas, January* 2, 1866.

"Major-General THOMAS MEJIA, Commanding line of the Rio Grande:

"*General:* I understand that you have taken seventeen prisoners from the Liberal forces, and that you intend to execute them.

"In the name of the entire civilized world, I protest against such a horrible act of barbarity. I believe it will stamp the power which you represent with infamy forever.

"To execute Mexicans fighting in their own country, and for the freedom of their country, against foreign power, is an act which, at this age, will meet with universal execration.

"I can not permit this to be done under the eye of my Government without, on its behalf, entering this solemn protest.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"G. WEITZEL,
"Major-General Commanding."

The following reply was received on the same day

"IMPERIAL ARMY, MEXICO, DIVISION MEJIA,
"*Head-Quarters, Matamoras, January* 2.

"*General:* I acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated this day.

"I find myself under the necessity of repelling energetically the participation which you pretend to take in the internal concerns of this country.

"The business to which the protest in your note refers has now been brought before competent tribunals, and no one has a right to suspend the proceedings.

"For your individual cognition I will add, that the persons in question are accused of having taken by force of arms thirteen wagons, twenty-six mules and horses, and robbed thirteen persons.

"It would be very strange, General, if, in the middle of this nineteenth century, the bandits and fighting robbers were to receive help and protection from the civilized world.

"By the same occasion I see myself obligated to remind you of the contents of the letter which I had the honor to address you on the 21st of last December. I shall return without answer all communications of the character and couched in the language of the one now before me.

"Accept, General, my esteem and consideration,

"THOMAS MEJIA,
"General Commanding Line of the Rio Grande.

"To Major-General WEITZEL,
"Commanding Western Division of Texas, Brownsville."

After being mustered out of the volunteer service, General Weitzel was assigned to duty in the engineer corps; his most important work being the completion of surveys and estimates for the consideration of Congress for a canal around the Falls of the Ohio, on the Indiana side, opposite Louisville. He was engaged on this during a great part of the year 1867

General Weitzel will always be honored for his share in the suppression of the great rebellion. His skill as an engineer commanded the confidence of his corps and of the army. He succeeded better than most engineers in the command of troops in the field; and his reputation as a good corps General was undisputed. He was also free from many of the prejudices of the regular army, particularly with reference to the capacity of negro troops. He is still young, and should have a brilliant future in the army.

His appearance and bearing denote his German descent. He was married, shortly before the close of war, to the daughter of Mr. Bogen, a prominent manufacturer of Catawba wines, in Cincinnati.

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID S. STANLEY.

DAVID S. STANLEY was born in Wayne County, Ohio, on the 1st of June, 1828. His father was a farmer. In 1848 he was appointed a cadet at West Point; and in 1852 he graduated, with a standing sufficiently high to warrant his assignment as Second-Lieutenant to the Second Dragoons, now the Second Cavalry. The next year he was employed as assistant on the survey of the Pacific Railroad route, under Lieutenant, since General Whipple, and in this service he remained for two years. In 1855 he was transferred to the First Cavalry, a new regiment of which Sumner was Colonel, Joe Johnston Lieutenant-Colonel, and Sedgwick Major. McClellan and many others who subsequently held important positions, were subordinates in this regiment. He was engaged in maintaining the peace in Kansas until the spring of 1857, and during the summer of that year he accompanied Colonel Sumner on an expedition against the Cheyenne Indians. He was engaged in a sharp fight on Solomon's Fork of the Kansas, in which the Indians were defeated and compelled to beg for peace. In 1858 he was engaged in the Utah expedition, and in the same year he crossed the plains to the northern boundary of Texas. In March, 1858, he had a successful fight with the Camanche Indians, for which he received the complimentary orders of Lieutenant-General Scott.

He was stationed at Fort Smith, Arkansas, at the opening of the rebellion. He was appointed Captain in the Fourth United States Cavalry in March, 1861, and soon after that the troops at Fort Smith and neighboring posts were compelled to evacuate. They united in one column and marched through the buffalo country to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. On the 8th of May they captured and paroled a force of Rebels sent in pursuit of them. Kansas City was occupied June 15th, and on the same day Captain Stanley was fired upon by Rebels, near Independence, Missouri, while carrying a flag of truce. He moved on the expedition to Springfield; and joined General Lyon at Grand River. Springfield was occupied July 12th. He was engaged in the capture of Forsythe; in the defeat of the Rebels at Dry Spring; and in guarding the train at the battle of Wilson's Creek. On the retreat to Rolla he was in charge of the rear-guard. He participated in a skirmish, in which the Rebels were defeated, near Salem, Missouri, and in September, commanding his regiment, he joined General Fremont, at St. Louis. He marched in pursuit of Price, from Syracuse, and in November moved against Springfield.

Captain Stanley was appointed Brigadier-General of volunteers in November, 1861. He was ordered to St. Louis, and during the winter of 1861–2 was

a member of a Military commission. He moved with Pope's army down the Mississippi, March, 1862, and commanded the Second Division of that army at New Madrid and Island No. 10. He participated in the Fort Pillow expedition, and on the 22d of April joined General Halleck's army before Corinth. He was engaged in a skirmish at Monterey, in the battle of Farmington, and in the repulse of the Rebels before Corinth, May 28th. The Rebels evacuated Corinth on the 29th, and General Stanley was engaged in the pursuit to Booneville. During the months of June, July, and August he was in command of the troops on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. In the battle of Iuka he commanded one of Rosecrans's two divisions, and was specially commended in the official report. In the battle of Corinth, October 4th, his division lost many valuable officers and men. It sustained the terrible attack of the enemy on batteries Williams and Robinett.

General Stanley joined the Army of the Tennessee, under General Grant, at Grand Junction, in October; but in November he was relieved from duty there, and was ordered to report to General Rosecrans, commanding the Army of the Cumberland, who assigned him to the command of the cavalry of that army. On the 21st of November he was made Major-General of volunteers. On the 15th of December he skirmished with and defeated the Rebels at Franklin, Tennessee. He skirmished again at Nolinsville, and commanded the cavalry in the battle of Stone River. In this engagement the duty of the cavalry was very arduous. From the 26th of December until the 4th of January, 1863, the saddles were only removed to groom the horses, and then they were immediately replaced. The cavalry pursued the Rebels and skirmished with the rear-guard. General Stanley's command was again engaged at Bradyville, March 1st; at Snow Hill, April 2d; at Franklin, April 10th; and at Middleton, May 21st. In the Tullahoma campaign General Stanley was engaged at Shelbyville and Elk River. He moved on an expedition to Huntsville in July. He crossed the Tennessee River, in command of all the cavalry, on an expedition into Georgia, and on the 9th of September he skirmished at Alpine.

General Stanley was absent on sick-leave, after the battle of Chickamauga, for two months; and upon returning he was assigned to the command of the First Division, Fourth Army Corps. He was stationed at Bridgeport, Alabama, until December, 1863, and then at Blue Springs, East Tennessee, until May, 1864. General Stanley was on the Atlanta campaign, under Sherman, from May 2d until August 25th, and was engaged at Rocky Face Ridge, Resaca, New Hope Church, Kenesaw, Jonesboro', and Lovejoy Station. He commanded the Fourth Corps, by appointment of the President, from July, 1864, until the close of the war; and during Hood's raid upon Sherman's communications, in October, he commanded two corps of the Army of the Cumberland. On the 27th of October he separated from Sherman's army, and camped in Coosa Valley, Alabama. He marched the Fourth Corps to Chattanooga, and thence to Pulaski, confronting Hood's army, which was then threatening Nashville and Middle Tennessee. He fell back through Columbia, and at Spring Hill was engaged with two corps of Hood's army. At the battle of Franklin, General Stanley

came upon the field just as a portion of the National line was captured by the Rebels. His timely arrival averted disaster; and placing himself at the head of a brigade, he led a charge, which re-established the line. The soldiers followed him with enthusiasm, calling out, "Come on, men; we can go wherever the General can." Just after retaking the line, and while passing toward the left, the General's horse was killed; and no sooner did the General regain his feet, than he was struck by a musket-ball in the back of the neck. But he still remained on the field. This wound disabled him from further service until January 24, 1865, when he was placed on duty in East Tennessee. In July he moved with the Fourth Corps to Texas. He commanded the corps, and the Middle District of Texas until mustered out, February 1, 1866.

General Stanley enjoyed to the fullest extent the confidence of his superior officers, and General Thomas, in recommending him for promotion, says: "A more cool and brave commander would be a difficult task to find, and though he has been a participant in many of the most sanguinary engagements of the war, his conduct has, on all occasions, been so gallant and marked that it would almost be an injustice to him to refer to any isolated battle-field. I refer, therefore, only to the battle of Franklin, Tennessee, November 30, 1864, because it is the more recent, and one in which his gallantry was so marked as to merit the admiration of all who saw him. It was here that his personal bravery was more decidedly brought out, perhaps, than on any other field; and the terrible destruction and defeat which disheartened and checked the fierce assaults of the enemy, is due more to his heroism and gallantry than to that of any other officer on the field."* Generals Sherman and Grant most cordially indorse General Thomas's recommendation, and General Sheridan also adds his testimony in favor of General Stanley The authorities at Washington acted upon these testimonials, and rewarded General Stanley's gallantry with the Colonelcy of the Twenty-Second United States Infantry, and a Brevet Major-Generalship in the United States army

* Extract from a letter addressed to the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, dated Head-Quarters Military Division of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee, September 14, 1865, and signed George H. Thomas, Major-General United States Army, commanding.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE CROOK.

GEORGE CROOK was born in Montgomery County, near Dayton, Ohio, September 8, 1828. He entered West Point in 1848, and graduated July 1, 1852. He was appointed Brevet Second-Lieutenant, and was assigned to the Fourth United States Infantry, then serving in California. He was engaged in many scouts and skirmishes in the Indian country, and was once severely wounded. He was promoted to Second-Lieutenant in 1853; to First-Lieutenant March 11, 1856, and to Captain May 4, 1861. He left San Francisco for New York in August, 1861, and upon arriving was tendered the Colonelcy of the Thirty-Sixth Ohio Infantry He accepted the position, and applied himself to the work of thoroughly disciplining his regiment.

Early in the spring of 1862 Colonel Crook was placed in command of the Third Brigade of the Army of West Virginia, and with this brigade, on the 24th of May, he defeated the Rebel General Heath, capturing all his artillery and many of his men. In July Colonel Crook was transferred to the Army of the Potomac, and with his command he took a prominent part in Pope's retreat, and in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. For his services in those campaigns he was made Brigadier-General of volunteers, and was placed in command of the Kanawha Division, composed almost entirely of Ohio troops. He was again transferred to West Virginia, but he remained only a few weeks, during which time, under his direction, a Rebel camp was completely surprised and captured by Major Powell's command.

In January, 1863, at the request of General Rosecrans, General Crook was transferred to the Army of the Cumberland, and upon the advance of that army he was assigned to the command of the Second Cavalry Division. He led this division throughout the ensuing campaign, and in the battle of Chickamauga. Immediately after that battle General Wheeler, with a force of cavalry, crossed the Tennessee River with the intention of cutting communications northward from Chattanooga. General Crook was ordered by General Rosecrans "to pursue and destroy him." With twenty-five hundred men he drove General Wheeler before him, and in three battles routed and defeated him, capturing all his artillery, and finally, after ten days' pursuit, driving him broken and disorganized across the Tennessee and Muscle Shoals. In these battles the use of the saber was first introduced into the cavalry of that army, and General Crook was thanked, in orders and privately, both by General Rosecrans and General Thomas, and was also recommended for promotion.

General Crook was detached from the Department of the Cumberland in

February, 1864, and was assigned to the command of the Third Division, Department of West Virginia, then lying in the Kanawha Valley. The column was increased by a cavalry force under General Averill, and by four regiments of infantry, drawn from the troops stationed along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The cavalry, under General Averill, commenced their movements from Camp Piatt on the 30th of April, and on the 2d of May the infantry comprising three brigades, under General Crook, marched from Fayetteville, and on the morning of the 9th met the enemy in strong force at Cloyd Mountain, under command of General Jenkins. The position was well chosen on the crest of a hill, skirted by a small creek, difficult to cross on account of its muddy bottom. Directly in front was an open field about a quarter of a mile wide, every portion of which was swept by the enemy's artillery In addition to all its natural advantages General Jenkins had greatly strengthened his position by fortifying. General Crook determined to attack, and directed Colonel White to move his brigade over the mountain, to turn the enemy's right and to charge his flank. The movement was successful, and as soon as White's guns were heard, the other two brigades moved to the attack in front. The Rebels lost two pieces of artillery, and nearly one thousand men killed, wounded and captured; among them General Jenkins, who was mortally wounded. The National loss was about seven hundred. General Crook continued his march, and encountered the Rebels again at New River. After a light engagement the enemy was driven from his position, and two pieces of artillery and a large amount of ammunition were captured. General Crook moved on to Blackburg, and there learned that the cavalry had failed to execute its part of the campaign. Intercepted dispatches from General Lee reported that Grant had been repulsed in the Wilderness, and that Lee's victory was complete. Rations were exhausted, and the ambulances were loaded down with the wounded. General Crook decided to place himself in communication with the National lines, and the march of the column was directed toward Meadow Bluffs. Greenbrier River was found to be too deep for fording, and by forty-eight hours of continuous and exhaustive labor the command was crossed on a single flatboat.

Upon reaching Meadow Bluffs information was received that General Hunter had been assigned to the command of the department, and General Crook's force was ordered to Staunton. The infantry reached Staunton on the 8th of June, after a march which had been one continuous skirmish, the Rebels contesting every inch of the ground. The cavalry started two days after the infantry, and arrived on the 9th, its march being unobstructed. General Crook's division led the advance in General Hunter's movement upon Lynchburg, and covered the rear upon the retreat. At Craig Valley information was received that the enemy was moving on a parallel road, to strike the column at Newcastle; and General Crook was ordered, with his division, to take the advance to guard the threatened point. The enemy, however, did not attack, and the retreat was continued uninterrupted up the Kanawha Valley. General Crook's command had been on foot almost constantly for two months; it had marched nearly nine hundred miles; it had crossed different ranges of the Alleghany

and Blue Ridge sixteen times; it had been continually on short rations, frequently without any; it had fought and defeated the enemy in five severe engagements; it had participated in innumerable skirmishes; it had killed, wounded, and made prisoners, nearly two thousand Rebels; and it had captured ten pieces of artillery. It had not lost one man captured; and neither a gun nor a wagon had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but nearly one-third of its number had been left dead on the field of battle, or had been carried away wounded. The Kanawha Division never lost the right to be called the best in an army where all were good.

General Crook was assigned to command the District of the Kanawha, embracing that section of country south of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Grafton to Parkersburg. But the troops had hardly settled in camp when Early's raid across the Potomac made it necessary for them to move to repel the invasion. General Crook arrived at Harper's Ferry on the 15th of July, and was directed to assume command of the troops then lying near Hillsboro'. Upon the arrival of General Wright he, by virtue of seniority, assumed command, and directed General Crook to move his troops across the Shenandoah at Snicker's Ferry. It was supposed then that the main body of Early's army had retired, leaving only the cavalry to guard the ford. General Crook forced a passage about two miles below the ferry, and occupied a strong position; but soon discovered that instead of Early having withdrawn his troops he was massing them, and evidently with the intention of making an attack. General Crook notified General Wright of his situation, but was directed to hold his position, and was promised re-enforcements. Early pressed the line closely, but General Crook's men fought gallantly, being encouraged by the arrival of the Sixth Corps on the opposite bank of the river. General Crook urged the commander of the Sixth Corps to cross the river immediately; but for some inexplicable reason that officer declined to advance, and General Crook was compelled to choose between having his command cut to pieces and crossing the river under fire. He chose the latter, and the troops recrossed in good order, but suffered severely, losing nearly six hundred men killed, wounded, and captured.

On the 20th of July General Crook was brevetted Major-General "for distinguished gallantry and efficient services in the preceding campaign;" and being assigned to duty by the President in accordance with his brevet rank, he was placed in command of the forces of the Department of West Virginia, in the field, and was ordered to pursue Early up the Shenandoah Valley, and to destroy everything that could be of service to the enemy. So complete was to be this destruction that, to quote from the order received, "a crow passing over the country would be obliged to carry his rations with him." General Crook remonstrated against this plan, stating that his command was much too small to execute successfully these orders. The Army of West Virginia, as General Crook's command was styled, had a numerical strength of little more than ten thousand men. It consisted of two cavalry divisions, each comprising two small brigades; and of three infantry divisions, each comprising two brigades. The

cavalry, much disorganized, worn out by long marches, poorly equipped, wretchedly mounted, and armed with inferior weapons, was almost worthless. Exception, however, should be made to Colonel Powell's brigade of Averill's division, but this brigade owed its efficiency solely to the skill, energy, and courage of its commander. A portion of the infantry was made up of the *debris* of camp and rendezvous; and one provisional regiment of eleven hundred men was composed of detachments from fifty-one different regiments. In addition to this it would probably have been impossible to have found a single soldier completely equipped; many were almost naked, and fully one-third were barefoot. It was in vain to hope for success under such circumstances; but General Crook's orders were peremptory On the 23d of July there was some skirmishing, and on the 24th the enemy appeared in force. General Crook's command made a stand, but the enemy was greatly superior in numbers. The trains were moved out, and slowly and deliberately the troops fell back to Harper's Ferry.

General Sheridan was now transferred to the Shenandoah Valley, and under him the Army of the Shenandoah was organized. The Army of West Virginia was placed on the extreme left, and moved with Sheridan's forces to Cedar Creek, and after several days' skirmishing, fell back, with the entire army, to Halltown. Several reconnoissances were made by General Crook's command while the army lay at Halltown. These were attended with considerable loss, but were uniformly successful. On the 1st of September the Army of the Shenandoah again moved forward, and after the fight at Berryville went into camp for two weeks near Summit Point. General Crook had been assigned, meantime, to the command of the Department of West Virginia, and he exerted himself to the utmost in making the Army of West Virginia efficient. The much-needed supplies were issued, recruits were brought up from hospitals, and the work of drilling and disciplining went on rapidly. On the 19th of September the Army of the Shenandoah moved from its lines, with the Army of West Virginia on the right. At the battle of Opequan the Army of West Virginia was at first placed in reserve, but it was soon ordered forward, and by a vigorous charge turned the enemy's flank, and insured victory. In this battle General Crook's command lost nine hundred men killed and wounded. At the battle of Fisher's Hill the Army of West Virginia executed a skillful flank movement, and, coming down upon the enemy's left and rear, carried everything before it. Eighteen pieces of artillery and many prisoners were captured. General Crook's entire loss was less than three hundred men. For gallant conduct at the battles of Opequan and Fisher's Hill General Crook was recommended by General Sheridan, after the close of the war, for the rank of Brevet Major-General United States Army

The march was continued up the Valley, and the cavalry advanced as far as Staunton. On the 6th of October the army commenced its return march, and on the 11th it went into camp near Middletown. At Cedar Creek General Crook's command occupied the portion of the line between the Winchester Pike and the river, on the left of the army. General Sheridan went to Washington, leaving General Wright in command of the army; and General Crook was

engaged in strengthening his line, particularly his left and rear, which he considered most exposed. General Crook called General Wright's attention to the fact that the fords of the Shenandoah, below the left of the army, were not guarded. It was agreed that they should be strongly picketed by cavalry, but on the night of the 18th of October a force of Rebels crossed at the fords mentioned, about two miles below the extreme left of the infantry picket-line, and before daybreak on the 19th made a furious attack on the National lines, striking an advanced division before the men were awake, and capturing a battery before a shot could be fired. The left was driven back in confusion; but a single brigade of Hayes's division checked the enemy for a moment, and gave the troops on the right time to form. About nine o'clock the Rebel advance was checked, and about eleven o'clock an attack was repulsed. Preparations were made for an attack in return, when General Sheridan arrived on the field. His presence did much to restore confidence, and about four o'clock P M. his lines charged the enemy, and drove him in confusion through Middletown, and over Cedar Creek. Many prisoners, forty-nine pieces of artillery, and a large number of wagons were captured; and twenty-four pieces of artillery, lost in the morning, were retaken. General Crook's command lost over one thousand men; more than half of these were captured. General Crook was promoted to full Major-General, and about the 1st of January, 1865, his army of West Virginia went into winter-quarters along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The General established his head-quarters at Cumberland, Maryland, and was engaged in the duties incident to a department commander.

About half-past two o'clock on the morning of the 21st of February a band of seventy picked men, under Lieutenant McNeil, of guerrilla notoriety, crossed the Potomac three or four miles above Cumberland. The advance-guard of this party, clothed in United States uniform, came upon the cavalry picket about two miles from town, and being challenged, promptly answered, "Friends;" representing themselves as a party of National cavalry returning from a scout. While this explanation was being made the main force came up and instantly captured the entire picket-line. The infantry pickets, a mile nearer town, were disposed of in the same manner. The party rode into town, and a portion of them went to General Crook's head-quarters. The sentry challenged; they replied, "Relief;" and one man advanced as if to receive instructions, but instead, presented his revolver, and the sentry surrendered. The negro watchman was compelled to conduct the party to the General's room. He was captured, placed on a horse, and then the party set out on its return, having been in the town less than ten minutes. So rapidly and so quietly was the capture effected, that had not one of the staff, four of whom occupied a room on the opposite side of the hall from General Crook, been awake, the affair would probably not have been discovered for several hours. This officer, hearing a slight movement in the General's room, and thinking he might be unwell, crossed the hall and found the room vacant. His suspicions were aroused, and throwing up the window he heard the clatter of hoofs, and saw the party disappearing down the street. The alarm was instantly given, and parties were started in pursuit, but they

were unable to recapture the prisoners. General Crook was exchanged on the 20th of March, and he again assumed command of the Department of West Virginia. On the next day, however, he was directed to report to General Grant, and was assigned to the command of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, with orders to report to General Sheridan.

General Crook participated in all the movements of Sheridan's cavalry until the close of the war, and in the eleven days preceding General Lee's surrender, his division lost one-third of its number in killed and wounded alone. When General Sheridan was assigned to a command in the South-West, General Crook was placed in command of the Cavalry Corps, which he retained until relieved, at his own request, about the 1st of July. In August General Crook was ordered to report to General Schofield, in the Department of North Carolina. He was assigned to the command of the District of Wilmington, and he remained in that position until honorably mustered out of the volunteer service on the 15th of January, 1866.

MAJOR-GENERAL WAGER SWAYNE.

WAGER SWAYNE, eldest son of the Hon. N. H. Swayne, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born at Columbus, Ohio, about the year 1835. At the age of seventeen he entered Yale College, where he graduated with credit, after considerable interruption on account of ill health; and from that time until the breaking out of the war, he devoted himself to the study and practice of law in his native city.

In the summer of 1861 Governor Dennison offered him the position of Major in the Forty-Third Ohio Infantry He assisted in organizing the regiment at Mount Vernon, and accompanied it to the field in February, 1862. The principal part of the first summer was spent at Bear Creek and Clear Creek, in the vicinity of Corinth. The regiment was engaged in the battles of Iuka and Corinth, and in the latter the Colonel of the regiment was killed. Major Swayne had, in the meantime, been promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and he now succeeded to the Colonelcy. In December, the regiment went into camp at Bolivar, Tennessee, where the winter was spent. After a brief raid into Northern Alabama, under General Dodge, the Forty-Third was stationed at Memphis. Here, for nine months, Colonel Swayne held the office of Provost-Marshal, and discharged the duties to the satisfaction of all loyal citizens. After the removal of the regiment to Prospect, in Middle Tennessee, the order in regard to veteran furloughs was received, and Colonel Swayne's command was not slow in re-enlisting.

Soon after returning to the field, the regiment moved on the Atlanta campaign, and during all the marches and battles, Colonel Swayne conducted himself like a true soldier. At Resaca he led his men across a bridge, fully exposed to Rebel sharp-shooters, and stationed them in an advanced position, with but one or two casualties; and on all occasions he cheerfully shared the dangers and privations of the private soldier. During the interval of rest after the capture of Atlanta, he commanded a brigade, but upon the march to the sea he accompanied his regiment. He moved on the campaign of the Carolinas, and at the Salkahatchie was wounded severely in the right leg. The limb was amputated, and for some time Colonel Swayne was disabled for duty. He was promoted to Brigadier-General, and subsequently to Major-General, and in July, 1865, he reported for duty at Montgomery, Alabama, as Assistant Commissioner of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

Here, through the manifold troubles of the reorganization, General Swayne continued to bear himself no less honorably than in the field. Recognizing clearly for what he had fought, and fully resolved that no act of his should help to cheat the nation out of the fruits of its victory, he steadily cast his influence in favor of impartial justice and equality before the law for all. The efforts of the party which sought to give these principles practical recognition in the reorganization, found in him a firm supporter. He was prominent in their public meetings, and soon became a civil as well as a military power in Alabama.

MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER M. McCOOK.

ALEXANDER M. McCOOK was born in Columbiana County, Ohio, on the 22d of April, 1831. He removed with his parents to Carroll County, in 1832, and at the age of sixteen was appointed a cadet at West Point. He graduated July 1, 1852, with a standing which entitled him to appointment as Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Third Infantry He reported for duty at Newport Barracks, September 30th, and on the 14th of May, 1853, was ordered to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. He joined company E, of the Third Infantry, in August, 1853, and in June, July, and August of the following year, he was engaged in the campaign against the Apaches. He was promoted to Second-Lieutenant on the 30th of June, 1854, and in the following September he reported for duty at Fort Union, New Mexico. In February, 1855, Lieutenant McCook was appointed Commissary in a campaign against the Utah Indians and other tribes. He served in this campaign until September, participating in the actions at Sawatchie Pass and the head-waters of the Arkansas. On the 30th of September he reported for duty at Cantonment Buryuni, New Mexico. In March, 1856, he was appointed chief guide of an expedition against the Indians of Arizona, and he also served as the Adjutant-General of the command. He participated in the battle of Gila River, and in all the skirmishes of the campaign until October, when he again reported at Cantonment Buryuni. He was in command of that post from July to October, 1857, and in December of the same year he received sixty days' leave.

He reported at the Military Academy as Instructor of Infantry Tactics, January 14, 1858, and remained there until April 22, 1861, when he was ordered to Columbus, Ohio, as mustering and disbursing officer. He was here appointed Colonel of the First Ohio Infantry, a three-months' regiment, and on the 29th of April he assumed command of the Ohio Camp at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In May he marched with his regiment to the defense of Washington City. Colonel McCook was promoted to Captain in the Third United States Infantry, May 14, 1861. He participated in the affair at Vienna, Virginia, June 17th, and he commanded the First Ohio in the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, receiving commendation for the handsome manner in which he handled his regiment. In August Colonel McCook was again appointed Colonel of the First Ohio, now a three-years' regiment, and in December he was commissioned Brigadier-General of volunteers.

He reported for duty at Louisville, and on the 14th of October assumed command of the advance of the army at Nolin River, Kentucky. He organized, equipped, and instructed the Second Division, Army of the Ohio, and in February,

1862, led that division in Buell's advance against Nashville. With the rest of Buell's army he next marched across Tennessee toward Savannah, and on the 7th of April General McCook commanded his division in the last day's action at the battle of Pittsburg Landing, again handling his troops so as to receive the approval of his superiors. He commanded the reserve of the Army of the Ohio in the advance upon and siege of Corinth. His division, however, was engaged at Bridge's Creek and at Seratt's Hill. In June General McCook marched with his division into East Tennessee. On the 17th of July he was appointed Major-General of volunteers. On the withdrawal of the army to Louisville, General McCook commanded a column, composed of the Second Division, Army of the Ohio, and General R. B. Mitchel's division, Army of the Mississippi.

In the advance from Louisville he commanded the First Corps of the Army of the Ohio, consisting of Rousseau's and Jackson's divisions. With these he brought on the battle of Perryville, contrary to the spirit of his instructions, and before the army was prepared to sustain him. The commanding General, in his official report, censured him for having thus undertaken a task beyond his strength, but left him in command of this corps during the pursuit of Bragg to Crab Orchard, Kentucky.

Under General Rosecrans, who now assumed command of the army, General McCook led his troops to Nashville in the latter part of October. On the 26th of December he moved with the army against the Rebels at Murfreesboro', and in the battle of Stone River he commanded the right wing, which was so suddenly routed and crushed by Bragg's onset. General Rosecrans here censured the formation of his lines. He displayed, as he always did, fine personal bravery, but few after this battle believed in his capacity to handle so large a command.

General Rosecrans, however, retained him, and in December, 1863, in the reorganization of his forces, assigned General McCook to the Twentieth Corps, Army of the Cumberland, which he led through the Tullahoma campaign, participating in the action of Liberty Gap, and at skirmishes at Tullahoma, Elk River, and Winchester. General McCook continued to command the corps in the Chattanooga campaign, and in the battle of Chickamauga, where again his lines were broken, crushed, and driven in wild retreat toward Chattanooga.* He was now relieved from command, October 6, 1863. This disaster, added to the others which had occurred under his management, led to much public and official censure. To relieve himself, General McCook asked for a Court of Inquiry. The request was granted, and Generals Hunter, Cadwallader, and Wadsworth, and Colonel Schriver were detailed for the Court. The following is an extract from the findings and opinions in General McCook's case:

"It appears from the investigation that Major-General McCook's command, on the 19th of September, 1863, the first day of the battle of Chickamauga, consisted of Sheridan's and Davis's divisions, and of Negley's temporarily, Johnson's having been detached to Thomas's command. The evidence shows that General McCook did his whole duty on that day with activity and intelligence. Early on the 20th of September General McCook had under his command the divisions of Sheridan and Davis, the latter only thirteen to fourteen hundred strong. The posting

* For the details of this, which relieve General McCook from a large share of the blame, see *ante*, Life of Rosecrans.

of these troops was not satisfactory to the commanding General, who, in person, directed several changes between eight and ten A. M. The Court deem it unnecessary to express an opinion as to the relative merits of the position taken by General McCook, and that subsequently ordered to be taken by the commanding General; but it is apparent from the testimony that General McCook was not responsible for the delay in forming the new line on that occasion. It further appears that General McCook was impressed with the vital importance of keeping well closed to the left, and maintaining a compact center, but he was ordered to hold the Dry Valley Road; this caused the line to be attenuated, as stated in the testimony of the commanding General, who says that its length was greater than he thought when first assumed. It is shown, too, that the cavalry did not obey General McCook's orders. The above facts, and the additional one, that the small force at General McCook's disposal was inadequate to defend against greatly superior numbers the long line hastily taken, under instructions, relieve General McCook entirely from the responsibility for the reverse which ensued. It is fully established that General McCook did everything he could to rally and hold his troops after the line was broken."

The design of this report, which so carefully evaded the point on which the whole question turned (in failing to inquire whether, in this formation of the line which the commanding General disapproved the moment he saw it, General McCook had displayed the capacity necessary in one holding such a position), was very apparent. But it failed to accomplish its purpose, either with the War Department or the people. None questioned the General's bravery or his desire to do all he knew how to repair disasters, but he was never again trusted in any position of high responsibility

In November, 1864, he was assigned to some (mostly) unimportant duties in the Middle Division, and on the 12th of February, 1865, he was placed in command of the Eastern District of Arkansas. On the 6th of the following May he was ordered to represent the War Department in the investigation of Indian affairs, with a committee from both Houses of Congress, in the State of Kansas and in the Territories of New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. On the 21st of October, 1865, he was mustered out as Major-General of volunteers, retaining his rank in the regular service, in which he soon rose, by regular gradations, to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy.*

He has received the following brevet commissions in the regular army: Brevet Major, for "gallant and meritorious services" at the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, for "gallant and meritorious services" in the capture of Nashville, March 3, 1862; Brevet Colonel, for "gallant and meritorious services" at the battle of Pittsburg Landing, April 7, 1862; Brevet

*General McCook's political views before the war were Southern and Democratic. Much complaint once existed concerning his unpleasant manifestation of these views, in the manner described at the time by an admiring slaveholder to a Nashville paper, whose account of it Mr. Greeley has preserved. (Amer. Conflict, Vol. II, p. 245.) "He visited the camp of General McCook in Maury County, in quest of a fugitive; and that officer, instead of throwing obstacles in the way, afforded him every facility for the successful prosecution of his search. That General treated him in the most courteous and gentlemanly manner, as also did General Johnson and Captain Blake, the Brigade Provost-Marshal. Their conduct toward him was in all respects that of high-toned gentlemen, desirous of discharging their duties promptly and honorably. It is impossible for the army to prevent slaves from following them, but whenever the fugitives come into the lines of General McCook they are secured, and a record is made of their names and the names of their owners. All the owner has to do is to apply, either in person or through an agent, examine the record or look at the slaves; and if he finds any that belong to him, take them away." Shortly after this Congress passed a law prohibiting army slave-catching.

Brigadier-General for "gallant and meritorious services" at the battle of Perryville, to date from the 13th of March, 1865, and Brevet Major-General, for "gallant and meritorious services" in the field during the war.

It was the misfortune of General McCook, that in the universal rawness at the outset of the war, his familiarity with the subject of tactics, which he had been engaged in teaching at West Point, was mistaken for military genius. High promotions naturally ensued long before he had any opportunity to grow, practically, up to them, and as naturally the repeated disappointments in his performance led to a revulsion which went, perhaps, as far to the other extreme.

MAJOR-GENERAL MORTIMER D. LEGGETT.

MORTIMER D LEGGETT was born in Ithaca, New York, April 19th, 1831. His parents were Friends, and he was educated in the peculiar doctrines of that non-resistant people. When he was sixteen years old he emigrated to Ohio, and settled in Geauga County. He had few opportunities for attending school, but he studied at nights, under the direction of his parents, and by this means he acquired such an education as to secure the voluntary bestowal of literary degrees by several Western colleges. He organized the first system of union classified schools in the State, at Akron, under a special law. Though admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-two, his time was occupied entirely with the cause of popular education until at the age of twenty-eight he commenced the practice of law at Warren, Trumbull County, Ohio. In the fall of 1857 he removed to Zanesville, and continued to practice law and to superintend the public schools of that city until the fall of 1861, when he was authorized by Governor Dennison to recruit a regiment.

He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventy-Eighth Ohio Infantry, on the 18th of December, 1861, and was promoted to Colonel on the 11th of January, 1862. He accompanied his regiment to the field, and arrived at Fort Donelson during the hard fighting on the 15th of February. Upon the surrender of the fort, he was appointed Provost-Marshal. For the efficient manner in which he performed his duties he received the warmest praise from General Grant, and has enjoyed ever since his personal friendship. At Pittsburg Landing the regiment distinguished itself, and was honorably mentioned in General Orders. In this battle Colonel Leggett was wounded. He participated in the siege of Corinth, and on the 16th of May, while engaged in a spirited little fight, his horse was shot, and in the fall he himself was severely injured. However, he immediately mounted another horse, which, during the battle, was also wounded.

After the evacuation of Corinth he was placed in command of a brigade,

and was ordered to seize and hold Jackson, Tennessee. He surprised the enemy and captured all his camp and garrison equipage, a large amount of commissary, quartermaster, and ordnance stores, and many prisoners. When the main body of the army came up, he was sent to Grand Junction and La Grange, where, during the summer of 1862, he was frequently engaged in skirmishes with the enemy, and was uniformly successful. On the 30th of August, at Bolivar, Tennessee, he, with eight hundred men, fought the Rebel Generals Armstrong, Jackson, and Forrest, with seven thousand men, for more than seven hours, and finally drove them from the field. Here he was again slightly wounded.

He was promoted to Brigadier-General on the 29th of November, 1862. He participated in all the battles preliminary to the siege of Vicksburg, and at Champion Hills was severely wounded at the beginning of the fight. He concealed the wound even from his staff, and remained on the field commanding his troops throughout the battle. During the siege he occupied a prominent position in front of Fort Hill, and was wounded twice, once severely. On the 4th of July he was honored with the advance in entering the city.

General Leggett commanded the Third Division, Seventeenth Corps, from the siege of Vicksburg to the close of the war, except when temporarily in command of the corps, which was very frequently the case. He was engaged at Bushy Mountain, Nicojack Creek, Kenesaw Mountain, and Atlanta July 22d and 28th. The battle of the 22d was fought principally by his division. He was on Sherman's march to the sea, and at the taking of Pocotaligo, South Carolina. He was brevetted Major-General from July 22d, 1864, and was appointed full Major-General from the 15th of January, 1865. He resigned on the 22d of July, 1865, and his resignation was accepted November 1st of the same year.

After the siege of Vicksburg he received from his corps commander, as the award of a Board of Honor, a gold medal, inscribed "Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Siege of Corinth, Bolivar, Iuka, Champion Hills, Vicksburg." He is a strictly moral man, never drinks anything that will intoxicate, never smokes cigars, never chews tobacco, never uses profane language, and never plays cards; and drinking and card-playing were always prohibited at his head-quarters. His services lasted from the beginning to the close of the war; they were always honorable, often arduous, and sometimes distinguished, so that in the end he came to command the trust of his superiors, the admiration of his soldiers, and that gratitude from the country which all deserve who add capacity and skill to their personal devotion.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES W. HILL.

CHARLES W HILL is a native of Vermont, though from six years of age he has resided nearly all the time in Ohio, and since March, 1836, in Toledo. His father was a native of New Hampshire, and his mother of Connecticut, and their ancestors were among the early settlers of New England.

In June, 1839, he was admitted to the bar, and on the 1st of October following became a partner of Judge Tilden, late of Cincinnati, in the practice of the law. From that time until called into the military service, in June, 1861, his practice was large.

From boyhood he had shown decided aptness for military duty, and endeavored to keep well informed in military matters. In April, 1861, he spent some time in the instruction of the officers and men of the Fourteenth Ohio. Early in June of that year he was invited by Governor Dennison to take command of the Twenty-Fifth Ohio (three-years' regiment), but circumstances did not then permit him to leave home for so long a period. On the 15th of June Governor Dennison requested him, by telegram, to accept a Brigadier-General's commission for service in West Virginia. At Grafton he reported to General McClellan. About the same time an appointment of Major in the Thirteenth United States Infantry (regulars) reached him, but he declined. He was placed in command of a district extending from Wheeling and Parkersburg east to the Cheat River, including both railroad lines. In General McClellan's instructions is the following: "The Commanding General instructs me to add that he has intrusted to you the most important duty next to his own in this territory, viz.: That of securing the base of his operations and *line of retreat*. At any cost—that of your last man—you will preserve the Cheat River line, Grafton, and the line thence to Wheeling. On this depends the entire success of the plan of operations." The performance of this duty involved the scattering of his troops over about two hundred and fifty miles of posts, in small detachments. General McClellan estimated the Rebel army, at and near Laurel Hill, at ten thousand men. For immediate service against them he appropriated about twenty thousand troops, and was so persistent in his order to forward troops, and so unready to comply with General Hill's often-repeated request (and his own promises) to allow some disposable forces with which to operate to the east, in anticipation of the possible escape of Garnett's army, that up to the time of that escape not a man had been furnished to General Hill available for such service. Nevertheless, at the risk of weaken-

ing General McClellan's "line of retreat," and without being able to get the approval of that officer, he withdrew portions of detachments from several of the posts and pushed them out by way of Oakland and Cheat River to West Union, under Colonel Irvine. On the 9th of July Colonel Irvine telegraphed General Hill: "Our increased knowledge clearly indicates the occupancy of the Junction (Red House) as the proper position for our troops." He was referred to the views of the engineers already known to him, and instructed to act on his best judgment. On the 12th he reported: "My main force will be at the mill mentioned (Chisholm's), eight miles from Oakland, with a strong advance at the Red House—say two or three hundred men." On the 13th, at eleven A. M., a telegram reached General Hill at Grafton, dated 12th, at Beverly, and 13th, at Roaring Run, announcing the escape of the Rebel forces north-easterly, *via* Leedsville, and directing General Hill to take the field at once with all the force he could make available to cut off their retreat, saying that two Pennsylvania regiments at Cumberland had been ordered to report to him at Rowlesburg, and directing him to withdraw detachments on the railroads between Wheeling and Parkersburg, and concentrate by specials trains, adding: "It is supposed that you will be able to take the field with, say, six thousand men, including Colonel Irvine's command, and at least four guns." Believing Colonel Irvine to be in the position indicated by him on the 12th, General Hill telegraphed him: "The Rebels are driven out of Laurel Hill, and in full retreat eastward on St. George's Pike. Hold your position with firmness to the last man. I will re-enforce you in person, and with all available forces, as soon as possible." No Pennsylvania regiments came, or were expected. The guns at Grafton were manned by a new company, without a single horse or set of harness. The utmost dispatch was had in ordering trains, troops, and supplies; but the entire command was almost destitute of teams with which to move away from the railroad lines, and only a few could be got by impressment. Having made such arrangements as he could at Grafton, General Hill, with a portion of his staff and four companies of infantry, took the first train east to Oakland. Thence, about eleven o'clock that night, he dispatched three companies, under Major Walcott, to report to Colonel Irvine at Chisholm's mill, himself remaining to hurry up troops by aid of the telegraph, and to move on with them on their arrival. No other companies reached Oakland so as to be disembarked before the 14th. On reaching Chisholm's mill Major Walcott found that Colonel Irvine had stationed his whole command at West Union; he had also drawn in all his scouts and pickets on or near the Rebel line of retreat, on the afternoon of the 13th, leaving a space eight miles in width entirely open to the Rebel army, whose rear-guard passed the Red House, going east, at five o'clock on the morning of the 14th, eighteen hours after the time when General Hill received his orders from General McClellan. Colonel Irvine having news of the passage of the Rebel army soon after six o'clock on the morning of the 14th, ordered his troops upon the pursuit, starting eight miles west of the Red House. The pursuit was continued fourteen miles, at which point General Hill, with six mounted men, overtook

the command. The Rebel army was reported at least five miles in advance. (In point of fact it was eight miles in advance, and had burned the bridge over Stony River.) There was no possibility of moving toward the Rebel army, except by following in their track. The country was sparsely settled, and all available supplies were exhausted. The troops, numbering some twelve hundred, were without breakfast, some of them without supper the night before; in all their haversacks there was not half a meal for the command, and they were without transportation. For these reasons General Hill ordered them back to the Red House. Most of the troops ordered had come up on the 14th and 15th, and scouts on the afternoon of the 15th reported that the Rebel army had encamped on the night of the 14th at Greenland, where it still remained, and had burned the bridge at the gap in rear of its camp. Finding that the position could be turned by either of two routes, General Hill dispatched a column, under Colonel Morton, by rail to New Creek Station, to move thence upon the enemy's left flank; and at five o'clock P. M. of that day moved with the Fifth and Eighteenth Ohio from Oakland, by a diagonal line, to the bridge on the North-West Pike, over the west branch of the Potomac, at which point he was to be joined by Colonel Irvine's command from the Red House, intending to turn the Rebel right and cut them off before they could reach Petersburg. After his arrangements were all made, and orders issued, General Hill received a telegram from General McClellan, dated the 14th, at Huttonsville, announcing the action at Carrick's Ford and the death of General Garnett, and saying: "I charge you to complete your operations by the capture of the remainder of his force. If you have but one regiment, attack and check them until others arrive. You may never have such another opportunity. Do not throw it away. Conduct this movement in person, and follow them *a l'outrance.*" General Hill was executing this order before he knew of its existence, and marched with his column over the Alleghany Mountains, a distance of thirty-five and one-half miles, within twenty-four hours after leaving Oakland. News carried to the enemy's camp of the approach of Colonel Morton, who had been discovered from the top of Knobby Mountain, induced the Rebels to break up and move toward Petersburg. At four o'clock the next morning General Hill, with about eight hundred picked men, in light marching order, started for an additional forced march, but, after moving about five miles, was overtaken by a courier with a dispatch from General McClellan, ordering him to return.

In a communication from General McClellan to General Hill, dated the 5th of July, General McClellan said: "Your course thus far has been in all respects judicious and soldierly" But having, on the 14th of July, in an official dispatch to Washington, declared: "We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia—(when, in point of fact, in killed, wounded, and prisoners he could not account for over one-eighth of his own estimate of the Rebel strength)—and having, upon such exaggerated reports, acquired a great reputation, General McClellan now found it necessary to lay the blame for the escape of Garnett's army upon General Hill.

In passing through Grafton, on his way to Washington, General McClel-

lan promised General Hill, in the presence of General Rosecrans, that, as soon as he should receive General Hill's report, he would examine the subject and publicly announce his conclusions. That report was sent to him before the 5th of August, 1861. He never made a report to the War Department upon his West Virginia campaign, and never afterward publicly announced, in any official way, any conclusion with reference to General Hill's acts.

After General Rosecrans took command of the Department of the Ohio he assigned General Hill to the command of his second brigade of three-years' troops; but, as the General held only a State commission, the order was soon revoked. He was ordered to report to the Governor of Ohio, to be assigned to the command of Camp Chase, as a camp of rendezvous and instruction. He was here retained until the 18th of December, 1861, when, at his own request, he was relieved. He had kept up an officers' school, and attended diligently in person to the instruction, drill, and discipline of the troops.

General Hill was now well supported in an effort to secure an appointment from the President as Brigadier-General, but popular censure had largely followed in the track of McClellan's censure for his conduct in West Virginia. This, and the influence of McClellan himself—then all-powerful at Washington—prevented his success.

He was subsequently asked by Governor Tod if he would accept the Colonelcy of the Sixty-Seventh Ohio, in accordance with the wishes of the officers, and he answered in the affirmative, but circumstances prevented the appointment. A month or two later he was appointed Adjutant-General of Ohio.

In 1862 Ohio had been menaced by Rebel forces in Kentucky and Virginia, and, to repel them, had been forced to depend chiefly upon the "Squirrel Hunters." These demonstrations induced the Legislature, at the session of 1862–3, to pass a law requiring the organization of the entire militia of the State, and also to authorize a volunteer force by formal enlistments. The consequent additions to the duties of the Adjutant-General's office involved a great increase of work. Three hundred and ten regiments and battalions of militia were organized, officered, and commissioned; a large force of volunteers was enlisted and fully organized, and they and the commissioned officers of the militia were brought into camp and instructed. The returns for the season showed forty-three thousand nine hundred and thirty volunteers "available for duty; but none of these organizations were complete at the time of Morgan's raid through the State in July, 1863. General Hill held public meetings in the larger towns and cities, and devoted himself to the work of organizing the militia with an energy much beyond his power of endurance. At the office his whole time, except when taking his meals, or getting a little sleep in the late hours of the night, was occupied; and even Sunday brought little rest. The result of this labor was serious illness in the latter part of 1863, from the effects of which he never recovered.

The volunteer militia organized by him was afterward known as the National Guard. His successor found them ready for any call on the shortest

notice, so that all he had to do in 1864 was to issue his telegram, and the National Guard came, ready for the required hundred-days' service.

Early in 1864 General Hill, now in broken health, was given the opportunity of commanding a regiment, for which he had more than once asked, to be relieved from the duties of the Adjutant-General's office. He was made Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Ohio, for service at Johnson's Island, which the Rebel machinations in Canada had suddenly made a point of considerable importance. Before leaving Columbus he was invited by the Standing Committees on Military Affairs of the two Houses to meet with them and his successor, and present his views of the policy to be pursued by the State. Afterward a military bill, reported by Senator Connell, of the same committee, was sent to Colonel Hill for his suggestions. He gave it thorough attention, proposing a large number of amendments, including a change of name of the volunteer militia from "Ohio State Guard" to "National Guard." Most of his amendments were adopted *verbatim* by the Legislature.

On the 9th of May, 1864, Colonel Hill assumed command of the troops at Sandusky and vicinity, with full authority over the lake frontier in that region, without regard to seniority of rank. Some of the work devolved upon him will be seen in the sketch of the One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth (Vol. II), the direct command of which he retained during the most of its service. In addition to his proper duties he was required, by orders from Washington, to receipt and be responsible for the current money of the Rebel prisoners, which averaged, from day to day, about twenty-five thousand dollars. He was banker for about three thousand depositors, having to supervise all their financial transactions, and to settle with and pay them on being discharged. In the time of general discharges of prisoners and of considerable exchanges, it was a common thing to settle with and pay off over three hundred depositors each day for several days in succession; and scarcely any dissatisfaction was ever manifested by the prisoners in their settlements.

Colonel Hill was mustered out with his regiment on the 17th of July, 1865. During his command at the Island several offers were made to ask a brevet for him, but he declined any kind offices in that direction until the War Department should get time to pass upon his services in West Virginia. That time came after he left the service, with a brevet commission of Brigadier-General, and following that a brevet commission of Major-General, with rank from March 13, 1865.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. TIDBALL.

JOHN C TIDBALL was born in Ohio County, Virginia, but at an early age he emigrated with his parents to Bèlmont County, Ohio. He was brought up as a farmer, and after receiving a common-school education he entered West Point in 1844. In 1848 he graduated, standing eleventh in a class of thirty-eight. He was appointed Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Third United States Artillery, and in the fall he joined Sherman's battery of that regiment. In February, 1849, he was appointed Second-Lieutenant in the Second Artillery, and in the spring he joined his company at Savannah. In the summer of 1849, and until the winter of 1851, he was in Florida. He was then ordered to Charleston Harbor. In March, 1853, he was promoted to First-Lieutenant, and joined his company at Fort Defiance, New Mexico. At this post he only remained a few months, when he was detailed to accompany Captain (subsequently General) Whipple in his explorations for a Pacific Railroad route. This duty occupied the winter of 1853–4 and the ensuing spring. The next fall he was assigned to duty on the Coast Survey, and he continued on this duty until the fall of 1859, when he rejoined his company, then stationed at the Artillery School of Practice, at Fortress Monroe. After a short stay he was transferred to company A, of his regiment, and ordered to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Before the opening of the rebellion the company was ordered to Washington, to form part of General Scott's force assisting at the first inauguration of President Lincoln. The battery, with horses and equipments, was then dispatched on the secret expedition for the relief and re-enforcement of Fort Pickens. The battery assisted in putting that post in a defensible condition, and in July returned to New York, and was at once hurried to Washington to participate in the Manassas campaign. Lieutenant Tidball had, in the meantime, been promoted to Captain, May 14, 1861, and in this campaign he commanded the battery. Soon after the Manassas campaign Captain Tidball organized his Light Battery into a Horse Battery, having all the cannoniers mounted. This was the first battery of the sort organized in the United States, and as it was new, there were many skeptical critics; but as the war progressed the efficiency of horse-batteries became apparent, and others were organized.

In the spring campaign of 1862 Captain Tidball, with his battery, accompanied the Army of the Potomac to the peninsula, and assisted in the siege of Yorktown. Upon the evacuation of that place he joined in the pursuit, under Stoneman, and, near Williamsburg, participated in a skirmish which was the forerunner of the battle of the next day. Captain Tidball continued in the

advance of the Army of the Potomac, and pressed the enemy closely, and in an action at Mechanicsville, May 23d and 24th, his battery played a conspicuous part. After the battle of Mechanicsville General Porter directed Captain Tidball to cover, with his battery, the withdrawal of the army to a new position, at Gaines's Hill. In this duty he was in no way assisted or supported by other troops, but by successively retiring as the Rebels advanced, and taking up new positions, he was able to hold them in check, and to rejoin the main force, which took up its new line of battle unmolested. In the battle of Gaines's Hill Captain Tidball reported to General Sykes, on the right, where the enemy was pressing upon the flank of the National army He placed his guns on the right of Weed's—already in position—and by their united efforts, six successive attacks were repulsed; and the flank was held against Jackson's efforts until the other portions of the line were forced so far back that the batteries were in danger of being captured. About dark they were withdrawn to the other side of the river.

On the 1st of July the last of the seven days' battle took place at Malvern Hill. Captain Tidball's battery was held in reserve until near the close of the day, when a furious assault was made, and all the reserve batteries were thrown forward in mass, and by their fearful fire the enemy was checked. In this movement Captain Tidball's battery took most honorable part. On the 3d of July the enemy made a reconnoissance in force, at Harrison's Landing, and commenced shelling the National troops, who, on account of the rain and mud, had not yet taken up the line of defense fully, and now heard the enemy's guns with considerable consternation. Captain Tidball was ordered out immediately, and throwing his battery well to the front, he succeeded in driving off the enemy. When the Army of the Potomac withdrew from Harrison's Landing Captain Tidball remained with the cavalry to cover the rear, and consequently was prevented from participating in the second Manassas campaign. He joined the Army of the Potomac again on the march to Antietam, and at daylight on morning of September 15th, the day after the battle of South Mountain, he started with the cavalry, under General Pleasanton, in hot pursuit of the enemy. The Rebel rear-guard was overtaken a short distance beyond Boonsboro', and after a sharp skirmish the National cavalry was driven back in confusion; and it was not until Captain Tidball brought up his pieces that order was restored, and the enemy routed. Continuing the pursuit toward Hagerstown a circuitous march brought them to Antietam. General Richardson, marching his infantry division by a shorter route, arrived at the same time, but without his artillery. His combative zeal led him to insist that Captain Tidball should place his guns on an eminence and open fire; which was no sooner done than the enemy concentrated all his batteries upon Tidball, who maintained the unequal contest in a manner nowise unfavorable to himself. About eight o'clock on the morning of the Antietam battle Captain Tidball was directed to cross the center bridge, on the turnpike leading from Boonsboro' to Sharpsburg. The Fourth Pennsylvania Cavalry preceded him, under Colonel Childs, but the Colonel was killed, and the regiment withdrawn, leaving the Captain to drive back the skirmishers with canister, and to establish his battery on an eminence well advanced toward

Sharpsburg. Although suffering considerably, he held his position until after dark, when, the battle having ceased, he was ordered to withdraw from such an exposed point. Captain Tidball moved with the cavalry in pursuit of the retreating Rebels, and at the crossing of the Potomac he had a spirited artillery contest with the enemy's batteries, posted to cover the crossing.

Unimportant marches and reconnoissances occupied the time until November 1, 1862, when Captain Tidball was assigned to the cavalry division under General Averill, who, in conjunction with General Pleasanton, guarded the right flank of the army, as it moved from Harper's Ferry to Fredericksburg. The enemy was moving at the same time in a parallel direction, and a succession of flank collisions took place. The most important of these were at Piedmont, Markham, and Amissville; in all of which Captain Tidball, with his battery was engaged. At the battle of Fredericksburg he had no opportunity of participating; but he was held in readiness for any advantage that might arise.

When the spring campaign of 1863 opened, Captain Tidball was selected to accompany General Stoneman on his raid, preparatory to the advance which resulted in the battle of Chancellorsville. Owing to heavy rains and swollen streams the expedition was much delayed, and consequently was not so fruitful of results as it otherwise would have been. Tidball's battery was attached immediately to Averill's command, which, passing through Culpepper, met the enemy May 1st in strong force, well intrenched, guarding the railroad bridge and ford across the Rapidan. The enemy were driven away sufficiently to destroy the bridge, and then the command, moving to Ely's Ford, crossed the river and entered the National lines, at Chancellorsville, during the battle. After the battle of Chancellorsville the horse-batteries, eight in number, but afterward increased to twelve, were organized into two brigades; one of them was under command of Captain Tidball, consisting of his own battery, with Graham's and Randall's, of the First United States Artillery, and Fuller's, of the Third.

In the Gettysburg campaign Tidball's artillery brigade was attached to Pleasanton's cavalry corps, and was engaged with the Rebel cavalry at Aldie's, Snicker's, Ashby's, and other gaps of the Blue Ridge. The batteries were almost constantly engaged during the battle of Gettysburg, and in the pursuit they performed their duty with marked credit, particularly in the engagements at Boonsboro', Funkstown, Hagerstown, Falling Water, and Williamsport. In the month of August the Governor of New York appointed Captain Tidball Colonel of the Fourth Heavy Artillery, from that State. The regiment was stationed in the defenses of Washington, and though an old regiment, was somewhat defective in discipline and instruction; but by energetic labor these deficiencies were corrected, and in the following March Colonel Tidball moved with it, numbering over two thousand men, to the Army of the Potomac, where it was assigned to the Second Corps, under Hancock. Colonel Tidball was placed in command of the artillery brigade of that corps, consisting of thirteen batteries, in addition to his own regiment. In the battle of the Wilderness Colonel Tidball, on account of the nature of the ground, could place but three batteries in position. These rendered valuable service, particularly two of them, posted

near the center of the Second Corps, where the enemy made a desperate assault and partly succeeded in breaking the National line. In the battles around Spottsylvania C. H., which soon followed, Colonel Tidball's batteries again had ample opportunities for displaying their skill and hardihood. At the North Anna the enemy was strongly posted in redoubts, on both sides of the river, for the protection of the bridges. General Hancock determined to assault, and as speedily as possible Colonel Tidball placed sixty guns in position, and commenced playing on the enemy's works; and, without doubt, his artillery fire contributed greatly to the success of the assault. The Rebels did not have an opportunity to destroy the bridge, but their batteries, placed about twelve hundred yards from the bridge, commanded it completely, and prevented the National army from crossing. The batteries were so situated that Colonel Tidball could not silence them with his field-guns; but at night he placed six Cohorn mortars in position, and at daylight opened fire with them. This fire, at once strange and destructive to the enemy, had a magical effect in suppressing his. This was the first occasion on which Cohorn mortars were used for field purposes in our service; but from this time onward they were in great demand for close fighting. Colonel Tidball continued to participate with the Second Corps, and at Cold Harbor a portion of his batteries were posted on precisely the same ground which had been occupied previously, in the battle of Gaines's Hill. After the crossing of the James Colonel Tidball placed his batteries close upon the skirmish-line, and at the "Hare House" he threw up a light work, which grew into the shapeless figure called Fort Steedman, historic from the fierce assault made upon it by the enemy March 25, 1865. During the severe fighting of the succeeding days his batteries occupied a position on the most advanced line, and sustained themselves with spirit and skill.

After fifty days' campaigning, with almost continuous fighting, Colonel Tidball was appointed Commandant of Cadets at the Military Academy, and was ordered to repair to West Point without delay Just as Colonel Tidball was becoming settled in his duties an incident occurred which caused him to be immediately ordered to the field. A cadet, the son of a former law-partner of the Secretary of War, committed an offense, the penalty of which he attempted to escape by falsehood. He was brought to trial before a court-martial, upon charges preferred by Colonel Tidball; but as soon as the Secretary heard of the proceedings he ordered the trial to be stopped. The Judge-Advocate having doubted whether this ought to be done till the examination was concluded, the court went on. When the Secretary heard of this neglect of his order he dismissed the Judge-Advocate from the service, and ordered Colonel Tidball to the field. The Colonel was very soon reinstated in the good opinion of his superior officers, and was brevetted Brigadier-General, to date from August 1, 1864. He rejoined the Army of the Potomac in the early part of October, and was assigned to the command of the Artillery Brigade, of the Ninth Corps, then occupying the extreme left of the line on the Petersburg front. On the 1st of December the Ninth Corps exchanged positions with the Second, and occupied the right of the line from the Appomattox River to, and some distance beyond,

the Jerusalem Plank Road. On this portion of the line General Tidball had ninety guns and forty mortars, of various calibers; the enemy had about an equal amount of artillery opposed. This state of affairs continued until the 25th of March, when, just before daylight, the enemy rushed from his works, and, with but little resistance, captured Fort Steedman. Strong columns swept along the works to the right and left, until, approaching the neighboring batteries, they were checked and driven back. General Tidball hastened to the spot, and placed several batteries in position on a crest commanding Fort Steedman. All organization among the captors was destroyed by the batteries. It was, also, impossible for them to escape, as the three hundred yards between the lines were exposed to a sweeping cross-fire of artillery All resistance was crushed by the artillery alone; and a division of infantry marched into Fort Steedman without opposition, and captured a large number of prisoners.

On the 30th of March the grand move commenced. A large portion of the Army of the James had been united with the Army of the Potomac, and the latter, leaving the Ninth Corps to hold its position, swung off toward the left to Five Forks. An assault along the whole line, at that time extending about fifteen miles, was ordered to take place at four o'clock A. M., April 2d. To accompany the assaulting column General Tidball selected a hundred artillerymen, under spirited officers. These carried primers, lanyards, and other implements, and were to take charge of any artillery that might be captured, and to turn it upon the enemy. Other parties carried tools to cut through the parapets, to remove obstructions, and to prepare a road for the artillery, which was held in readiness to move. The assault was intended to be a surprise, and General Tidball did not open fire until the enemy's guns announced that the head of the column was approaching the works. General Tidball immediately opened along the whole line, and the enemy did the same; and probably a more terrific cannonade was never heard. The assault was successful, and the works were held against all attempts to retake them. The other portions of the army were likewise successful, and the enemy was in full retreat toward Burksville. This position of affairs threw the Ninth Corps in the rear, and while the other corps were pursuing the enemy, the Ninth was charged with keeping open communications with Petersburg.

General Tidball collected and forwarded to City Point all the surplus artillery and ammunition, and then proceeded, with the corps, to Burksville. After the surrender he accompanied the corps to Washington City, and participated in the grand review. He was placed in command of an artillery brigade in the defenses of Washington, and for gallant and meritorious services at Forts Steedman and Sedgwick, was made Brevet Major-General of Volunteers, to date from April 2, 1865. On the 1st of October he accompanied his regiment to New York harbor, where it was mustered out.

General Tidball has been brevetted successively Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel, in the regular service. On returning to his grade in the regular service he was placed in command of light company A, Second Artillery, stationed at the Preridio of San Francisco.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT S. GRANGER.

ROBERT S. GRANGER graduated at West Point and entered the service of the United States on the 1st of July, 1838, and on the 28th of the same month he joined his regiment, the Second Artillery, at Chattanooga, Tennessee. He was transferred to the First Infantry in November, and was engaged in the Florida war until July, 1841. On the 13th of January, 1847, he left Fort Snelling, Minnesota, under orders, for Mexico; traveled on the ice to Burlington, Iowa, and joined the army in Mexico on the 28th of March, 1847 He continued in Mexico until the close of the war, in July, 1848.

When the rebellion broke out he was stationed in Texas, and, with other officers, was betrayed into the hands of the Rebels by the treachery of General Twiggs. Captain Granger earnestly opposed the surrender, and recommended the seizure of the vessels in the port, and with them to sail for Tampico, Mexico, or the fortifying of Indianola, which could have been held until relieved by the United States navy. The captured officers were paroled, with permission to go north and to perform duty outside of the Confederacy Captain Granger came back to his native State and assisted in organizing, drilling, and disciplining Sherman's brigade, at Mansfield, from October 16th to December 18, 1861. He was placed in command of the barracks at Cincinnati on the 27th of December, and was made disbursing officer for the State. In April, 1862, he was transferred to Louisville, Kentucky, and placed in command of that post until September. He was exchanged on the 28th of August, and on the 1st of September was appointed Brigadier-General of State troops, by the Governor of Kentucky; but this appointment was given up immediately, as he was ordered to take command of a division of National forces at Shepherdsville. His services in Kentucky were specially acknowledged in a report to the War Department. He attacked and defeated a portion of Forrest's cavalry, at Lebanon Junction, killing and wounding thirty-nine, and taking thirty-one prisoners, with a loss of only thirteen men. Being ordered to Lawrenceburg with a brigade of infantry and one of cavalry, he drove the enemy from the vicinity of that place, after a short skirmish, on the 20th of September, and captured one hundred and fifty prisoners.

He joined General Buell's army at Crab Orchard, and was assigned to the command of the Tenth Division. He was appointed Brigadier-General, for meritorious service in Kentucky, to date from the 20th of October, and on the 31st of October he was ordered to the command of Bowling Green, and the dis-

trict to the Tennessee line. General Granger joined the Army of the Cumberland at Murfreesboro', Tennessee, on the 10th of January, 1863, and was assigned to the command of the First Division of the Fourteenth Corps. He was ordered to the command of Nashville in June, and of the district north of Duck River, from September 5th to December 18th. During that time General Granger's command killed and wounded over three hundred Rebels, captured five hundred and twenty-five prisoners, and completely cleared the country of guerrillas. General Granger's services while in command of Nashville were specially noticed in orders, by the Major-General commanding.

On the 1st of June, 1864, General Granger was assigned to the command of the District of Northern Alabama. While at Decatur his troops were frequently engaged with the enemy under Roddy, and others, on the south side of the river, and were uniformly successful. The Rebel General Patterson's brigade was surprised at Courtland, and his train, entire camp, and a number of prisoners were captured. A raid made by the Rebels, under Roddy, on the railroad at Athens, Sulphur Trestle, and Elk River, was defeated effectually, and Roddy was driven across the Tennessee. In August the forces under Granger skirmished with Wheeler's cavalry at Linville, Tennessee, and afterward from Lawrenceburg to within five miles of Lexington, Tennessee. General Granger was in command at Huntsville when the garrison of that place was summoned, by General Forrest, to surrender. The demand was treated with contempt, and after exchanging a few shots the Rebels withdrew.

Hood's army invested Decatur on the 27th of October, and on the morning of the 28th the forces under General Granger attacked and carried the first line of rifle-pits, killing and wounding a large number, and capturing one hundred and twenty prisoners. On the same day a battery of eight guns was captured on the right of the line, but the enemy being heavily re-enforced the guns were spiked and abandoned. The enemy acknowledged a loss, during the siege, of fifteen hundred men, while the National loss was one hundred and six killed and wounded and seven captured. The importance of the defeat of Hood at Decatur will be appreciated when it is known that Decatur is one hundred and ten miles south of Nashville, and is connected with that city by a fine turnpike, leading through a country that afterward furnished supplies to Hood's army. Had Hood captured Decatur on the 28th he would have been before Nashville with his whole army by the 4th of November, with nothing of importance to impede his progress northward.

Before the close of the war General Granger was brevetted Major-General of volunteers; and at the close of 1866 was in command at Richmond, Virginia.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN W. FULLER.

JOHN W FULLER was born in Cambridge, England, July, 1827. His father was a Baptist minister, and the nephew of Reverend Andrew Fuller, a distinguished Baptist divine of that day. John's father came to this country in 1833, and settled at Petersboro', New York, where, for several years, he filled a pulpit. John, then a lad five years of age, accompanied his father to America. The next call on Rev Mr. Fuller was to Oneida County, New York, from whence he went to Oglethorpe, Georgia, where he died.

John W Fuller, while these events in his father's history were occurring, was attending school at Florence, New York. In 1840 he came west and settled in Utica, New York. His first occupation in Utica was as a clerk in a book-store, and as clerk and partner he remained in the same store and same business for twenty years. For some years he was prominent as a politician in that part of New York, and was elected by his party for two successive terms as treasurer of the city of Utica.

While a resident of Utica he took much interest in military matters, and was generally found at the head of all movements of that kind. A citizens' corps was formed, in which he served for several years as First-Lieutenant. He was known as one of the best tacticians in that part of the country.

In the fall of 1858 he removed to Toledo, Ohio, and engaged in the publishing business, under the firm name of Anderson & Co., the Toledo house being a branch of the house of John W Fuller & Co., of Utica, New York. The two firms combined built up an extensive business.

When the rebellion commenced the military knowledge possessed by Mr. Fuller became very valuable, not only to himself, but to the State. His services were immediately secured, and he went to work industriously drilling and preparing the three months levies for the field.

General Chas. W Hill (Governor Tod's Adjutant-General), of Toledo, being appointed by Governor Dennison a Brigadier-General, and ordered to Western Virginia, selected Mr. Fuller as his Chief-of-Staff. The appointment was accepted, and, leaving his business and a young family, he entered the service with the determination to remain in it until the cessation of hostilities. His first duty in the new position to which he had been called, was performed at Grafton, Virginia, a noted point in that early period of the war. At this place he was busily employed in drilling the raw regiments and recruits which were then pouring across the Ohio River preparatory to an advance into the enemy's country.

While at Grafton he made the acquaintance of Captain T. J. Cram (now General), of the regular army, who, observing his proficiency in military matters, wrote to the Adjutant-General of Ohio, General C. P Buckingham, that "there was a young man at Grafton by the name of John W Fuller who knew more about military matters, the drilling of men, etc., than any one he had yet met with in the service," and "hoped he would recommend him to Governor Dennison as the Colonel of the next Ohio regiment sent to the field." This recommendation was made without the knowledge of Mr. Fuller, and the first intimation he had of its success was a telegram from Adjutant-General Buckingham, ordering him to repair to Columbus and assume the duties of his new position—that of Colonel of the Twenty-Seventh Ohio.

Colonel Fuller promptly reported at Columbus, and in less than two weeks' time had selected from a disorganized mass of two thousand troops, then in Camp Chase, a fine regiment of men, armed and equipped them, and was *en route* for St. Louis, Missouri. This was in August, 1861. After two weeks' constant drill Colonel Fuller's regiment was selected as a part of the force sent to the relief of Colonel Mulligan, then besieged by the Rebel forces under General Price, in the city of Lexington, Missouri. This expedition, it will be recollected, failed in its purpose, the Rebels having defeated Mulligan and captured Lexington before re-enforcements could reach him.

Colonel Fuller marched his regiment to Kansas City, and lay in camp at that place for some weeks. In October he received orders to repair to Springfield, Missouri, with his regiment, and there join General Fremont's command. This junction was effected near Springfield, and his regiment was a part of the force that entered that place.

When Fremont's army "fell back" from Springfield Colonel Fuller was so ill that it was impossible to remove him, and he was, therefore, left to the tender mercies of the enemy. On the evacuation the Rebel General Ben. McCullough moved his forces into the city Colonel Fuller was soon discovered, and his case reported to McCullough. That noted personage immediately called upon the Colonel, and assured him that he need not feel uneasy—to make himself perfectly easy—that, under the circumstances, he would not even claim him as his prisoner. The result was, that on his recovery Colonel Fuller was provided with an escort and sent, unharmed, and not even paroled, into the National lines.

On February 1, 1862, Colonel Fuller commanded a column of troops, several thousand strong, which marched from Sedalia to St. Louis, Missouri, and there, taking steamers, sailed down the Mississippi to Commerce, Missouri. At this place a junction was formed with General Pope's forces, then moving on New Madrid. With his regiment Colonel Fuller participated in all the movements against New Madrid and Island No. 10, and was complimented in general orders for valuable and gallant services in that campaign.

On May 1, 1862, Colonel Fuller, with his regiment, was transferred with General Pope's command to Hamburg, on the Tennessee River, there forming a

junction with General Halleck's army. General Pope's command formed the left wing of that army in its advance on Corinth.

In September, 1862, Colonel Fuller took part with his brigade (for thus early in his career he had been assigned to a brigade) in the well-contested battle of Iuka; but it was at Corinth, in October, 1862, that he won his greatest renown as a soldier and officer, in command of the "Ohio Brigade," as it was termed, composed of the Twenty-Seventh, Thirty-Ninth, Forty-Third, and Sixty-Third Ohio regiments. Rosecrans was here confronted with thirty-five thousand veteran Rebel soldiers, to oppose which he had only eighteen thousand men of all arms. The Rebel charging columns had swept through and over the National lines, had made their way deep into the town, and to within fifty yards of Fort Robinett. They swept up in four columns, under storms of grape and canister, when the Ohio Brigade, commanded by Colonel Fuller, delivered a murderous volley, before which it reeled and retreated. Again they advanced, steadier, swifter than before, till they were pouring over the very edge of the ditch around the fort, when a deadly musketry-fire of the Ohio Brigade broke their formation. A moment later and, at the word, the Twenty-Seventh Ohio and Eleventh Missouri rose up from the ground, charged the disordered foe, and drove them again to the woods. In this charge fell the Texan Colonel Rogers, who had led his column literally to the mouths of the National guns. He fell almost at Colonel Fuller's feet. Colonel Fuller relates that he had a fair view of Colonel Rogers as he came on at the head of his column. He presented the appearance of a drunken man, pale as a corpse, but intent on his purpose. Three hundred National troops were lost in ten minutes in this murderous charge. The Eleventh Missouri lost eighty men out of three hundred engaged.

In his official dispatches General Rosecrans stated that the charge which broke the Rebel onset on Battery Robinett was made by the Twenty-Seventh Ohio and Eleventh Missouri, led by Colonel John W. Fuller. But the compliment which the command valued most was a less formal one. When the battle was ended, and before the dead had been removed, General Rosecrans rode up to the position occupied by the Ohio Brigade, and warmly addressed it, saying: "I take off my hat in the presence of men as brave as those around me."

On the last day of 1862 three regiments of the Ohio Brigade met General Forrest's Rebel cavalry near Lexington, Tennessee, at Parker's Cross Roads, and, in a skirmish, captured seven pieces of artillery, several baggage-wagons, over four hundred horses, and three hundred and sixty prisoners, including two officers of Forrest's staff.

In April, 1863, the Ohio Brigade accompanied General Dodge's column toward Decatur, Alabama, as a cover to Straight's ill-fated raid through Georgia. It was then ordered to Memphis, as guard to that city during the Vicksburg campaign. In October, 1863, it marched with General Sherman across the country from Memphis to Chattanooga. During the winter of 1863–64 it guarded the Nashville and Decatur Railroad from Prospect southward to the Tennessee River.

Early in March, 1864, Colonel Fuller crossed the Tennessee River in pon-

toons during the night and captured Decatur, Alabama. He so strongly fortified the place that when Hood's Rebel army swept up the country toward Nashville it was prudent enough not to attack it. On May 1, 1864, the Ohio Brigade was divided, and Colonel Fuller was assigned to the command of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, Sixteenth Army Corps, and with it marched to Chattanooga to take part in the Atlanta campaign.*

At Resaca his command distinguished itself, and at Dallas, where several fine officers were lost. At Kenesaw Mountain the regiments commanded by Colonel Fuller were the first to reach the summit of the mountain. On July 4th his command distinguished itself by a flank movement on the enemy's works at Nicojack Creek, near the Chattahoochie River. In this bold and successful charge several gallant officers were killed and wounded. Among the wounded was Colonel Noyes, of the Thirty-Ninth Ohio, who lost a leg. A few days thereafter Colonel Fuller was assigned to the command of the Fourth Division of the Sixteenth Corps, *vice* General Veatch, sick.

After crossing the Chattahoochie River General McPherson's command formed the left of the National lines, and on the 21st of July the Sixteenth Corps was ordered to prolong the lines by moving to the extreme left. While executing this movement it was suddenly attacked from the rear by Hardee's Rebel corps, which had, during the night, made a detour to the east, and to the rear of the National position. In the battle which immediately ensued Colonel Fuller's command occupied a level field, without obstruction of any kind, and affording a fine view of the conflict. Two splendid charges were made, when it became necessary to change front so as to meet a Rebel charge coming from the rear. While making this perilous and difficult movement under fire, the column gave way. Colonel Fuller immediately grasped his regimental flag, and rushing with it toward the enemy, made motions with his saber indicating where he wished his line formed. The Twenty-Seventh Ohio gave a loud cheer, formed, and came up in line. Others immediately followed this splendid example, and the enemy was badly repulsed by a determined bayonet charge, led by Colonel Fuller. It was just after this brilliant charge that the gallant General McPherson was killed.

For his brilliant and opportune services in this action Colonel Fuller received his promotion as Brigadier-General.

On July 28, 1864, General Fuller was in the battle of Ezra Church, and on September 1st at Jonesboro', below Atlanta. In October, when General Hood made his movement to the rear of Atlanta, General Fuller's division fought him at Snake Creek Gap, and opened the way for pursuit through the mountains. After the fall of Atlanta Fuller's division was assigned to General Blair's corps, and was known thereafter as the First Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps, It accompanied General Sherman in his march to the sea, and when passing through the Carolinas distinguished itself at the crossing of the Salkahatchie,

* For a completer view of the events of this campaign, in their regular order and consequence, see *ante* Life of Sherman.

at River Bridge. Also, at the crossing of the Edisto, and at Cheraw, where it captured a large amount of stores and Rebel artillery.

At Bentonville one of General Fuller's regiments captured a piece of the enemy's artillery, drove his cavalry from position, actually reaching General Joe. Johnston's head-quarters and capturing some of his staff horses. From Goldsboro' General Fuller's command marched with General Sherman in pursuit of Joe. Johnston's army, and was present at the surrender of that General's Rebel forces. Then came the march through Richmond to Washington, the grand review, and the final "muster-out."

General Fuller returned to Toledo and resumed the peaceful pursuits in midst of which the war had interrupted him. Before the close of the war he received the brevet of Major-General, which he had so richly earned. His career was singular in that the promotions which his gallant conduct always suggested came so slowly; but this tardy appreciation never affected the zeal and devotion which he carried into the service. When, at last, his official honors came, it was beyond the power of any to say he had not fairly won them.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL MANNING F. FORCE.

MANNING F FORCE was born in Washington, District of Columbia, on the 17th of December, 1824. He completed a preparatory course at academies in Georgetown and Alexandria, and then entered the Harvard University, and graduated with honor, both in the classical and law departments. He removed to Cincinnati and entered the office of Judge Timothy Walker. In a few years he became a partner in the firm of Walker, Kebler & Force, and was engaged in the successful practice of his profession when the rebellion broke out.

He at once began to prepare for the crisis by assiduous drilling, and in July, 1861, he was appointed Major of the Twentieth Ohio Infantry. He reported at Camp Chase in August, and was promoted almost immediately to Lieutenant-Colonel. The Colonel of the regiment, an old engineer officer of the regular army, was placed in charge of the fortifications then constructing near Cincinnati, and continued on detached service most of the time until he resigned. Thus the whole work of drilling and disciplining the regiment fell upon Lieutenant-Colonel Force; and the record of the regiment shows that it was well done. It filled up slowly, and was not sent into active service until the 11th of February, 1862. It proceeded by way of Paducah to Fort Donelson, arriving at that point on Friday before the surrender. It was one of the regiments selected to guard the prisoners on their way North. It became separated into detachments,

and was not united until the end of March, at Crump's Landing, on the Tennessee.

On the first day of the battle of Pittsburg Landing Lieutenant-Colonel Force was not engaged, as the division (General Lew. Wallace's) to which he belonged did not arrive on the field until evening; but on the second day he participated in all the important movements. Soon after this battle the Colonel of the Twentieth resigned and Lieutenant-Colonel Force was promoted to the vacancy. The Twentieth was selected to guard the communications of the army, and it remained on this duty until the evacuation of Corinth, when it moved to Bolivar. Colonel Force passed through the Mississippi central campaign, and then moved to Memphis. From this point he sailed, with his regiment, down the Mississippi on the Vicksburg campaign. Colonel Force's regiment was actively engaged in the rear of Vicksburg, exhibiting special bravery in the battles of Raymond and Champion Hills. It also bore its full share in the siege operations around Vicksburg.

In June, 1863, Colonel Force was placed in coommand of the Second Brigade, Third Division, Seventeenth Corps; and in August he was appointed Brigadier-General for gallant service during the siege of Vicksburg.

In November General Force was placed in command of the post at Big Black Bridge, then considered the most important outpost around Vicksburg. He remained here until March, 1864, with the exception of one month, during which he was engaged in Sherman's Meridian expedition. The Seventeenth Corps joined General Sherman on the Atlanta campaign at Acworth, Georgia; and from that time until the 22d of July General Force shared all the hardships and dangers of the campaign. Early in the struggle in front of Atlanta, on the 22d of July, General Force received a bullet through his face, just below the eye. He was carried to the rear, and was at once sent North.

Hardly waiting until his wound was healed, he hastened back to the field in October, and rejoined his brigade in time to lead it to Savannah. Just before starting on the march through the Carolinas General Leggett, commanding the Third Division, was taken sick, and General Force was assigned to the division, which he commanded so satisfactorily that, on the return of General Leggett, he was transferred to the First Division. Upon the recommendation of Generals Blair, Slocum, and Howard, General Force was brevetted Major-General "for special gallantry before Atlanta, to date from March 13, 1865." General Force has returned to private life, and resumed the practice of law in Cincinnati.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY B. BANNING.

HENRY B BANNING, the grandson of Rev. Anthony Banning, and son of James and Eliza Banning, was born at Banning's Mills, in Knox County, Ohio, November 10, 1834.

His mother, an accomplished and Christian lady, superintended his early education. As he grew larger he attended the Clinton district school, the Mt. Vernon Academy, and Kenyon College.

He remained at Kenyon but a short time, returned to his home, and entered the office of Hosmer, Curtis & Devin as a law student, and was admitted to the bar. At the time the war broke out in 1861 he had acquired a good reputation as a lawyer, and was doing a fine business in his native town of Mt. Vernon. In politics he was a Douglas Democrat.

Upon the first call of the President for troops, he was one of the first to enlist. On the 16th day of April, 1861, two companies were organized in Mt. Vernon. He was elected Captain of one, which afterward became company B, Fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry. In June, 1861, the regiment was reorganized, and Captain Banning was unanimously re-elected Captain of his company

At this time Governor Dennison offered him a Majority in another regiment, but he declined it, saying, "his experience and military knowledge would not justify him in accepting the promotion." He served with his company until the spring of 1862, taking part in the battles of Rich Mountain, Romney, Blue Gap (where his company captured a stand of Rebel colors), Winchester, and Cross Keys. Upon the recommendation of General Shields, Governor Tod appointed him Major of the Fifty-Second Ohio. When he arrived at Columbus, the regiment had gone to the field, and he was placed in command of the Eighty-Seventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry, a three months' regiment. At the expiration of the time of the Eighty-Seventh he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth, with which he served until the spring of 1863. He was then transferred to and made Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-First regiment, upon the petition of all the officers of the regiment. He spent about two months drilling and disciplining the One Hundred and Twenty-First, which had been taken into the battle of Perryville, in the summer of 1862, without discipline or drill, and armed with unserviceable arms, and had won no enviable reputation. During this time he made it one of the best-drilled and disciplined regiments in the Reserve Corps of the Army of the Cumberland. He first led the One Hundred and Twenty-First to battle at Chickamauga. His regiment was the right of Steedman's division on the ter-

rific Sunday afternoon charge. Their battle-cry was, "Wipe out Perryville." With his regiment Colonel Banning held the right all that afternoon, and just at dark, when out of ammunition, in a hand-to-hand contest, the One Hundred and Twenty-First engaged the Twenty-Second Alabama, drove them, and captured their colors, the only Rebel colors taken in the battle of Chickamauga.

Colonel Banning remained in command of the One Hundred and Twenty-First throughout the Atlanta campaign, being in Buzzard's Roost, Resaca, Rome, Kenesaw Mountain, Dallas, Peachtree Creek, and Jonesboro', as well as in many hard skirmishes. After the fall of Atlanta, General Jeff. C. Davis, the commander of the Fourteenth Corps, in his official report, recommended Colonel Banning for promotion to a Brevet Brigadier-General for gallant and meritorious service during the Atlanta campaign.

General George H. Thomas indorsed this recommendation, and the brevet was issued.

In the battle of Nashville he served with his old commander, General Jas. B. Steedman, distinguished himself, and was brevetted Major-General.

General Banning was placed in command of the One Hundred and Ninety-Fifth Regiment, and served in the Valley of Virginia in the spring and summer of 1865. He commanded the post of Alexandria, Virginia, until December, 1865, when he was mustered out of the service, to take his seat as a member of the Ohio Legislature, to which he had been elected from Knox County.

General Banning's promotions were all won upon the battle-field. On duty he was a rigid disciplinarian, and the very letter of his orders had to be obeyed. Off duty he rode, chatted, and smoked, wrestled, jumped, and ran foot-races, ate, and almost lived with his men; while his old white hat and velveteen pants gave him anything but a military appearance. His command was always supplied with the best the quartermaster and commissary departments afforded.

His punishments were never severe. He never court-martialed or preferred charges against a soldier. On the march he would dismount, take some tired soldier's gun, and place him on his horse. At night he would not sleep until he had visited his men and seen that they were comfortable, and visited his pickets and seen they were well posted.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL ERASTUS B. TYLER.

GENERAL TYLER was born in West Bloomfield, Ontario County, New York. Soon after his birth his parents removed to Ravenna, Ohio. The General was educated at Granville, Ohio; and at an early age engaged in active business, which required him to travel extensively in the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. He was a partner in the American Fur Company at the breaking out of the war, and was attending to the business of the company, in the mountains of Virginia, when Fort Sumter was fired upon. Impelled by his sense of duty, as a loyal citizen, he retired from his lucrative employment, and, in obedience to a telegram from Governor Dennison, hastened to meet such requirements as his country might impose upon him. Being Brigadier-General of Militia, and in command of the division formed by the Counties of Portage, Trumbull, and Mahoning, he repaired to his home in Ravenna. He opened a recruiting office on April 17, 1861, and on the 22d he was in Camp Taylor, near Cleveland, with two companies. Here an election for Colonel was held by the thirty officers of the ten companies that constituted the Seventh Ohio, and General Tyler received twenty-nine votes. This choice was confirmed at Camp Dennison by a vote of the whole regiment. The Seventh Ohio was organized, at first, for three months; but after spending six weeks in instructing the men, Colonel Tyler, in one day, succeeded in re-enlisting seven hundred of them for three years; and, in a few days, he secured the requisite number for a full regiment.

It being well-known that Colonel Tyler was intimately acquainted with the whole region of Western Virginia, he was ordered to Grafton to advise with General McClellan. He spent eight days in consultation with that officer, and gave him information as to the mountain passes, roads, streams, fords, and the general topography of the entire section. About the 26th of June Colonel Tyler's regiment came forward to Grafton, where he took command and proceeded to Clarksburg. His first march was to Weston, where were forty thousand dollars in gold, in danger of being captured by Wise. It was known that General McClellan was on his way to Clarksburg, where, upon his arrival, Colonel Tyler expected an order to march for Weston. Accordingly he anticipated the order by drawing up his men near the depot, directing them to watch his motions when the train arrived, for if the order was "march," he would wave his handkerchief, and they were to start immediately. Upon the arrival of the train General McClellan asked him how soon he could march for Weston. "Look yonder and I will show you," was Colonel Tyler's reply; and waving his hand-

kerchief, the regiment struck the double-quick and rapidly disappeared. The gold was saved, and turned over to the new State of West Virginia.

General McClellan, upon leaving Western Virginia, placed General Tyler in command of the Seventh, Tenth, Thirteenth, and Seventeenth Ohio Regiments, the First Virginia Infantry, Captain Mack's Howitzer Battery, Captain Bagg's "Snake Hunters," and a company of Chicago Cavalry. The operations of Colonel Tyler in the valley of the Great Kanawha were conducted with marked efficiency. He was, however, unfortunate in having his own regiment surprised at Cross Lanes by Floyd's command, utterly broken, routed, and scattered in every direction. General Rosecrans, then commanding the Department of West Virginia, was at first disposed to blame Colonel Tyler severely for this disaster, but investigation had the effect to mitigate, if not wholly to do away with, the censure.

On the 10th of December Colonel Tyler was ordered to Romney, where he united his forces with those under General Lander, and was assigned to the command of the Third Brigade of Lander's division. At the death of General Lander he joined General Shields in the Shenandoah Valley. He participated in the battle of Winchester, and for bravery upon that occasion, he was appointed a Brigadier-General of Volunteers on May 14, 1862. He was also engaged at Front Royal and Port Republic. In the latter engagement General Tyler with three thousand troops resisted Stonewall Jackson with eight thousand for five hours, when Jackson received a re-enforcement of six thousand men. General Tyler, however, retired in good order.

At the battle of Antietam General Tyler commanded a brigade of Pennsylvania troops that were enlisted for nine months. It was their first battle; and though not brought into action until the eleventh hour they did excellent service. He was with his brigade at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, and soon after this the brigade was mustered out, the term of enlistment having expired.

General Tyler was now ordered to Baltimore, and placed in command of the north-western defenses of the city. He assumed command at the time that General Lee was making his invasion into Maryland, and secessionism was rampant throughout the city. General Tyler, with great industry, set about arming the Union citizens, and in three days he had ten thousand men at the barricades ready to repel the invaders. The administration of General Tyler in Baltimore received the unqualified approbation of the Union citizens.

Soon after this General Tyler was stationed at the Relay House, in charge of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the shores of Chesapeake Bay, forming a line of defense nearly two hundred miles long. It is sufficient to say that no Rebel raid ever crossed this line, until the attempt which resulted in the battle of Monocacy. General Tyler, though not in chief command, may claim a large share both in planning and in fighting this battle; and though neither the result of long preparation, nor on so extensive a scale as many others, it was severe and decisive. Speaking of General Tyler's part in the Monocacy battle, President Lincoln is reported to have said to Mr. Fitzgerald, of Philadelphia,

"The country is more indebted to General Tyler than to any other man for the salvation of Washington." From the Relay House he was ordered to the command of the Kanawha Valley, and he remained in this position until the close of the war. The rank of Major-General by Brevet was conferred upon him for meritorious service.

Few have been more exposed to danger than General Tyler, and yet he has singularly escaped serious personal injury. At Winchester seven balls passed through his clothes; at Port Republic he was struck twice with ball and shell, and his hat was torn in pieces; at Fredericksburg he was struck on the left breast by a ball; at Chancellorsville he had a button shot off the left side of his coat; and in other battles he had similar escapes. He has been the recipient of many valuable presents; among the more notable of these, bestowed by those who knew him best, the officers and men of the First Brigade, Third Division, Army of the Potomac, are a magnificent sword, sash, belt, and spurs, and a valuable horse of fine action and high spirit. General Tyler had been for many years a temperate man, even to the extent of total abstinence. He maintained these principles in the army, and he succeeded by his example in suppressing, to a great extent, the use of intoxicating liquors among the men of his command. Integrity, firmness, and kindness of heart have secured for him popularity in every department of the army in which he served, and the obedience, respect, and affection of his men.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS H. EWING.

THOMAS H. EWING, the third son of Hon. Thomas Ewing, the distinguished statesman and politician, was born in Lancaster, Ohio, August 11, 1829. He received a liberal education; was graduated at Brown University, Rhode Island; and in March, 1855, at the Cincinnati Law School. At both institutions he ranked high, and he was generally believed to have inherited a large share of his father's ability.

In 1856 he removed from Ohio to Leavenworth, Kansas, where, with one of his brothers, and with his brother-in-law, then known as Captain Sherman, he began the practice of law. He was successful from the outset, and soon came to rank as the leading lawyer of the young State. He also became prominent in politics, and was accepted as one of the Republican leaders. He was chosen Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, and in this position he served for a period of two years.

On the 15th of September, 1862, he recruited and organized the Eleventh Regiment of Kansas Volunteer Infantry, of which he was appointed Colonel. He commanded his regiment in the battles of Fort Wayne and Cane Hill. At Prairie Grove he had risen to the command of a brigade, and for his gallant services in this battle he was promoted to be Brigadier-General of volunteers on the 11th of March, 1863.

In June, 1863, he was assigned to the command of the District of the Border, comprising all of Kansas and the western tier of counties in Missouri. He now began the work of exterminating the guerrilla bands which infested the border counties, and repressed, with a strong hand, the thieving expeditions, which, through every month of the preceeding summer, had desolated with impunity the villages of that unhappy region.

In March, 1864, the District of the Border was abolished by the creation of the Department of Kansas. By request of Major-General Rosecrans, then commanding the Department of Missouri, General Ewing was ordered to report to him, and was assigned to the command of the St. Louis District.

On the 24th of September, it having been ascertained that General Price had entered the State with a large force, General Ewing was ordered to the post at Pilot Knob, with instructions to hold it if possible against any mere detachments of the enemy, but to evacuate it if menaced by Price's whole army, known to be fifteen or twenty thousand strong.

At dawn on the morning of the 27th of September, he commenced one of the most stubborn, and, for the number engaged, one of the most sanguinary conflicts of the war. The enemy had entered the valley at Shut-in Gap, a narrow gorge in the mountain, four and a half miles south-east of Pilot Knob. The whole available force, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, garrisoning the post was one thousand and sixty effective men; six hundred of whom were raw troops scarcely organized. But the advantages of delaying the enemy a few days in his march northward, and of making a stubborn fight before retreating, seemed so great, even if the defense should be unsuccessful, that General Ewing resolved to stand fast and take the chances.

With his meager forces he immediately attacked the advancing columns of Price, and disputed every inch of ground between the gap and the fort. By two o'clock he had been forced into the works. By this time the enemy had massed two divisions on the mountain sides, with their artillery commanding the fort. The opening of the battery on the mountain was the signal for the assault, and with demoniac yells at least six thousand men precipitated themselves upon the fort. They were met with grape and canister from seven guns and an incessant fire of musketry The enemy wavered, broke, and fell back, leaving the ground strewn with their killed and wounded.

General Ewing had lost one-fourth of his available force. He felt assured that the enemy would rally, and as the fort was untenable, he resolved, hazardous as it was, to attempt a retreat. Accordingly at two o'clock in the morning he moved silently from the fort with his six field pieces, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and five hundred infantry. Two hours afterward the magazine exploded, a slow match having been applied when the troops left. He was hotly pursued by Shelby's and Marmaduke's commands, but he succeeded in keeping them at bay until he reached the south-west branch of the Pacific Railroad at Harrison—having marched sixty-six miles in thirty-nine hours, and maintained a spirited running fight for twenty miles.

At Harrison the General threw up rude defenses, got his guns in position during the night, and for three days kept at bay and repulsed several assaults made by an enemy ten times the number of his own. On the fourth day he was relieved by a force from Rolla, to which place he moved his diminished and exhausted command.

Thus closed a campaign of a week of stubborn fighting, on a comparatively small scale, but still rarely excelled during the war. General Ewing lost comparatively few men, and no guns nor munitions of war, save those destroyed at Pilot Knob. The enemy lost over one thousand five hundred men, and, more than all, lost their last hope of taking St. Louis.

In his official report of this campaign against Price in Missouri, General Rosecrans in expressing his thanks to his various subordinates, names General Ewing first, saying:

"General Ewing deserves special mention for military judgment, courage, and gallantry, in holding Pilot Knob till he had a certainty of the enemy's force, as well as for the manner in which he withdrew his troops to Rolla."

And in the preceding part of the report, General Rosecrans thus describes General Ewing's share in the campaign:

"General Ewing was sent to Pilot Knob with directions to use his utmost exertions to find out whether any more than Shelby's division of Price's army was in south-east Missouri, and to that end to hold Pilot Knob until he was certain. With a soldierly comprehension of the importance of his duties, while reporting the current rumors of the advance of Price with his whole force, he expressed his doubts, and held his position until the 27th, when he sustained a terrific assault in Fort Davidson, a small field-work in the valley, surrounded by hills within cannon range, which he held with about one thousand men, one-half raw troops—establishing beyond question the presence of all Prices's command in that quarter. He gloriously repulsed them, killing and wounding some fifteen hundred of the enemy, and lost only twenty-eight killed, and fifty-six wounded. Finding Marmaduke's and Fagens's Rebel divisions before him, and his position commanded by a numerically superior artillery, he acted on suggestions made when I was discussing with him the possibilities of the position. On the night of the 27th he spiked his heavy guns, blew up the magazine, ammunition, and supplies, and with the field battery and remains of his command, retreated through the hills toward the Meramee Valley, hoping to reach a point on the railroad whence he could move to St. Louis. But the enemy pursued him, harassed his rear on the march (which he directed along a ridge where the enemy could not flank him), and overtook him near Harrison's Station, where, seizing and extending the temporary defenses constructed by the militia, he displayed such vigor that, after harassing him for thirty-six hours, and making several attacks, on the approach of a detachment of Sanborn's cavalry, the Rebels left him and he escaped with all his command to Rolla."

General Ewing was brevetted Major-General for his conduct in this campaign. The war being practically ended, and no further active duties being required in that department, he resigned his commission on the 12th of March, 1865.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL EMERSON OPDYCKE.

EMERSON OPDYCKE was born in Trumbull County, Ohio, January 7th, 1830. He enlisted as a private on the 26th of July, 1861, in the Forty-First Ohio Infantry; but was made First-Lieutenant in August. He rapidly acquired a knowledge of military tactics, and in the winter of '61–2 he was detailed to instruct the officers of Hascall's brigade. His success attracted favorable notice, and in January, 1862, he was promoted to Captain. He acted as Major of the regiment at the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and when a charge was ordered he seized the colors, which were lying on the ground, the color-bearer having been shot, advanced a short distance, and commanded: "Forty-First Ohio, follow your colors!" The charge was made gallantly, and though Captain Opdycke received two wounds, he remained with the command and on duty

He served in Nelson's division through the Corinth campaign, and until he was ordered by Governor Tod to organize the One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Ohio Infantry He was at home upon this duty when Kirby Smith threatened Cincinnati, and at the request of his friends he took command of twelve hundred "Squirrel Hunters," and reported them for duty at Covington. He left the State at the head of a regiment well drilled and disciplined on the 3d of January, 1863. He moved southward through Nashville and Franklin, and was assigned to Harker's Brigade, Wood's Division, Twenty-First Corps, just previous to the opening of Rosecrans's campaign of 1863. He entered Chattanooga on the 9th of September, and was furiously engaged in the two day's battle of Chickamauga. Upon one occasion during the battle General Thomas said to Colonel Opdycke, in regard to a position which the regiment occupied: "This point must be held;" and the Colonel replied, more piously than is usual under such circumstances, "We will hold it, or go to Heaven from it." Colonel Opdycke was hit once, but was not seriously injured.

At the battle of Mission Ridge he commanded five regiments, and in the assault he had two horses disabled. His command captured seven pieces of artillery, a large number of small arms, and three hundred prisoners. He served next under General Sheridan in the East Tennessee campaign. On the 8th of May, 1864, he effected, by a feint, a lodgment upon Rocky Face Mountain. He planned and executed this movement himself. On the 14th of May he was

severely wounded at Resaca, and was taken to the rear; but he soon returned, and only retired with the regiment. He continued to serve with the troops, though suffering severely from his wound. He commanded the five regiments again at New Hope Church, Muddy Creek, Kenesaw Mountain, Peachtree Creek, and Atlanta, until August 6th, when he was assigned to the command of the First Brigade, Second Division, Fourth Corps. The brigade was engaged at Jonesboro' and Lovejoy's, after which the division returned to Chattanooga. The time was occupied with minor operations about Bridgeport, Resaca, Alpine, and Pulaski, until November 30th, when Opdycke's brigade was rear-guard for Schofield's army.

In the battle of Franklin, the brigade was posted across the Columbia Pike near Carter's house. The Colonel's orders were to act upon his own judgment, and to fight when and where he might be most needed. The Rebels massed heavily in front of Carter's Hill, and in the afternoon they captured the fortifications; as soon as the Colonel saw this he shouted with all his power: "First brigade, forward to the works!" The regiments charged grandly Bayonets were soon bloody, and muskets were clubbed in the furious encounter. Colonel Opdycke fired all the cartridges from his revolver, and broke the barrel by using it as a club. He then dismounted and fought with a musket like a common soldier. The contest was short; the Rebels were driven back; eight guns were retaken; four hundred Rebels and ten battle-flags were captured. The Rebel General Carter fell, mortally wounded, less than a hundred yards from where he was born; and General Pat. Cleburne fell dead, his horse resting on the National breastworks. At the battle of Nashville the brigade was again engaged, capturing three pieces of artillery, one battle-flag, and three hundred prisoners.

Colonel Opdycke was brevetted Brigadier-General, to date from February 7th, 1865. Some months later he received a brevet appointment as Major-General, to date from November 20th, 1864. This unusual promotion—antedating his brevet as Brigadier—was given for "important and gallant services at the battle of Franklin," and was understood to have been mainly due to the reception, from his immediate commander, of a recommendation for his appointment as Colonel in the regular service, bearing the following official indorsement from the model soldier of the American Army:

"Respectly forwarded, strongly and earnestly recommended. I agree in every particular with what Major-General Wood has said concerning Brevet Brigadier-General Opdycke, and I consider him one of the most intelligent and competent officers in the service. He is brave and gallant, and has distinguished himself on many of the battle-fields of the West, and has, by his zeal both in the organization and discipline of his troops, as well as by his heroism on the field, contributed much to secure the success which has so signally rewarded the obstinate and persistent battlings of this army. Knowing General Opdycke personally, and being fully informed and convinced of his abilities, I do most earnestly request that this appointment may be conferred upon him for his meritorious and gallant conduct in the past, and that his services may not be lost to the army in the future. I believe that in the increase or reorganization of the army it is sound policy to select or appoint only such officers as are of known integrity and ability, and on these grounds I ask for General Opdycke's appointment in the Army of the United States,

feeling assured that he will do nothing but that which shall reflect credit both on himself and the army.

[Signed] "GEORGE H. THOMAS,
"Major-General United States Army commanding."

Since his muster out General Opdycke has resided in New York. He is a man of rigidly temperate habits, having never drank half a glass of intoxicating liquors in his life, and having never used an ounce of tobacco in any form.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL WILLARD WARNER.

WILLARD WARNER was born in Granville, Licking County, Ohio, but upon the death of his mother, when he was five years old, he was placed under the care of an uncle in Muskingum County. He was graduated at Marietta College in 1845. He devoted himself to agriculture until 1849, when he went with a company of gold seekers to California. In 1852 he returned successful, the sole survivor of the company. He engaged in the grocery and commission business in Cincinnati, but in 1854 became secretary, treasurer, and manager of the Newark Machine Works.

At the commencement of the war he was active in raising recruits, and in December, 1861, he accepted a commission as Major of the Seventy-Sixth Ohio Infantry, having previously refused a higher position on the ground of inexperience. On the 9th of February, 1862, he left the State with his regiment for Fort Donelson, arriving in time for Saturday's fight and Sunday's surrender. He was with the regiment at Pittsburg Landing, siege of Corinth, Vicksburg, and Jackson campaigns, and at the capture of the steamer Fairplay He led the regiment from Vicksburg to Chattanooga, and through the battles of Lookout Mountain, Mission Ridge, and Ringgold. At the latter place, with two hundred men, he broke General Pat. Cleburne's lines strongly posted. In this battle Major Warner lost, in thirty minutes, one-third of his men, killed and wounded. He himself, though constantly exposed, escaped unhurt, but all bespattered with the blood of his fallen comrades. He received orders prior to these battles to go home on recruiting service, that he might be with his wife, who was, as the sequel proved, on her death-bed, but he refused to avail himself of his privileges until he had commanded the regiment through them all. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel on the 14th of December, 1863, and in April, 1864, was appointed by General Sherman Inspector-General on his

staff. He served in this capacity through the Atlanta campaign, and on the pursuit of Hood until Allatoona was reached, when he accepted the Colonelcy of one of the new regiments. General Sherman, upon relieving him from duty, thanked him in special orders for his zealous and intelligent service, and complimented him "on his good sense in preferring service with troops to staff duty"

Colonel Warner joined his new regiment at Decherd, Tennessee, and in January, 1865 was ordered to North Carolina. After the capture of Fort Fisher he participated in the engagement at Kingston, and upon the occupation of the capital of the "old North State" he was made Provost-Marshal of the city. After the surrender of Johnston's army he was placed in command of the post of Charlotte, North Carolina, and he continued in that position during the remainder of his term of service. Upon the recommendation of Generals Cox and Schofield, his corps and department commanders, he was brevetted Brigadier-General in July, 1865. Shortly after this he was mustered out of service, with the additional honor of Brevet Major-General, for "gallant and meritorious conduct during the war," to rank from March 13, 1865.

In the fall of 1865 he was chosen State Senator from the Sixteenth Senatorial District, and he soon proved himself as efficient in the council as in the field. He resumed his old residence at Newark.

MAJ. GEN. J. WARREN KEIFER
MAJ. GEN. CHAS. R. WOODS
MAJ. GEN. W. H. WOODS
BRIG. GEN. H. S. GORDON
MAJ. GEN. JOHN C. ROBINSON
MAJ. GEN. JOHN NEWTON
MAJ. GEN. HENRY B. CARRINGTON
BRIG. GEN. FRANK ASHER
BRIG. GEN. FRED W. MOORE
BRIG. GEN. M. R. WEBER

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES R. WOODS.

CHARLES R. WOODS is a native of Licking County, Ohio, and a graduate of West Point. On his completion of the regular course in that institution in July, 1852, he was appointed brevet Second-Lieutenant in the First Regiment Infantry.

At the opening of the rebellion he was assigned to duty as Quartermaster on General Patterson's staff. He was afterward assigned to General Banks's staff, and he continued to serve as Quartermaster until August, 1861, when he was assigned to the recruiting service at St. Louis. He remained there until the 3d of October, when he obtained a leave of absence with permission to raise a three years' regiment in Ohio.

On the 7th of October Governor Dennison appointed him Colonel of the Seventy-Sixth Infantry The Forty-Fourth had then its complement of men, and was lying in camp at Springfield. The Governor ordered Colonel Woods to take that regiment to the field. Accordingly he left Springfield October 14th, in command of the Forty-Fourth, and on the 18th he reached Camp Piatt in the Kanawha Valley He was relieved of the Forty-Fourth by Colonel Gilbert, and was ordered by General Rosecrans to take command of the Tenth Ohio Infantry, then without a field officer present. Under General Benham he participated in a chase after General Floyd, and on the 20th of November he returned to Newark to complete the organization of the Seventy-Sixth.

On the 9th of February, 1862, he proceeded with his regiment, by way of Cincinnati, Paducah, and Smithland to Fort Donelson. He landed on the 14th, and was assigned to Colonel Thayer's brigade of General Lew. Wallace's division. Colonel Woods was actively engaged on the 15th, the regiment losing sixteen men killed and wounded. On the 21st Colonel Wood was assigned to the command of a brigade consisting of the Fifty-Sixth, the Seventy-Sixth, and the Seventy-Eighth Ohio Regiments; the Twentieth Ohio was subsequently added to the brigade. On the 1st of March the brigade moved across the country to Metal Landing, on the Tennessee, and thence up the river to Crump's Landing. During the battle of Pittsburg Landing Colonel Whittlesey of the Twentieth Ohio, by virtue of seniority, commanded the brigade, and Colonel Woods was with this regiment. The brigade did not reach the field until the evening of the 6th of April, but on the morning of the 7th it went into action, and, though not closely engaged, it was exposed to a galling fire for nine hours. On the 25th of April Colonel Woods again assumed command of the brigade, and participated in the advance on Corinth. About the 1st of June he moved to Memphis; and on the 24th of July he left Memphis for Helena, to join the Army of the South-West.

On the 16th of August he moved down the Mississippi, in command of the Second Brigade of Osterhaus's division. At Milliken s Bend the gunboats captured a Rebel steamer loaded with arms and ammunition, and information was received that a Rebel regiment was encamped on shore. Colonel Woods landed his command, but the enemy fled. Pursuit was made, and fifty prisoners and one hundred and fifty guns were captured; in addition the telegraph line was destroyed, and a depot, containing a large amount of sugar and bacon, was burned. In October Colonel Woods was engaged in an expedition from Helena to Pilot Knob, and in December he moved with Sherman's forces against Vicksburg. He was present at the battle of Chickasaw Bayou, but was not actively engaged. In the engagement at Arkansas Post Colonel Woods's regiment suffered severely, losing sixty men in less than forty seconds. For gallant conduct in this action he was recommended by General Sherman for promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General.

On the 15th of January, 1863, Colonel Woods embarked his command on transports, and on the 23d arrived at Young's Point opposite Vicksburg. Here he remained until the 2d of April, when he moved up the river, and on the 2d of May commenced the march across the country to Grand Gulf. He was engaged in all the battles in the rear of Vicksburg, and from the time the brigade left Grand Gulf until the 23d of May it lost two hundred men, one hundred and eighty-five of whom were killed or wounded on the 22d of May. During the siege the brigade was posted on the extreme right of General Grant's army, near the river above Vicksburg. Colonel Woods laid out the trenches in his part of the line himself, having no engineer officer under his command.

On the 5th of July the Colonel moved his command toward Jackson, on the Bridgeport Road, by way of Bolton and Clinton. Upon reaching Jackson he took position in the second line of the Fifteenth Army Corps, and there remained for some days, sustaining slight loss. From Jackson the brigade made several expeditions; to Canton, to Messenger's Plantation, and again to Canton, finally going into camp for the summer at Big Black Bridge.

On the 22d of August Colonel Woods received his appointment as Brigadier-General, and his brigade was denominated the First Brigade, First Division, Fifteenth Army Corps. On the 23d of September the corps moved for Chattanooga, General Woods accompanying it. Upon reaching Chickasaw on the Tennessee River, the General assumed command of the division. Leaving this point the division, with a large ammunition and supply-train, averaged eighteen miles a day, and arrived at Brown's Ferry on the 23d of November. The pontoon bridge being broken down, the division reported to General Hooker, and was placed in his column.

General Woods commanded his brigade in the battle of Lookout Mountain, and its conduct was unexceptionable. It moved forward to the attack with an irresistible energy, and held every inch of ground with a bravery which foiled the enemy in all its attempts to dislodge it. It was also engaged at Mission Ridge, making captures of men, arms, and ammunition. The brigade held the advance in General Hooker's movement on Ringgold, and was hotly engaged

with the enemy posted in one of the mountain gaps. Some of the regiments fired one hundred cartridges per man, besides rifling the boxes of the killed and wounded. General Wood's brigade returned to Chattanooga on the 1st of December, and on the 3d it marched to Bridgeport; the march was continued to Woodville, where, in connection with the First Division of the Fifteenth Corps, the brigade acted as guard to the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

On the 1st of May, 1864, General Woods's command left Woodville, and marched by way of Bridgeport to Chattanooga. The troops pressed on through Snake Creek Gap, and about the 12th of May arrived near to Resaca. In the battle at that place General Woods handled his brigade with rare skill, and was highly complimented by his superior officers. He was next engaged at Dallas, and then again at Kenesaw; after which there was a series of fightings and flankings in which the General participated, until the occupation of Atlanta.

General Woods led his brigade through the Georgia campaign, and also the campaign of the Carolinas. At the close of the war he accompanied the army to Washington City, and participated in the grand review. On the 1st of July, 1865, by telegram from General Thomas, commanding at Nashville, he was assigned to the command of the Department of Alabama, with head-quarters at Mobile; where he remained through that and the ensuing year.

General Woods has participated in the following campaigns, skirmishes, sieges, and battles: Campaign of the Virginia Valley April, May, June, July, 1861; pursuit of Rebel forces in Kanawha Valley, November, 1861; battle of Fort Donelson; battle of Pittsburg Landing; siege of Corinth; expedition down the Mississippi, August, 1862; battle of Chickasaw Bayou; battle of Arkansas Post; Jackson, May 15, 1863; siege of Vicksburg and assault, May 22, 1863; siege of Jackson, July, 1863; skirmish at Canton, July, 1863; skirmish at Canton, July 17, 1863; skirmishes on Memphis and Charleston Railroad, near Cherokee Station and Tuscumbia, October, 1863; battle of Lookout Mountain; battle of Mission Ridge; battle of Ringgold. In the Atlanta campaign: Battle of Resaca; battle of Dallas; skirmishes near Kenesaw; siege of Atlanta and battles, 22d and 28th of July, 1864; battle of Jonesboro'; skirmish at Lovejoy's Station. In pursuit of Hood: Skirmishes at mouth of Octoba; Ship's Gap; Little River; and Turkeytown. Georgia campaign: Battle of Griswoldville; skirmish at Wright's Bridge; siege of Savannah. Campaign of the Carolinas: Skirmish at the Little Congaree; skirmish and capture of Columbia; and battle of Bentonville. During nearly five years of service General Woods was absent forty-seven days on leave; he was excused from duty on account of sickness ten days; and these constitute the sum of his absence. His command was never engaged in a skirmish or battle in which he also did not participate.

General Woods is portly in appearance, rather slow in movements and in conversation. He gives those who meet him the impression of a steady, solid, judicious, and trustworthy person, rather than one of special brilliancy. General Sherman once spoke of him as a "magnificent officer." Before the war his political sympathies were conservative and democratic.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL AUGUST V. KAUTZ.

GENERAL KAUTZ was born on the 5th of January, 1828, in the valley of Ispringen, near Potzheim, Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany. Six months after his birth his father emigrated to the United States, and after a residence of several years in Baltimore, Maryland, moved to Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio, and in 1844 to the Ohio River, near Ripley, where he still resides. The General is the oldest of a family of seven children. His father was a carpenter, and sustained his family by his trade until his removal from Georgetown, when he commenced the production of Catawba wine. From his eleventh to his fourteenth year the General was employed principally in the printing offices in Georgetown, and from his fifteenth to his eighteenth year he assisted his father at his trade and at farming.

In June, 1846, young Kautz enlisted as a private in company G, First Ohio Volunteers, Colonel Alex. M. Mitchell commanding. The company was raised under the patronage of Thomas L. Hamer, afterward Brigadier-General, and went to Mexico. The regiment was assigned to the First Volunteer Field Brigade, General Hamer commanding. Kautz, then only eighteen years old, served out his enlistment of twelve months, and was with his regiment at the battle of Monterey. In 1848 he was appointed a cadet at the West Point Military Academy by Jonathan D. Morris, then member of Congress from the Sixth Congressional District. In 1852 he graduated, and was appointed Brevet Second Lieutenant in the Fourth United States Infantry. He joined the regiment at Fort Vancouver, Oregon, in December, 1852, and served with it until the commencement of the rebellion. In the spring of 1853 he was ordered to Fort Steilacoom, on Puget Sound. In May of the same year he was sent down the sound in a boat to visit the Indians. After a month's absence, he returned and found that he had been promoted to be a full Second-Lieutenant, and had been ordered to join his company at Humboldt Bay, California.

He set out by land, in July, with a saddle-horse and a pack-horse. He crossed the mountains through the Nachess Pass, and was joined by two men who accompanied him to trade with the Indians. The greater portion of the distance to the Dalles, on the Columbia River, was made on foot, as one of the horses had given out and had to be abandoned. This region was at that time unexplored. At the Dalles he procured another horse, recrossed the mountains by the Emigrant Road, and came into Fort Vancouver at the time that an outbreak among the Rogue River Indians occurred, and a piece of artillery was called for by Captain Aldens. The distance was nearly four hundred miles, but

Kautz was dispatched with a sergeant and a twelve-pounder brass field howitzer and caisson. The march was made in thirteen days, which was a remarkably short time, considering the condition of the roads and the mountainous country over which he passed. When he reached Rogue River an engagement had taken place, and the Indians had agreed to treat. Lieutenant Kautz remained a few weeks, and then continued his journey to San Francisco, where he arrived in October.

At San Francisco he received orders to report to Fort Oxford, which is situated on the Oregon coast near the California line, and he remained in command of this post until January, 1856. Lieutenant Kautz's term of service at this post was a continuous series of interesting adventures. On the 25th of October, 1855, while making a reconnoissance through the Coast Range of mountains, from Fort Oxford to Fort Lane with forty men, he encountered a large force of hostile Indians. In an engagement with these Indians, Kautz lost two men and all his equipments, and narrowly escaped with his life. He was hit with a heavy rifle ball in his right side, and it was only prevented from proving fatal by striking a memorandum book in his breast pocket.

In December, 1855, he was promoted to a First-Lieutenant, and joined his company at Fort Steilacoom in the latter part of February, 1856, in time to take part in an expedition against the Indians, under Lieutenant-Colonel Casey, Ninth Infantry, in which he was wounded again in an engagement on White River, Washington Territory. He served as Quartermaster at Fort Steilacoom until October, 1858, when he was ordered to the North-Western Boundary Commission. In the spring of 1859 Lieutenant Kautz received a leave of absence, which was extended for a year, and during that time he visited Europe and spent the most of his leave on the Continent. Upon his return to the United States he was ordered immediately to accompany an expedition to convey recruits to Washington Territory He joined his company at Fort Cheholis, on Gray's Harbor, Washington Territory, in December, 1860.

In May, 1861, he was detailed on recruiting service for his regiment, and arrived in New York a week after the battle of Bull Run. In the meantime he had been appointed Captain in the Sixth Cavalry, and he joined the regiment at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. The organization of the regiment was completed at Washington City during the winter of 1861–2, and it made the campaign with the Army of the Potomac on the peninsula. Just before the seven days' fighting Kautz succeeded to the command of the regiment, and continued in command of it until the following September, when he was appointed Colonel of the Second Ohio Cavalry. He joined the regiment at Fort Scott, Kansas in October, and soon after his arrival procured an order for the regiment to return to Ohio to refit and remount. The winter of 1862–3 was spent in reorganizing, and in April, 1863, Kautz proceeded with the regiment to Kentucky. During the spring and summer he participated in several sharp engagements at and near Monticello, and a part of the time commanded a brigade composed of the Second and Seventh Ohio Cavalry. He was in the pursuit of John Morgan through Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio and Morgan's defeat at Buffington Island

was due, in a great measure, to his judicious attack. Upon returning to Kentucky, Kautz was appointed Chief of Cavalry of the Twenty-Third Corps, and served in that capacity through Burnside's campaign in East Tennessee and through the siege of Knoxville. In January, 1864, he was ordered to take charge of the organization of the East Tennessee recruits at Camp Nelson, Kentucky; but, before he could enter upon his work at Camp Nelson, he was ordered to Washington City for duty in the Cavalry Bureau, where he remained until just previous to the great campaign of that year against Richmond, when he was commissioned a Brigadier-General and ordered to the Army of the James.

He took command of the cavalry of that army at Portsmouth, Virginia, in the latter part of April. His force consisted of about two thousand eight hundred men. On the 5th of May he set out to cut the Weldon and Petersburg Railroad, and on the 7th he struck the road at Stony Creek Station, captured the guard and burned the bridge, water-tank and buildings. The next day he burned the Notaway Bridge, destroyed the next station south and captured more prisoners; amounting, with those taken the day previous, to one hundred and forty. He arrived with his prisoners at City Point on the 10th, his expedition having proved entirely successful. On the 11th of May he crossed over to Bermuda Hundred, and on the 12th started again and struck the Richmond and Danville Road at Coal Fields, ten miles west of Richmond; he destroyed the station, and also Powhatan and Chula stations. He then crossed over to the South Side Road and destroyed Wilson, Mellville, and Black's and White's Stations, and returned to City Point by way of Jarratt's Station. This expedition was as successful as the first. On the 9th of June General Butler planned an expedition to surprise Petersburg. General Gillmore, commanding the principal force, was to make a demonstration and occupy the enemy while General Kautz, with his cavalry force, about thirteen hundred strong, was to force the intrenchment at some undefended point. General Kautz succeeded in carrying the fortifications on the Jerusalem Plank Road, and penetrated to the town; but for want of proper support he found it necessary to withdraw On the 15th of June General W F. Smith made a similar co-operative movement with Kautz, with the difference that Smith was to make the actual attack and Kautz the demonstration. The result was the capture of two miles of the Rebel works by General Smith. On the 21st of June an expedition under General Wilson, composed of his own and Kautz's division, started to destroy the Petersburg and Lynchburg, and the Richmond and Danville Railroads. The expedition was successful in destroying the railroads, but in returning it narrowly escaped capture at Ream's Station. The main part of the force escaped, but the artillery and a few baggage wagons and ambulances, with the sick and wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy Kautz, trusting to his woodcraft, struck across the country, ignoring roads, and slept within the National lines that night. Wilson, taking a more circuitous route, did not get in until the third day. During this raid General Kautz was engaged, sharply, at Roanoke Bridge and at Ream's Station.

During the summer of 1864 General Kautz served alternately with the

Army of the James and the Army of the Potomac. He participated in the movement by the right under General Hancock, and during August and the greater portion of September he picketed the rear of the Army of the Potomac, from the James River to the left. On the 29th of September he joined in the movement that resulted in the capture of Fort Harrison, at Chapin's Farm. He made a demonstration along the interior line of the enemy's intrenchments in front of Richmond, and penetrated nearer to the city than any National troops had ever gone, except as prisoners. After the capture of Chapin's Farm, General Kautz, with his cavalry, was intrusted with the protection of the right flank of the Army of the James. His head-quarters were at Darleytown, and his pickets extended to the Charles City Road. The position was an unfortunate one, as there was a swamp in the rear of the command, and only one indifferent road through it. General Kautz reported to his superior the error in the position, but received no authority to change it; he therefore strengthened himself as best he could. On the night of the 6th of October two refugees from Richmond brought him intelligence which convinced him that he would be attacked in the morning. He reported the facts to superior head-quarters, and prepared his own command for battle. Before daylight, on the morning of the 7th, the enemy appeared in force. In the meantime Kautz had received no instructions. Two divisions of infantry, perhaps numbering six thousand men, attacked his extended line, imperfectly protected and only fifteen hundred strong; and one-fourth of these were required to hold the horses, while the remaining three-fourths dismounted and fought with carbines. The Rebel cavalry, quite as strong as his own, turned his right flank and placed themselves between Kautz and the Army of the James, only two miles away. General Kautz held his ground until eight o'clock, A. M., and then fell back through the Rebel cavalry. This obstinate resistance gave the Army of the James time to prepare for defense, and the Rebels were repulsed with heavy loss. A few days after this General Kautz was brevetted a Major-General of Volunteers.

On the 13th of October General Kautz participated in a reconnoissance, under General Terry, in which the forces engaged sustained a heavy loss. During the winter General Kautz, with his cavalry division, guarded the right flank of the Army of the James. On the 10th of December the enemy made a reconnoissance down the Darleytown Road; but the position taken by the cavalry was fortified so strongly that the Rebels did not reach the intrenchments occupied by the infantry. General Kautz devoted himself to the preparation of his cavalry for the spring campaign; and, notwithstanding the scarcity of forage, the command was reported by the Inspectors to be in fine condition; but in March, 1865, he was relieved from the cavalry division, and assigned the command of the First Division of the Twenty Fifth Corps. The division was composed entirely of colored troops, and had an actual strength of about seven thousand men. On the 3d of April Kautz marched into Richmond under Weitzel, and remained, in command of his division, in the vicinity of Richmond and Petersburg until May, when he was ordered to Washington City, as a member of the Military Commission that convened for the trial of the assassins of Presi-

dent Lincoln. When the commission was dissolved he proceeded to his home, and remained until an order was issued in January, 1866, mustering out all general officers of the volunteer service. He subsequently served on General Sheridan's staff as Acting Judge-Advocate of the Military Division of the Gulf.

Among General Kautz's classmates from Ohio were Generals Sheridan, Crook, Stanley, C. R. Woods, and McCook. These were all the Ohioans of the class that were alive at the time of the rebellion, and all were Major-Generals or Brevet Major-Generals in the National army General Kautz was married on September 14, 1865, to Miss Charlotte Tod, eldest daughter of ex-Governor Tod. During the war he prepared the following works on military administration: The Company Clerk; Customs of Service for Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers, and Customs of Service for Officers of the Army The first was very successful, the second was issued near the close of the war, and the latter has been issued since the war has closed.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

RUTHERFORD B HAYES was born at Delaware, Ohio, on the 4th of October, 1822. After a good preliminary education, he began the study of law in the office of Thomas Sparrow, Esq., of Columbus. With the liberal preparation here received he entered the Law School of Harvard College, where he completed the regular course and graduated with credit.

For some years prior to the outbreak of the rebellion he had been practicing his profession in Cincinnati. His genial manners and his fine capacities as a public speaker had commended him to popular favor, and he had more than once been elevated to responsible official positions. As city solicitor he had enlarged his reputation as a lawyer, and established himself in the confidence both of the profession and of his increasing numbers of clients.

At the first call for volunteers in 1861 he was in the prime of life (entered upon his thirty-ninth year) and in the height of a successful practice. He proffered his services, however, at once, and was appointed Major of the Twenty-Third Ohio Infantry on the 7th of June, 1861. He served under General Rosecrans in West Virginia during the summer and fall of 1861, and for a short time was Judge-Advocate on the General's staff. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel on the 4th of November, 1861. He took command of the Twenty-Third Regiment, and continued to command it during the spring campaign in West Virginia, and the autumn campaign under General McClellan, until he was disabled at the battle of South Mountain. He was appointed Colonel of the Seventy-Ninth Ohio in 1862, but was prevented by the South-Mountain wound from joining the regiment; and on the 15th of October, of the same year, he was promoted to the Colonelcy of the Twenty-Third. On the 25th of December, 1862,

Colonel Hayes was placed in command of the First Brigade of the Kanawha division, and he continued in this position until Sheridan's victory at Winchester, in September, 1864, when he took command of the Kanawha division, and led it through the remainder of the active campaigning in that year.

In the battle of Winchester Colonel Hayes was leading his brigade in a charge, when suddenly they came upon a morass some sixty yards wide; the water was waist deep, and in some places overgrown with heavy moss almost strong enough to bear the weight of a man, while the bottom was soft and miry. This seemed an impassable obstacle, and the whole line hesitated. But there was no hesitation on the part of Colonel Hayes. He immediately spurred his horse into the slough under a brisk fire of artillery and musketry. When about half way across the horse mired hopelessly, and then the Colonel dismounted and waded out, being the first man across. All through the action he was exposed continually; men fell all around him; and his Adjutant-General was shot at his very side.*

In October, 1864, Colonel Hayes was appointed Brigadier-General, "for gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek," to take rank from the 19th of October—the date of the battle of Cedar Creek. In the spring of 1865 he was given the command of an expedition against Lynchburg, by way of the mountains of West Virginia, and was engaged in preparations for that campaign when the war closed.

General Hayes was brevetted Major-General at the close of the war for gallant and distinguished services during the campaign of 1864, in West Virginia, particularly at the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, to date from March 13, 1865. He was engaged in much severe service, and he participated in many battles. He had three horses shot under him, and was wounded four times, once very severely.

Before the close of the war he had been elected to Congress from the Second Cincinnati District by a handsome majority, and in 1866 he was re-elected. Although a fine speaker, he preferred not to add to the multitude of words which in Congress so often darken counsel, and in three sessions he did not make a single elaborate speech. His action, however, was uniformly in the line of policy of the Republican party, by which he had been elected; and his fidelity and sound judgment were greatly relied on by his fellow-members.

At the Republican State Convention, in 1867, he was nominated by a handsome majority—almost indeed, spontaneously,—for the Governorship of the State, to succeed Governor Cox. He thereupon resigned his seat in Congress, and entered actively upon the canvass. The contest was complicated by the negro-suffrage question, the bond question, and other matters, which loaded down the ticket with an unpopular platform. General Hayes was, however, elected by a majority of about three thousand; and was all the more highly esteemed at the close of the campaign, by reason of his handsome bearing throughout it.

* For a fuller account of his brilliant conduct in this and the other Shenandoah battles, see the sketch of his regiment, Twenty-Third Infantry, in Vol. II.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES C. WALCUTT.

CHARLES C WALCUTT was born in Columbus, Ohio, February 12th, 1838. He attended the public schools of his native city until 1854, when he was sent to the Kentucky Military Institute, near Frankfort, Kentucky, where he graduated in 1858. Before the opening of the rebellion he took much interest in the State militia, and commanded a volunteer company in Columbus, called the Videttes. This company subsequently furnished several valuable officers to the army After graduating, his intention was to become a civil engineer; but, on the 15th of April, 1861, three days after the fire on Fort Sumter, he commenced recruiting a company, and on the 17th its organization was complete. Governor Dennison being aware of young Walcutt's military knowledge, appointed him Inspector, with the rank of Major, and assigned him to duty with Brigadier-General Chas. W. Hill, in West Virginia.

On the 8th of August, 1861, he was appointed Major of the Forty-Sixth Ohio; but, before the regiment was ready for the field, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel. In February, 1862, he joined General Sherman at Paducah, and in March he moved with the fleet up the Tennessee. On the first day of the battle of Pittsburg Landing Lieutenant-Colonel Walcutt was wounded severely by a ball in the left shoulder. He was disabled for sixty days, and the ball still remains in his shoulder.

On the 16th of September, 1862, he was made Colonel of the regiment. He participated in the campaign under General Grant into Central Mississippi, and was engaged frequently in raiding in Northern Mississippi, his command being mounted. He was ordered to Vicksburg on the 1st of June, 1863, but at the time of the surrender he was operating against General Johnston, and he subsequently participated in the capture of Jackson. Colonel Walcutt's regiment was attached to the Second Brigade, Fourth Division, Fifteenth Army Corps, and in September he moved with the corps to the relief of Chattanooga. At the battle of Mission Ridge the brigade, under General Corse, assaulted the enemy's works on the 24th and 25th of November. The most severe assault was on the 25th, in which General Corse was wounded, and the command of the brigade fell into the hands of Colonel Walcutt. In his official report General Sherman said: "The fight raged furiously about ten A. M., when General Corse received a severe wound and was brought off the field, and the command of the brigade, and of the assault at that key-point, devolved upon that fine, young, gallant officer, Colonel Walcutt, of the Forty-Sixth Ohio, who filled his part manfully. He continued the contest, pressing forward at all points." Colonel Walcutt's brigade shared in the pursuit of the Rebels from Mission Ridge, and then marched for the relief of Knoxville. Upon its return it went into winter-quarters in Northern Alabama.

On the 5th of January, 1864, the entire brigade re-enlisted. This action

was owing largely to the influence of Colonel Walcutt, and he looks upon it with more pride than upon any battle in which he was ever engaged. Upon the expiration of the veteran furlough the brigade entered upon the Atlanta campaign. It participated in all the general engagements, and, in addition, had several affairs of its own—at Resaca and Dallas, and at New Hope Church on the 15th of June, where it captured four hundred prisoners. On the 27th of June, though almost worn out with incessant marching, digging, and fighting, it was one of the brigades specially detailed to make the assault on Kenesaw. On the 22d of July, before Atlanta, the day upon which General McPherson was killed, the brigade performed most gallant service. Not once during that terrific struggle did it become disorganized, and Colonel Walcutt was assured that his pertinacious fighting did much toward preventing disaster. The men fought to the front, flank, and rear; and at one time Colonel Walcutt was ordered to retire, as he was almost completely surrounded; but, feeling confident of holding his position, he disobeyed the order, and, as he was successful in his efforts, his disobedience cost him nothing. On the 28th the brigade was again engaged, if possible, more severely than on the 22d; and on the 30th Colonel Walcutt was appointed Brigadier-General. The brigade was engaged at Jonesboro' and Lovejoy; and thus ended the Atlanta campaign, which had been to Walcutt's brigade a continuous battle.

The brigade was next engaged in the chase after Hood, whom it followed into Northern Alabama, and then returned to Atlanta in time to join "the march to the sea." On this campaign General Walcutt's brigade fought the only considerable battle that occurred. General Wood's division, to which the brigade belonged, was lying midway between Gordon's and Griswold's Stations, on the Georgia Central Railroad. General Walcutt was ordered to make a demonstration toward Macon. During the morning he engaged Wheeler's cavalry and routed them; but about noon he was attacked by the Georgia militia, under General Phillips, the force consisting of three brigades, two independent battalions, and a full battery of artillery, in all from eight to ten thousand men. General Walcutt had thirteen hundred muskets and two pieces of artillery; but, nothing daunted, he stood his ground and made it a day long to be remembered by the Georgia militia. General Howard, in his congratulatory letter, estimated the Rebel loss at from fifteen hundred to two thousand; the National loss did not exceed eighty. In this affair General Walcutt was disabled by a shell-wound in the right leg, and, upon reaching Savannah, he left for his home in Ohio.

"For special gallantry at the battle of Griswoldsville," Brigadier-General Walcutt was made Major-General by brevet; and, upon recovering from his wound, he reported for duty, and was assigned to the command of the First Division, Fourteenth Army Corps. He participated in the subsequent movements of Sherman's army, and in the review at Washington City; after which he took the Western regiments in his division to Louisville, Kentucky. By the 1st of August, 1865, they were all mustered out, and General Walcutt was then transferred to the Department of the Missouri. He was mustered out of the service January 15, 1866, having served four years and nine months.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL KENNER GARRARD.

KENNER GARRARD is grandson, on the maternal side, of Israel Ludlow, of New Jersey, one of the founders and original proprietors of Cincinnati. His mother—Miss Sarah Bella Ludlow—first married the father of the present sketch, Jeptha Garrard, Esq., long since deceased. After remaining some time a widow, Mrs. Garrard married, about twenty years ago, the late Judge McLean, of the United States Supreme Court. Kenner Garrard was born in Kentucky, during a temporary visit of his mother to that State. He entered West Point Military Academy as cadet from Cincinnati in the year 1847. In July, 1851, he graduated, and was enrolled in the United States service as Brevet Second-Lieutenant, Fourth Artillery.

At the commencement of the rebellion he was a Captain in the Second United States Cavalry. He was on duty in Texas, and, with a number of other officers stationed in San Antonio, was seized and held as a prisoner of war by the Rebels. He was released and allowed to go North on a parole, which permitted him to perform military duty out of the field. He was accordingly on duty, first in the War Department, and afterward as commandant of the Corps of Cadets at the Military Academy. He was exchanged in September, 1862.

He was immediately appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Forty-Sixth New York, and he served with that regiment in the Second Division, Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac; participating in the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. For gallantry in the battle of Gettysburg he was made Brigadier-General of Volunteers on the 23d of July, 1863. He still continued to serve with the Fifth Corps, and was engaged in the battles of Rappahannock Station and Mine River. In January, 1864, General Garrard was placed in charge of the Cavalry Bureau of the War Department; but in the same month, at his own request, he was relieved and ordered to the field.

In February General Garrard was assigned to the command of the Second Cavalry Division, Army of the Cumberland. He commanded this division on the Atlanta campaign, having the entire care of one of the flanks of General Sherman's army, and performing much other duty pertaining to the cavalry arm. He thus rendered very signal service during the operations which resulted in the capture of Atlanta. In November, at his own request, he was relieved from the cavalry service and assigned to the command of the Second Division, Sixteenth Army Corps. He commanded the division in the battle of Nashville, and was brevetted a Major-General "for conspicuous efficiency and gallantry on the field of battle before Nashville, December 15th and 16th, 1864.

General Garrard was engaged in the Mobile campaign, and his division was especially distinguished in the assault on Fort Blakely. He remained in command of his division until he was mustered-out of the volunteer service.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH EWING.

HUGH EWING is the son of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Lancaster, Ohio, brother to General Thomas H. Ewing, and brother-in-law to General W T. Sherman. He fitted himself for the practice of the law, and was engaged in that profession upon the breaking out of the rebellion. On the 6th of May, 1861, he received from Governor Dennison the appointment of "Brigade Inspector of the Third Brigade, Ohio militia," with the rank of Major, and was engaged at Camp Dennison in drilling the troops, instructing officers and men in guard, patrol, and police duties, inspection of companies, regiments, hospitals, commissary and quartermaster departments, and in re-enlisting troops for the three years' service, until the 21st of June, when he moved with General Schleich's brigade to join General McClellan's army at Buckhannon, West Virginia. He participated in the battle of Rich Mountain; after which, on the 13th of August, he was mustered out as Brigade Inspector on the expiration of his term of service. On the following day he was appointed Colonel of the Thirtieth Ohio Infantry, of which he assumed command on the 15th. Soon after he moved with his regiment to West Virginia, where he joined the army of General Rosecrans at Sutton on the 5th of September. On the night of the 10th, after a brisk engagement with the enemy at Carnifex Ferry, Colonel Ewing was ordered to picket the front. He did so, and in the morning, hearing that the enemy had evacuated, he was ordered by General Rosecrans to verify the report. He went with a company into the enemy's works and captured a picket-guard of fifteen men, together with the colors of Floyd's brigade. After some marches to Sewell and Cotton Mountains in pursuit of the enemy, Colonel Ewing was placed in command of the post at Fayette.

During the winter of 1861–62 he was ordered to Washington to procure arms and to effect other arrangements for the good of the service in General Rosecrans's Department. While there he was appointed by General McClellan President of an Examining Board to pass on the qualifications of army officers. At his request he was relieved in February and returned to Fayette, where he was detailed as President of a Court-Martial and also of a Military Commission which convened at Charleston. In March following he moved under General Cox's command toward Dublin Depot, but was obliged to fall back, with the loss of baggage and trains, to Flat Top Mountain, where he remained until the 15th of August, when the troops of General Cox's division were hurried to Washington, *via* Parkersburg. Moving through Washington and out to New Market, thence to Frederick and to Middleton, where he reached the enemy's position.

On the 14th of September he commanded his regiment in the battle of South Mountain, where he was engaged at the point where Major-General Reno, commanding the Ninth Army Corps, fell. Here he executed the difficult maneuver, under fire, of changing front forward on tenth company to charge a battery on his left, and then, finding a large force on his right, he reversed his position by changing front to rear on the same company, and presented his front before the enemy delivered fire. In the final charge on that day his regiment was in the front line. At midnight, after the battle, he received an order assigning him to the command of the First Brigade, and here his connection with his regiment ended.

At the battle of Antietam he commanded a brigade at the extreme left, which, according to General Burnside's report, after General Rodman had been driven back "by a change of front and rear on his right flank, saved the left from being completely driven in." In General Cox's order, issued after this battle, Colonel Ewing was favorably mentioned "for energy and skillful bravery.

Colonel Ewing took his first "sick leave" after this battle, and on the 23d of October following, the Kanawha division having been ordered back to West Virginia, he re-assumed command of his brigade. In November he placed his command in winter-quarters. On the 29th of the same month he received the appointment of Brigadier-General of volunteers, having been recommended for promotion by Generals Schenck and Rosecrans in January, and by General Burnside after the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. A month after he was ordered to report at Cincinnati in command of the Thirtieth, Thirty-Seventh, and Forty-Seventh Ohio, and the Fourth Virginia Infantry. Subsequently he received orders assigning him to General Sherman's command, which he joined as it was coming back from the capture of Arkansas Post. He returned to Vicksburg and aided in the widening of one of the canals undertaken about that city.

General Ewing, while lying in front of Vicksburg, combated the influence of disloyal newspapers which were sent to his camp, by causing them to be taken from the venders and burned. He also broke up the sale of bad whisky to the soldiers, by confiscating the liquor and arresting the dealers. The vending of cigars and groceries by the soldiers, which he considered a demoralizing custom, he cured in like manner, but he acknowledged his inability to check the vice of gambling. In spite of the confiscation of money and the tying up of the offenders, it always happened that hundreds of soldiers were foolish enough to be swindled out of the money which they should have remitted to their friends at home.

After the successful running of the batteries, and the passage of a portion of the troops below Vicksburg, General Ewing was employed in forwarding supplies. He participated in the demonstration on Haines's Bluff, and after the march to the rear of Vicksburg, joined the main body on the 18th of May, having had in his charge the supplies, which he safely conveyed a distance of ninety miles in three days.

His command was engaged in an unsuccessful assault on the enemy's works on the 19th, and again on the 22d of May. After this he held the advanced position gained on the 22d, called Battery Sherman, and was engaged in constructing such works as the nature of the siege operations required. Everything was in readiness for the final assault when the welcome news of the surrender of Vicksburg came, and the troops were permitted to celebrate the 4th of July within the enemy's captured stronghold.

General Ewing moved with the army in the pursuit of Johnston, and participated in the attack on the enemy at Jackson, Mississippi. After the evacuation he was placed in command of the Capital, and made efforts, not altogether successful, to stop the pillaging of the soldiers among the State records. On the 21st of July he relinquished the command of his brigade by order of General Sherman, and was assigned to the command of the Fourth Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps, composed of four brigades, then commanded by Colonels Hicks, Cockerill, Loomis, and Sanford. With this command he returned to the vicinity of Vicksburg on the 25th of July. On the 11th of August he was appointed president of a board to award inscriptions on banners in the Fifteenth Army Corps. At the close of this duty, on the 1st of September, he received a a second leave of absence for twenty days. In October following he moved with his command *via* Memphis and Corinth, to Florence, Alabama, and thence to join the forces at Chattanooga. On the 11th of October General Ewing was with General Sherman when he was attacked at Colliersville, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, by a heavy force of infantry and artillery under the Rebel General Chalmers, and where, by the splendid action of the troops under Colonel Anthony, of the Sixty-Sixth Indiana, and of General Sherman's bodyguard of two hundred men from the Fifteenth United States Infantry, this formidable body was put to flight.

After reaching the vicinity of Chattanooga, he made a demonstration on Bragg's left by way of the Lookout Valley. Afterward he returned, and in the final movement resulting in the victory of Mission Ridge, his command participated with General Sherman's forces, operating against the enemy's right. The loss of his division in this battle was eight hundred in killed and wounded.

General Ewing went in pursuit of Bragg as far as Greyville, Georgia, and then turned on the march to the relief of Knoxville. In this memorable movement the men of his command re-enacted the often-mentioned blood-tracked march of the Revolutionary army. At Mission Ridge they had been compelled to cast away overcoats and blankets, and as the quartermasters' stores could not replace them, nor furnish shoes, many of the men left on the frozen ground the stains of blood from their shoeless feet; and then, at night, unable to lie down and sleep, stood or walked about their fires to keep warm.

Returning to Scottsboro', Alabama, after this extraordinary march, the command went into winter-quarters. Here General Ewing had the satisfaction of seeing his command, notwithstanding the hardships they had just endured, roused to the utmost pitch of enthusiasm on the subject of re-enlisting as veterans under the order of the War Department. Nearly every man in his com-

mand re-enlisted. The mustering in and furloughing of these men occupied the month of January, 1864, and on the 5th of February General Ewing received another leave of absence. This severed his connection with his division, for at the same time he was tendered the command of the District of Louisville, which he accepted.

This position he retained until February, 1865, when he applied for assignment to duty in the field. His request was granted, and he was assigned to a command in the army of General Sherman, but before he could join the army the war ended. He was then appointed President of a Court-Martial in Washington City, in which service he continued until in the latter part of 1865. He was brevetted Major-General "for meritorious services during the war," to date from March 13, 1865. On the 15th of January, 1866, he was mustered out of the service.

General Ewing then received the appointment of American Minister resident at the Hague, and shortly afterward entered upon the duties of that office.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL SAMUEL BEATTY.

SAMUEL BEATTY was chosen Colonel of the Nineteenth Ohio Three Months' Regiment, one of the foremost of the State militia regiments to enter upon active service in West Virginia. At the battle of Rich Mountain, under the eye of General Rosecrans, he led his raw command so satisfactorily as to secure for it, in the official report, the remark that "the Nineteenth distinguished itself for the cool and handsome manner in which it held its post against a flank attack, and for the manner in which it came into line and delivered its fire near the close of the action."

Under his auspices the regiment re-enlisted for three years, and by the middle of November he led it into the field in Kentucky. In the battle of Pittsburg Landing he again behaved so as to secure complimentary mention in the official reports. By the close of November, 1862, he had so risen in the confidence of his superiors as to secure through their aid a commission as Brigadier-General. At the battle of Stone River his brigade was to have formed part of the turning column that was to cross Stone River and enter Murfreesboro'; but the disaster to the right recalled it, and General Beatty got his men into position in time to be led in a charge by Rosecrans himself. Beatty was here again commended for handsome conduct. He passed through Chickamauga, and the march to the relief of Knoxville, and the advance on Atlanta; and, finally, returning in the old Army of the Cumberland to confront Hood, he so bore himself in the actions that ensued as to receive (on 13th March, 1865) the brevet of "Major-General for gallant and meritorious services in the battles before Nashville, Tennessee."

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES S. ROBINSON.

JAMES S. ROBINSON was born near Mansfield, Ohio, on the 14th of October, 1828. At the breaking out of the rebellion he entered the service as a private in the Fourth Ohio Infantry. He was chosen First Lieutenant of his company, and was soon after promoted to Captain. He accompanied his regiment to West Virginia in June, 1861, and participated in the Rich Mountain campaign. In October Captain Robinson was appointed Major of the Eighty-Second Ohio. He assisted in organizing the regiment at Camp Simon Kenton, at the town of Kenton, and in February, 1862, he moved with it into West Virginia. He served in the Shenandoah Valley campaign under Fremont; in General Pope's campaign, including the second battle of Bull Run; in the Chancellorsville campaign; in the Gettysburg campaign; in the Atlanta campaign; in the Georgia campaign; and in the campaign of the Carolinas; terminating in the march to Washington City, and the grand review. He has participated in the following battles: Rich Mountain, Cross Keys, second Bull Run, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg (in which he was severely wounded), Resaca, Dallas, New Hope Church, Culp's Farm, Peachtree Creek, Averyboro', and Bentonville.

He commanded the Third Brigade, First Division, Twentieth Corps, from the 1st of May, 1864, until the dissolution of the corps at Washington City in June, 1865. He was recommended for promotion while a Colonel, for the manner in which he handled his brigade at Resaca, New Hope Church, and Peachtree Creek. At the place first mentioned, when one division of the Fourth Corps had been routed, Colonel Robinson brought up his brigade on the double-quick, and by a few well-directed volleys checked the enemy and prevented the capture of an Indiana battery. When the Secretary of War visited the army after the capture of Savannah, it was decided to appoint one Brigadier-General from each of the corps, and Colonel Robinson was appointed from the Twentieth.

General Robinson was a private, April 17, 1861; First Lieutenant, April 18, 1861; a Captain, April 27, 1861; a Major, October 26, 1861; a Lieutenant-Colonel, April, 1862; a Colonel, August 29, 1862; a brevet Brigadier-General, December 12, 1864; a Brigadier-General, January 12, 1865; and a brevet Major-General, March 13, 1865.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN KEIFER.

JOSEPH WARREN KEIFER was born in Clark County, Ohio, on the 30th of January, 1826. For more than twenty years he labored upon a farm, within a few miles of Springfield, and, with a fair common-school education, and one term at Antioch College for a basis, he commenced the study of law in the office of Charles Anthony, Esq., on the 2d of October, 1856. He was not a brilliant, but he was a diligent student; and, having mastered well his profession, he was admitted to the bar on the 3d of January, 1858. He opened an office in Springfield and, though brought into competition with such men as Samuel Shellabarger, Sampson Mason, and Charles Anthony, from the very first week he entered upon a paying practice.

President Lincoln's first call for troops found the young lawyer enjoying a lucrative practice; but he closed his office, hastened to Columbus, and, just twelve days after the issuing of the call, was chosen Major of the Third Ohio Infantry. The Third was organized, originally, as a three months' regiment; but it was reorganized at Camp Dennison, on the 12th of June, 1861, for three years, and Keifer was again chosen Major. The regiment was ordered to West Virginia, and participated in the series of operations culminating in the victory at Rich Mountain. For his conduct at Rich Mountain, on the 11th of July, and at Cheat Mountain and Elkwater, on the 12th and 13th of September, Major Keifer received the commendations of his superior officers. His energy and practical good sense recommended him to the General commanding. General Reynolds said of him, that "there was not a cow-path in all that region with which he was not thoroughly acquainted."

On the 19th of November the Third Ohio was ordered to Kentucky to form part of the Army of the Ohio, then organizing under General Buell. It was assigned to the Third Division, commanded by General O. M. Mitchel. On the 12th of February, 1862, while on the march from Bacon Creek, Major Keifer was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of his regiment. He moved with the army to Nashville, and in General Mitchel's brilliant campaign to Huntsville, and along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad he bore a conspicuous part. On the 1st of May he led a small party of soldiers across the Tennessee from Bridgeport, marched up the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, captured a quantity of provisions, burned a number of cars at Shell Mound, destroyed the saltpeter works at Nicojack, and returned safely, although the Rebel General Leadbetter was then in Chattanooga with three thousand five hundred men. Lieutenant-Colonel Keifer continued with his regiment until Buell's army

returned to Louisville. He had been selected, however, by the Military Committee of the Seventh Congressional District, as Colonel of the One Hundred and Tenth Ohio, and on the 30th of September he was commissioned to this office.

He immediately assumed command of his regiment, then at Camp Piqua, and on the 19th of October moved with it to West Virginia, the same region in which he first drew his sword. For some months the regiment was garrisoning, marching, and bivouacking. During a portion of this time Colonel Keifer was in command of the post of Moorefield. In January, 1863, the One Hundred and Tenth proceeded to Winchester, and during the winter and spring continued its wearisome round of post and garrison-duty, until some of the men began to think that they would never participate in a battle. But at last the battle of Winchester came; and one feeble division contended hopelessly, for three days, against Ewell's entire corps. It forms a sad chapter in the history of the war, but a brilliant event in the life of Colonel Keifer. On the 13th of June he advanced with his own regiment, the Twelfth Pennsylvania Cavalry, and two pieces of artillery, up the Strasburg Road, encountered and repulsed a heavy force of the enemy at Union Mills, and retired without serious loss. On the 14th, with the One Hundred and Tenth Ohio, one company of the One Hundred and Sixteenth Ohio, and one battery of the Fifth United States Artillery, he held the outworks between the Romney and Pughtown Roads, against a large force of Rebels with sixteen pieces of artillery, until his command, literally overwhelmed, was driven out of the works at the point of the bayonet. General Milroy, in his official report, estimates the Rebel column, so stubbornly resisted by Colonel Keifer, as "at least ten thousand strong." On the morning of the 15th, while the National troops under cover of darkness were seeking to escape, Colonel Keifer, at the head of his regiment, executed a series of charges which broke the lines of the famous Stonewall Brigade, and enabled the broken battalions of Milroy's division to pass to a place of safety. Colonel Keifer was wounded, slightly, in the leg during the first day's battle, and again in the ankle on the 14th; but neither wound kept him out of the saddle for an hour.

After a brief rest at Harper's Ferry, the One Hundred and Tenth was hurried to the Army of the Potomac, and Colonel Keifer was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Third Corps, composed of his own regiment, the One Hundred and Twenty-Second Ohio, the Sixth Maryland, and the One Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Pennsylvania. This command participated in all the operations of the grand army, up to the time when Lee was driven into the intrenchments beyond the Rapidan. On the 15th of August Colonel Keifer, with a portion of his brigade, was sent to New York City to maintain the authority of the Government, and, if necessary, to assist in enforcing the draft. While there his prudence, in the discharge of his delicate duties, was universally remarked. On the 14th of September he rejoined the Army of the Potomac, and participated in the advance to Culpepper, and in the retrograde movement to Centreville. On the 8th of November Colonel Keifer's command distinguished itself at Brandy Station, and on the 27th, at Orange Grove, it carried by storm the key to the

enemy's position. Colonel Keifer, for his skill and gallantry, received the thanks of his corps commander, Major-General French.

On the 2d of March, 1864, the Third Army Corps was discontinued, and Colonel Keifer's brigade was assigned to the Sixth Corps. On the 4th of May the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan, and engaged in the battle of the Wilderness. Colonel Keifer's regiment, alone, lost one hundred and twenty-five men; and, late in the day, he himself was severely wounded; both bones of the left fore-arm being shattered by a musket ball. But not until the conflict was ended did he relinquish command and retire from the field. The Colonel's wound was both painful and dangerous, and he was compelled to spend a short time at home; but on the 26th of August, against the advice of his physicians and the remonstrance of his friends, he set out to join the army.

The Sixth Corps was then with Sheridan in the Valley of the Shenandoah; and, upon arriving, Colonel Keifer was assigned immediately to the command of his old brigade. At Opequan he fought with obstinate courage, participated in the grand charge in the afternoon, and, with his command, was among the first to enter Winchester at the heels of the flying foe. At Fisher's Hill General Ricketts, commanding the division, sent a staff-officer with orders for Colonel Keifer to assault a fortification on the left of the enemy's line; but the Colonel, perceiving the necessity, had ordered the assault himself, and the fortification was captured before the order was received. In the battle of Cedar Creek the command of the Third Division devolved upon Colonel Keifer. During the whole of that memorable day it was in the thickest of the fight; and, in the advance, in the afternoon it broke the center of the Rebel line, and was the first to plant the colors on the works from which it had been driven in the morning. The services of Colonel Keifer in these battles were not overlooked, and he was brevetted Brigadier-General, to date from the battle of Cedar Creek.

In December the Sixth Corps returned to the Army of the Potomac; and until the spring of 1865 it maintained, in front of Petersburg, an almost continuous struggle with the enemy, On the morning of the 2d of April the Sixth Corps broke through the Rebel lines, capturing whole brigades of Rebels. In this assault, which General Meade pronounces "the decisive movement of the campaign," it is claimed that General Keifer's brigade was the first to enter the enemy's works. On the 6th of April, at Sailor's Creek, General Keifer led his command against the heaviest columns of the enemy, routed them wherever they opposed him, and captured the naval brigade entire, commanded by Commodore Tucker. For gallant and meritorious services in this campaign General Keifer was brevetted Major-General, to date from the 9th of April, the day of Lee's surrender.

On the 27th of June, 1865, General Keifer was mustered out of the service. He returned to Springfield, and resumed the practice of law in the same office which he occupied before the war.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL ELI LONG.

THE subject of this sketch graduated at the Kentucky Military Institute in June, 1855. He then went to Washington City, and was employed in the Treasury Department, in the Bureau of Construction, until he was appointed Second-Lieutenant in the First United States Cavalry. He joined his regiment at Lecompton, Kansas, and remained on frontier duty—with the exception of a five months' leave of absence in 1859–60—until the outbreak of the rebellion.

Lieutenant Long was promoted to First-Lieutenant March 21st, and to Captain May 24, 1861. In August, 1861, he surprised and captured, without firing a shot, a well-armed and equipped company of thirty-eight men, with fifty or sixty animals, *en route* from Denver City to join Price in Missouri. On this expedition Captain Long, with forty-eight mounted men, marched one hundred and twenty miles in thirty-two hours. He went with one squadron of his regiment to Fort Leavenworth in December, 1861, and in February, 1862, he reported for duty, with the same squadron, to General Buell, at Louisville, Kentucky. He was on duty, as escort to General Buell, until Buell was relieved by General Rosecrans, and he continued to act as escort to that officer until the battle of Stone River, where he was wounded by a ball in the left shoulder.

Upon the recommendation of Generals Rosecrans and Stanley, Captain Long was appointed Colonel of the Fourth Ohio Cavalry. On the 9th of June, 1863, he was placed in command of a cavalry brigade, which he led through the Tullahoma campaign, and in the pursuit south, having a severe engagement with the Rebel cavalry at Elk River, in which the latter was defeated. He participated in the subsequent cavalry operations until the battle of Chickamauga, where the brigade suffered severely, losing, out of nine hundred men, one hundred and thirty-four killed, wounded, and missing. He commanded the brigade in the pursuit of the Rebel General Wheeler from the Tennessee River at Washington, East Tennessee, to the Tennessee River at Lamb's Ferry. Colonel Long led his brigade in a charge at McMinnville and at Farmington. At the former place his horse was hit, and at the latter place both horse and rider were hit. He was mentioned in official reports for gallant conduct at both these places. During the battle of Mission Ridge Colonel Long, with fifteen hundred cavalry, marched to Cleveland, East Tennessee, destroyed thirty miles of the Knoxville and Chattanooga Railroad, burned a cap-factory and rolling-mill, destroyed a wagon-train of eighty-two wagons, captured two hundred and twenty-three prisoners, and returned to Chattanooga, after an absence of three days. For

this expedition he received favorable mention from General Grant. Soon after, with the same command, he reported to General Sherman, and marched two days in advance of the General's infantry column into Knoxville. From there he moved through the western part of North Carolina into Northern Georgia, marching four hundred and sixty-three miles in seventeen days, with but little food for the stock and less for the men. For this expedition Colonel Long was complimented by General Sherman in an autograph letter.

Colonel Long returned to Calhoun, and had a sharp engagement with General Wheeler, capturing nearly five hundred stand of arms and one hundred and twenty-seven prisoners. In February, 1864, he participated in a reconnoissance on Dalton, having several sharp skirmishes. Soon after this he went with his command to Cleveland, and thence to Ringgold. In March he received leave for a month, and, upon returning to the field, rejoined his brigade at Columbia, Tennessee, where it had been ordered to refit. He joined General Sherman's main army at Kingston, and participated in all the movements of the Atlanta campaign, until the 21st of August, when he was wounded in the right leg and arm; his horse was shot in the head at the same time. He had been appointed Brigadier-General on the 18th of August, 1864, and, upon recovering from his wound, he was placed in command of a cavalry division. He moved with his division to Louisville, Kentucky, where it was thoroughly equipped, and on the 28th of December he set out with it for Gravelly Springs, Alabama. He moved with Brevet Major-General Wilson through Alabama and Georgia, and participated in the assault and capture of Selma. In this engagement General Long was wounded by a bullet on the top and right side of the head, indenting the skull and paralyzing the tongue and right side of the face, and the right arm. He still suffers from the effects of this wound, and the recovery of the use of his hand is extremely doubtful.

The War Department has shown its appreciation of General Long's services by making him Brevet Major-General of volunteers and Brevet Colonel United States Army, from March 30, 1865.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM B. WOODS.

WILLIAM B. WOODS is a native of Newark, Licking County, Ohio. He studied law and soon became a successful practitioner. His fine appearance and handsome performance as a public speaker commended him to the Democratic party, of which he was a member, and he was several times elected to the lower branch of the State Legislature. Here he speedily became a leader, and in 1858–9 he was Speaker of the House of Representatives. In this position his quickness, familiarity with the rules, and fairness gave great satisfaction. He was returned to the next Legislature, but his party was now in a minority, and so he became the leader of the opposition. In all the political discussions which raged in the Ohio Legislature through the spring of 1861, he was noted for the virulence of his opposition to every measure of Mr Lincoln's administration and of his party. Even after the firing on Sumter he strenuously resisted the Million Loan Bill, by the aid of which it was proposed to place Ohio in a posture of defense and to assist the General Government in its emergency. Presently, however, the uprising in the State reached the Capital. Under Mr. Woods's leadership the party still delayed the Loan Bill in the House, but in its private caucus discussions he earnestly urged a change of policy, while with the Republican leaders he plead that, by a little delay, they might be able to gain the great moral triumph of a unanimous vote in favor of the bill. His efforts were successful, and on the 18th of April, in moving the passage of the bill, he signalized the change of party policy by an eloquent war speech. He had no heart, he said, to discuss the causes of the troubles that were upon the country. They stood on the dread threshold of civil war, and must act. The Government at Washington was his Government, and by it, in peace or in war, right or wrong, he would ever stand. The flag of our hearts—he would maintain to the last. The soil of Ohio or of the North must not be invaded. In its defense he would spend the last farthing of treasure and the last drop of blood, and locking shields with its friends, would stand or fall by "our country" Mr. Woods was greeted by loud applause from his fellow-members at the close of this speech; and when, soon afterward, the vote was reached, the bill was *unanimously* passed.*

Thus far, however, he had only pledged himself to a war in defense of the territory of the North. As the war progressed his views enlarged, and on the 11th of November, 1861, he was ready to enter the United States service (in which his brother, Charles R. Woods, of the regular army, was already actively

*Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 19th April, 1861.

engaged), as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventy-Sixth Ohio. In this and his subsequent military positions he participated in the battles of Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing, Chickasaw Bayou, Arkansas Post (in which he was slightly wounded), Resaca, Dallas, Atlanta (July 22d and 28th), Jonesboro', Lovejoy Station, and Bentonville, and in the sieges of Vicksburg and Jackson, and in many minor affairs and skirmishes. He marched with General Sherman's army from Atlanta to Savannah, from Savannah to Raleigh, and thence to Washington City. During active hostilities his entire service, excepting three months, was in the field, at the front, and in command of troops.

On the 10th of September, 1863, he was promoted to the Colonelcy of the Seventy-Sixth Ohio Infantry On the 12th of January, 1864, he was brevetted Brigadier-General, "for faithful and continued service as an officer in the Atlanta and Savannah campaigns." On the 31st of May, 1865, he was, on the recommendation of Generals Grant, Sherman, and Logan, promoted to the full rank of Brigadier-General; and subsequently, "for gallant and meritorious service during the war," to the brevet rank of Major-General, honors which his faithful and able service abundantly warranted.

General Woods was mustered out on the 17th February, 1866.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN W. SPRAGUE.

JOHN W SPRAGUE was born in Washington County, New York, April 4, 1817. When quite young he removed with his father to Troy, New York, where he remained until May, 1845, when he removed to Huron, Ohio, and engaged in lake commerce and railroad enterprise until the commencement of the rebellion.

Under the first call for troops, he raised a company and reported at Camp Taylor, near Cleveland. On the 19th of May, 1861, the company was assigned to the Seventh Ohio Infantry, which was soon ordered to Camp Dennison. Here the regiment reorganized for three years, and was ordered to West Virginia. On the 11th of August, 1861, while Captain Sprague was proceeding from Somerville to Clarksville, under orders, with an escort of four mounted men, he was captured, when near Big Birch River, after a sharp chase of about three miles, by a detachment of the Wise Legion, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Crohan. Captain Sprague was taken to Richmond, and was confined about six weeks in a tobacco house. He was then transferred to Charleston, South Carolina, and was confined first in Castle Pinckney and then in the Charleston jail. On the 1st of January, 1862, he was sent to Columbia, on the 5th he was taken to Norfolk for exchange, and on the 10th he reached Washington City

While on his way to join his regiment, which was still in Virginia, Captain Sprague received from Governor Tod a commission as Colonel of the Sixty-Third Ohio Infantry This regiment was at Marietta, Ohio, but its organization was incomplete. This was rapidly completed, and on the 10th of February Colonel Sprague moved with his regiment to report to General Sherman at Paducah, Kentucky. Immediately upon arriving he was ordered to report to General Pope, at Commerce, Missouri. Under that officer Colonel Sprague participated in the operations at New Madrid and Island Number Ten, and then joined the army at Pittsburg Landing. He moved with the army against Corinth, and subsequently commanded his regiment in the Battle of Iuka, but was only slightly engaged. Colonel Sprague was again engaged in the battle of Corinth, October 3d and 4th, 1862. On the 4th the regiment was posted on the right of Battery Robinett, and lost more men, in proportion to its strength, than any other on the field. Over one-half of the men were killed or wounded, and but three line officers escaped unharmed.

For some time Colonel Sprague was engaged in various operations of minor importance. In the latter part of 1863 the regiment re-enlisted. Of the men present only seven declined to re-enlist. Colonel Sprague always looked upon this almost unanimous act of his regiment as equal in importance, and worthy to be placed side by side, with any of its deeds on the field of battle. Indeed, no regiment could be more devoted to the country than was the Sixty-Third. Most of the men were Democrats, yet when Mr. Vallandigham, as candidate for Governor, asked for their suffrages, only three men out of the entire regiment were willing to indorse him.

In the latter part of January, 1864, Colonel Sprague was assigned, by General Dodge, to the command of a brigade, consisting of the Forty-Third and Sixty-Third Ohio, the Twenty-Fifth Wisconsin, the Thirty-Fifth New Jersey, and the Third Michigan Battery. In April the brigade marched from Chattanooga, with the Army of the Tennessee, under General McPherson, forming part of the Grand Army under General Sherman. Colonel Sprague was actively engaged during the entire Atlanta campaign, and at Resaca, at Dallas, at Nicojack Creek, and at Decatur, on the 22d of July, he was conspicuous for coolness and bravery At the place last mentioned Colonel Sprague was covering and guarding the train of the entire army, consisting of over four thousand wagons, containing almost all the supplies for the army. He was attacked by superior numbers, and the contest continued for more than four hours; but by his own bravery and ability, no less than by the courage and prompt obedience of his men, the enemy was finally repulsed, and only one wagon was lost. Colonel Sprague's brigade lost two hundred and ninety-two men killed and wounded.

Colonel Sprague was appointed Brigadier-General on the 29th of July, 1864. After the fall of Atlanta he moved with General Sherman to Savannah, and thence northward on the campaign of the Carolinas. After the surrender of the Rebel armies, he moved from Goldsboro, through Raleigh and Richmond, to Washington City, where he participated in the Grand Review. He was

relieved of his command in the army, and was assigned to duty by the Secretary of War, as Assistant Commissioner for the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, with head-quarters at St. Louis, Missouri. The district under his charge comprised the States of Missouri and Kansas, and, subsequently, the Indian Territory. In September, 1865, General Sprague's head-quarters were removed to Little Rock, Arkansas, where he remained until November, when he resigned. In the meantime, he was offered the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Forty-First United States Infantry, which he declined to accept, and he was also brevetted Major-General of volunteers, to date from the 13th of March, 1864.

General Sprague is a man of fine personal appearance, tall, straight, and well-proportioned. His character as a soldier is unimpeachable, and his influance with his regiment, and afterward with his brigade, was almost unbounded. No one who knew him as a soldier, failed to esteem and love him. He was always prompt, efficient, and brave. On leaving the service he took charge of the Winona and St. Peter Railroad in Minnesota.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL BEN. P. RUNKLE.

BEN P RUNKLE was born near West Liberty, Ohio, September 3, 1836. The family was closely connected by marriage with that of the Piatts, of Logan County He was educated at Miami University, where he graduated in July, 1857 He studied law under General Samson Mason, at Springfield; was admitted to the bar in June, 1859, and entered upon the practice of his profession at Urbana. In the same season he was candidate for State Senator from his district on the Democratic ticket, but was signally defeated.

Upon receiving the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, he immediately volunteered, as did every member of the Douglas Guard, a militia company of which he was Captain. He was appointed Captain in the Thirteenth Ohio Infantry, April 19, 1861, and he again entered the regiment when it was reorganized for three years. He served in West Virginia under General Rosecrans, and shortly after the battle of Carnifex Ferry was promoted to Major. He was next engaged at Pittsburg Landing, where he distinguished himself by an almost reckless bravery, and was borne off the field mortally wounded, as was supposed, being shot through the face and feet; the greater portion of his jaw, and a part of his tongue, being shot away. He returned to Ohio until he should recover from his wounds; but immediately he was appointed Colonel of the Forty-Fifth Ohio. At once he set about recruiting and organizing his regiment, and before his wounds were healed he was again in the field.

Colonel Runkle continued to serve with credit in Kentucky, part of the time commanding a brigade, until June, 1863, when, having been sun-struck, and still suffering from his old wounds, he returned to Ohio. Notwithstanding his debilitated condition, at the request of Governor Tod, he assumed command of the Ohio Militia in the John Morgan raid. Colonel Runkle's command guarded the line of the Cincinnati and Marietta Railroad, the fords of the Ohio from Parkersburg to Steubenville, and continued to harass the raiders until they were captured. The exposure and anxiety of this campaign brought on a serious attack of fever, and Colonel Runkle being unable to return to the field, was ordered to report to the Governor of Ohio for duty on his staff. In the spring of 1864, Colonel Runkle rejoined his command at Mount Sterling, Kentucky, and was placed in command of a brigade. He joined the army of the Ohio in front of Tunnel Hill, Georgia, and continued to serve with that army until the Etowah River was crossed, when he was ordered to the command of a brigade in East Tennessee. Feeble health forced him to retire from active service, and on the 21st of July, 1864, he was discharged "on account of wounds received in action."

On the 22d of August he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twenty-First Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, and he continued to command the regiment until January, 1866, when the men were discharged. Colonel Runkle in the meantime having been brevetted Brigadier-General, was assigned to duty in the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for the District of West Tennessee. Here he displayed good administration and executive ability, and during the Memphis riots he appeared in full uniform among the rioters, and did all in his power to protect the colored people. He afterward served as President of the Military Commission which investigated the riots. In September, 1866, General Runkle was appointed Major of the Forty-Fifth United States Infantry, and has since been brevetted Major-General of volunteers.

In becoming a soldier, General Runkle has adopted the profession for which he is by nature fitted. Gifted with a firm will, energy, talents, and a cultivated mind, he has entered upon his duties with an alacrity which can not fail to secure success.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL AUGUST WILLICH.

AUGUST WILLICH was born in 1810, near Kœnigsberg, in Eastern Prussia. His father was a Captain of Hussars, serving in the French war and in the Polish insurrection. Being disabled by wounds he was appointed to a civil office in one of the Prussian departments until his death in 1813.

At the age of twelve years August Willich, choosing to be a soldier like his father, entered the military academy at Potsdam. Three years later, in 1825, he entered the military academy at Berlin, and in 1828 he completed his education, and was commissioned Second-Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery In 1841 he passed the requisite examination, and received a commission as Captain.

The officers of the brigade to which he was attached were strongly republican in their views, and in 1846 a conflict arose between them and the Government. Willich at once tendered his resignation, but it was not accepted, and he was assigned to duty at a distant point in Pomerania. He refused to act under the King's order, and regularly renewed his application for a discharge every month. At the end of a year he sent an open letter to the King, for which he was court-martialed. His comrades were not willing to punish him, and they decreed that he be discharged from the service.

Willich at once entered into active co-operation with the revolutionists, and commanded the forces at the battle of Candarn, where he was defeated. In 1849 he commanded a corps in the German revolution, but the campaign of fourteen weeks proving unsuccessful, he fled to Switzerland, and afterward to England.

In 1853 he came to the United States, where he at first thought of collecting a force to move upon Hamburg; but, abandoning that idea, and being, like most political refugees, almost penniless, he began work as a carpenter, at which trade he wrought about a year in Eastern New York.

He finally procured a position on the United States Coast Survey under Captain Maffit (afterward commander of the Confederate iron-clad Florida). In 1858 he became the editor of the Republikana, a working-men's paper in Cincinnati.

In the very beginning of the war he entered the service as a private in the Ninth Ohio, which regiment he drilled. He was soon appointed Adjutant, and afterward Major. With this regiment he served in West Virginia, being in the engagement at Rich Mountain.

He was then called to Indiana, where he organized the Thirty-Second Indiana, of which regiment he was appointed Colonel.

His first engagement was at Munfordsville, where, with five hundred men, he repulsed the attack of Hindman's Texan Rangers, and a battery of artillery. At the battle of Pittsburg Landing he was still commanding his regiment. Being in McCook's division of Buell's army he did not reach the field until the second day. Coming to the support of Lew Wallace at an opportune moment, he was directed to make a charge, which he did in such effective and brilliant manner as to win for him a Brigadier's commission.

General Willich was then placed in command of a brigade, consisting of the Fifteenth and Forty-Ninth Ohio, and the Thirty-Second and Thirty-Ninth Indiana. The Eighty-Ninth Illinois was afterward added to it.

At the battle of Stone River he was sent late in the evening of the first day to the right, and placed in rear of Kirk's brigade. In the morning he went to division head-quarters, and while he was gone the enemy broke through Kirk's brigade, and came upon his command before they could make any resistance. Hearing firing, he rode rapidly back to where he had left his troops, but found himself in the presence of General McCall, commander of the Rebel left wing. He was captured, and after spending four months as a prisoner, was exchanged.

In the opening of Rosecrans's campaign against Bragg, in 1863, General Willich took Liberty Gap with his brigade, supported by two regiments from another command. He characterizes this as the finest fighting he witnessed in the war. The maneuvering of the brigade was managed by bugle signals, and the precision of the movements was equal to a parade.

Chickamauga was the next battle in which General Willich participated. When the division to which he belonged (Johnson's of McCook's corps) was ordered from the extreme right to the support of Thomas, Willich's brigade moved in advance. By an order directly from General Thomas, General Willich, with his brigade and another, made a charge which broke the enemy's line, and resulted in the capture of some artillery. In following up this charge the General found himself nearly a mile in front of Thomas's main line, and in this position the enemy turned his left flank. By a bayonet charge to the rear Willich succeeded in keeping from being cut off, and maintained his ground until evening, when the enemy in renewed force made an assault. After losing one-third of the command, General Willich was repulsed and forced to fall back to the main line.

On the second day his command was again engaged, and in the evening, by direction of General Thomas, he was left to cover the retreat. He maintained this position on the third day until the whole army arrived safely at Chattanooga.

Here he remained, enduring with the rest, the sufferings incident to that state of siege, until the battle of Mission Ridge. On the first day of this engagement Willich's and Hazen's brigades opened the battle, and captured the first portion of the enemy's works, being the point afterward occupied by our Generals as field head-quarters, and known as Bald Knob.

In the action on the third day, when Sherman had made his unsuccessful charges, and Grant gave the well-known order for the center to take the enemy's works at the foot of the Ridge and stay there, Willich's and Hazen's brigades were in the front, with Sheridan's and other divisions in *echelon* to the rear. The whole line moved in double-quick through woods and fields, and carried the works—Willich's brigade going up under the concentrated fire of batteries at a point where two roads met.

At this point General Willich says he saw that to obey General Grant's order, and remain in the works at the foot of the Ridge, would be the destruction of the center. To fall back would have been the loss of the battle, with the sacrifice of Sherman. In this emergency, with no time for consultation with the division General, or any other commander, he sent three of his aids to different regiments, and rode himself to the Eighth Kansas and gave the order to storm the top of the Ridge. How brilliantly the order was executed the whole world knows.

After this General Willich went with his command to East Tennessee. Here he obtained leave of absence to undergo a surgical operation, and did not rejoin his command until at the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, in 1864. He participated in the engagement at Buzzard's Roost, and a few days afterward, at Resaca, while in the act of charging upon the enemy's works, he received a bullet in his right shoulder, which terminated his active military career.

He was afterward appointed to the command of the District of Cincinnati, which post he held until his corps (the Fourth) was ordered to Texas. Upon application, he was ordered to join the corps, which he did, serving in Texas until October, 1865, when he was mustered out of service.

General Willich was afterward promoted to Brevet Major-General. On returning to resume his residence in Cincinnati, he was elected Auditor of Hamilton County, on the Union ticket.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES GRIFFIN.

CHARLES GRIFFIN was born in Licking County, Ohio, about the year 1827 He attended an institution of learning in Bardstown, Kentucky, and afterward, July 1, 1843, he received the appointment of cadet at West Point. Four years later he graduated in the class with Generals Burnside and Ayres, and received the appointment of Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery.

The war with Mexico being then in progress, the young officer was at once ordered to active duty, and thus commenced a military career of more than ordinary variety of service. In Mexico he marched from Vera Cruz to Puebla in command of a company attached to the force commanded by General Patterson. From Mexico he was ordered to Florida, in January, 1848, and to Old Point Comfort in the following December. Here he remained until July, 1849, when he was promoted to First-Lieutenant of the Second Artillery, and was ordered to New Mexico in command of a cavalry company. In scouting and other duties of frontier life his time was occupied until 1854. Next he spent three years in garrison duty at Fort McHenry, Maryland, in command of a battery. In 1857 he was engaged in conducting recruits from Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; was in garrison at Fort Independence, Missouri; on frontier duty at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, and afterward in command of the escort which accompanied the Governor of New Mexico to Santa Fé. Returning through Texas, he rejoined his command at Fort Leavenworth, and remained there and at Fort Riley until in the latter part of 1859, when he received a leave of absence, continuing until some time in 1860. In September of this year he was ordered to West Point and appointed assistant instructor of artillery, a position for which he was well fitted from his previous experience in that arm of the service. This post he held until January, 1861, when, among the earliest movements of the war, he was ordered to Washington with the West Point battery This was one authorized to be attached to the Fifth Cavalry, and was afterward known as Griffin s battery. He remained in command of it until June 26, 1862, when he received his commission of Brigadier-General of volunteers, and assumed command of his brigade as it was marching to the battle-field of Mechanicsville. He at once rendered himself conspicuous for his gallantry in that action; and subsequently, at the battle of Gaines's Mill, he displayed a heroism that challenged the admiration of the enemy. At Malvern Hill he was placed in command of the artillery, which was supported by his own brigade, and posted at the point of attack by the forces of the Rebel

General Magruder. By his skillful use of the artillery he threw Magruder's troops into confusion, and thus contributed much to the good results of the engagement. In addition to these battles, he participated in almost every battle and skirmish of the army of the Potomac, beginning with the first battle of Bull Run and ending with the battle of Five Forks. He was engaged at Bull Run, July 21, 1861; at Secessionville; at Yorktown, May 4, 1862; Mechanicsville, June 26th; Hanover Junction, June 27th; Gaines's Mill, June 27th; Malvern Hill, July 1st and August 4th; Bull Run, August 29th and 30th; Antietam, September 16th and 17th; Sharpsburg, September 19th; Fredericksburg, December 13th; Chancellorsville, May 2, 3, and 4, 1863; Gettysburg, July 3d (returning from a sick leave); Williamsport, July 6th; Culpepper, July 13th; Morton's Ford, ——; Wilderness, May 5, 1864; Laurel Hill, May 8th and 13th; Spotsylvania, May 18th and 19th; Jericho Ford, May 23d; Anderson's Farm, ——; Tolopotomoy, May 29th; Shady Grove, May 30th; Bethesda Church, June 2d and 3d; Petersburg, June 19th; Weldon Railroad, August 18th, 19th, and 21st; Hatcher's Run (Nos. 1 and 2), February 7th and 8th and March 25, 1865; Quaker Road, March 27th; White Oak Road, March 31st; Fair Oaks, April 1st; Appomattox C. H., April 8th and 9th.

When the surrender of Lee was agreed upon General Griffin was appointed one of the commissioners to arrange the details.

His command in the war was at first a battery, then a brigade, afterward a division; and, on the battle-field of the Five Forks, when Sheridan was placed in command of the entire force, he was assigned to the command of the Fifth Corps, which he retained until the Army of the Potomac was disbanded. After this he was appointed to the command of the Military Division of the State of Maine, with head-quarters at Portland, where he made many warm friends.

When he was mustered out of the volunteer service he received a promotion in the regular army to Colonel of the Thirty-Fifth United States Infantry, and Brevet Major-General. He was then ordered to the command of the State of Texas; and when, in March, 1867, General Sheridan was assigned to the command of the Fifth Military District, he retained General Griffin in command of that State. When General Sheridan was relieved of his command, General Griffin, as the next in rank, succeeded him. He had discharged the duties of this high place, however, but for a short time, when he was attacked by yellow fever. The terrible disease soon ran its course to a fatal termination. He died September 15, 1867

From his first march in Mexico to his last work in Texas there is found but one leave of absence in General Griffin's military record; and it has already been said that he participated in every battle and skirmish in which his command engaged with the Army of the Potomac. To have moved with his command to the defense of Washington, even before the actual beginning of hostilities—to have remained in active and dangerous service throughout the war, and to have finally fallen a victim to a pestilence while in the work of restoring the self-exiled States to their places in the Government, is to have a record which of itself is an honorable monument.

In the delicate position in Texas, as the agent to carry out the provisions of the reconstruction laws of Congress, General Sheridan ever found in him a faithful co-worker. In April, 1867, in a letter to Governor Throckmorton on the subject of registration, he said: "I am very anxious to see the laws impartially carried out, and no effort shall be spared on my part to bring out the full number of legal voters in the State. If the citizens accept the situation, come forward and yield a cheerful obedience to the laws, there can be no trouble." Among his last orders was one which directed that there should be no distinction made in Texas on account of race, color, or previous condition, by railroads or other chartered companies which were common carriers. His letter to General Hartsuff, the Adjutant-General of General Sheridan (written only a few days before the fever attacked him), showed that he was fully in sympathy with that commander's views:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TEXAS,
Galveston, Texas, September 6, 1867.

"BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL GEO. L. HARTSUFF, A. A. G.,
"*Head-Quarters Fifth Military District, New Orleans, Louisiana:*

"GENERAL: I desire that you transact all business and issue orders in the same manner that you would have done had General Sheridan remained in command and received his anticipated leave of absence. It is uncertain when I can go to New Orleans, as I am threatened a little with yellow fever, and my physician advises me not to leave. All papers requiring my official signature please forward to these head-quarters.

"I am, General, etc.,
"CHAS. GRIFFIN, Brevet Major-General."

General Griffin, though often in great danger, escaped unhurt in all his battles. He had several horses shot under him at different times, and once had the visor of his cap torn away by a musket-ball. At another time the folded strap of his boot served as a shield to stop the force of a bullet, which otherwise would have pierced his leg; and at another time a ball struck his sword with such violence as to break it.

He was married, December 10, 1861, to Miss Sallie Carroll, of Maryland, a lady whose ancestry were favorably known in the history of our country—one being a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and another one of the members of the convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. The wedding ceremony, which took place at the residence of the bride's father, Hon. Wm. T. Carroll, was distinguished by the presence of President Lincoln, with many prominent officers of the Government and representatives of foreign nations.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY J. HUNT.

HENRY J HUNT was one of the old officers in the regular army, of excellent standing, and specially noted for familiarity with the artillery arm of the service, who rose to prominence under the auspices of General McClellan.

He was born in Ohio, and appointed a cadet to West Point in July, 1835. In 1839 he graduated with such standing as to warrant his appointment as Second-Lieutenant in the Second Artillery. At the outbreak of the war he had risen through the grades of Lieutenant and Captain. On the 14th of May, 1861, he became Major in the Fifth Artillery. Some months later he was appointed Colonel and additional Aid-de-Camp on the staff of General McClellan. On the 15th of September, 1862, he was made Brigadier-General of volunteers. He served for a time as Chief of Artillery to the Army of the Potomac, and the close of the war found him Lieutenant-Colonel in the Third Artillery, Brigadier-General of volunteers, and Brevet Major-General in the regular army

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL B. W. BRICE.

BENJAMIN W BRICE, Paymaster-General of the army of the United States, a native of Virginia, was appointed a cadet to West Point from Ohio in 1825. He was graduated as a Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Third Infantry, in 1829. The war found him in the Paymasters' Department, where he had held the rank of Major since 1852. He rose through the various grades of the department till, on the 29th of November, 1864, he became its head. At the close of the war he was a Brevet Brigadier-General in the regular army. He has since received the brevet of Major-General.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ROBERT L. McCOOK.

EIGHT brothers, in one capacity or another, through the war, served to make the name of McCOOK a dear one to all who loved the army and the country. Few of them displayed brilliant military ability, but all exhibited patriotism and devotion; nearly all were dashing, hard-hitting fighters, and three of the best sealed their labors with their blood.* It was the hard fortune of the ablest of them to fall, not in battle, as he would have wished, but at the hands of Rebel assassins, as he lay stretched upon a sick bed. Cut off thus almost at the threshold, he has not left us a rounded, perfect career in the war to admire; but he has left enough to deepen the general regret at his loss, and to insure his permanent place in the affectionate remembrance of his countrymen.

Robert Latimer McCook was the fourth son of Major Daniel McCook, and was born in Columbiana County, Ohio, on the 28th of December, 1827. Thirty-six years later, the father, white-haired and feeble with age, but inflamed with the warlike ardor he had bestowed upon his family, and resolved to avenge the death of his murdered son, rode to his own death at the head of John Morgan's pursuers in the action at Buffington Island.

Robert was a perfectly healthy lad, physically and intellectually. He could endure remarkable fatigue of body and bear up under long-continued mental application. His father was Clerk of the Court of Carroll County. The boy was sent to school till he was fifteen years of age, then was taken into his father's office as a deputy, and was found fully competent for the place. Already he had the quiet, grave manners that always distinguished him from his brothers; was always sober, judicious, and devoted to his work. Even as a lad at school, people had been accustomed to speak of him as "an old-fashioned child, sober beyond his years."

Practice in the office of the clerk of the court soon familiarized him with the forms of legal proceedings. Presently he conceived the desire to be a lawyer himself. Hon. Ephraim R. Eckley (since member of Congress from that district) took charge of his studies. After a time he removed to Steubenville, completed his legal course in the office of a notable firm, that of Messrs.

* Charles Morris McCook, private company F, Second Ohio, killed 21st July, 1861, in the first battle of Bull Run; Brigadier-General Robert L. McCook, mortally wounded on his sick bed by guerrillas in Tennessee, 5th August, 1862; Brigadier-General Daniel McCook, mortally wounded at Kenesaw Mountain, June 27, 1864. To this sad list may be added the father of these boys, Major Daniel McCook, mortally wounded at Buffington Island, July 21, 1863.

Stanton & McCook, and began the practice of law under their auspices. He was soon admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, and in good time he came to be known as one of the hard-working, faithful, rising lawyers of the State. He removed to Columbus, and, after practicing his profession there for a time, finally settled in Cincinnati. His standing was now such that he was able to form a partnership with Judge Stallo, one of the most noted German lawyers in the city, and the firm of Stallo & McCook soon had all the business it could transact. Here the war found the future General and victim.

The first call to arms brought into the service the majority of the family. Robert was among the foremost. His partnership with Judge Stallo, and his consequent relations to the German population of Cincinnati, gave him a special influence among them, and the Germans at once thought of him as the Colonel of their first regiment. He knew nothing of military matters, but they had plenty of experienced officers among their number who could drill them. What they wanted in their Colonel was a man in whom they could trust, and whose standing and character with the authorities would secure them from the annoyances which, as citizens of foreign birth, and mostly ignorant of the English language, they feared they would otherwise encounter. This they thought Robert L. McCook peculiarly qualified to do; and, in accordance with their wishes and his own earnest desire to enter the service as soon as possible, he was commissioned Colonel of the regiment he had helped to raise, the first German regiment given by Ohio to the war, on April 28, 1861. His regiment was numbered as the Ninth Ohio.

It was soon taken to Camp Dennison, and here speedily became noticeable as the one regiment in all that encampment that had no complaints to make. Its men had everything they wanted. If bad bread was issued, their Colonel was on the spot to observe it, and he was the most pertinacious of men in keeping up his outcry till every abuse was corrected. The men were kept drilling under the competent subordinate officers, while Colonel McCook devoted himself to their comfort, saw to their supplies, the condition of their camp, and the wants of their sick. The *morale* of the regiment was thus kept up at the very time when the question of re-enlistment for three years was disorganizing almost every other command in the camp. The men promptly re-enlisted, and Colonel McCook had the pleasure of leading them, well drilled, perfectly equipped, and in the best of spirits, among the first of the three years' regiments, into West Virginia.

The history of Colonel McCook through the next few months may be best read in the history of the Ninth Ohio.* It need only be added here that the regiment was in a fine state of discipline (with the single exception that from the outset the Colonel suffered them to act on the theory that they were entitled to anything they could find in the country that would help them to make camp-life more comfortable); that it marched well and fought well; and that

*See Vol. II.

its commander rose rapidly in the confidence first of McClellan and then of Rosecrans. At the action with Floyd, in the autumn of 1861, at Carnifex Ferry, Colonel McCook led his men with especial gallantry under the eye of Rosecrans himself. Those whose memories go back to these early days of the war, recall also with infinite amusement another trait of character which Colonel McCook developed. His "Bully Dutchmen," as he was wont to call them, must always have the best and the most of everything. Supplies, clothing, pay, transportation, everything was to be found in prompt abundance where Colonel McCook commanded. Where his wagons came from he never explained, but he generally had twice as many as any other Colonel in the department. Rosecrans once ordered the extra transportation to be turned in to his staff quartermaster, McCook complied as promptly as the rest, but the next day he still had double as many wagons for his "Bully Dutchmen" as the envious regiments on either side of him could secure.

He was commissioned a Brigadier-General of volunteers. He was at once assigned to the command of an excellent brigade in Buell's Army of the Ohio, in which he insisted that his old Ninth Ohio should not fail to find a place. When the long delays in Kentucky gave way to the rapid movements that followed the opening of the Fort Donelson campaign, General McCook's brigade marched with the rest of Buell's army across Tennessee from Nashville to the field of Pittsburg Landing. In the skirmishes which alone varied the peaceful monotony of Halleck's advance on Corinth, he displayed the activity, zeal, and military capacity that had already secured his promotion, and were now to cause him to stand still higher in the esteem of his superiors.

Then, after the fall of Corinth, Buell's weakened army was turned eastward to essay the reduction of Chattanooga. In other pages we have traced the tedious delays and the final retrograde movement, almost without fighting, to the Ohio River. Long before this dispiriting termination General McCook had met his untimely fate.

He had been disposed from the outset to rely on his hardy constitution, and to believe that he could safely undertake any labor or exposure of the campaign. For a time his health remained perfectly good, but at last he was prostrated by camp dysentery. His surgeons urged him to go to Nashville and remain there in quiet till he should recover, but he refused to leave his troops, and although unable to sit up, insisted upon accompanying them on the march. A camp cot was fitted into an ambulance, and in this he moved with his brigade, continuing to direct its movements.

It was the time when, finding little to endanger them at the front, the Rebels improved the opportunity for incursions upon the rear of Buell's command. John Morgan burst suddenly into Kentucky Points between Nashville and the army were threatened; and to meet one of these sudden dangers the division to which McCook's brigade was attached was ordered from Athens, Alabama, to Decherd, Tennessee. There was even yet an opportunity for the sick General to return to Nashville, but he persisted in accompanying his men. On the morning of the 5th of August, 1862, he started, as the day before, in his

ambulance in the middle of his brigade. At a point where two roads met the officer in command of the advance marched one regiment, with its train and baggage, on the wrong road. General McCook, on coming up, discovered the mistake, and ordered the column to be halted and turned upon the right road. The head-quarters train, however, was now in the way, so that, to clear the road, General McCook passed through it and went slowly ahead, expecting to be speedily overtaken by the troops. Then he became engrossed in looking for a good ground for encamping. He sent part of his escort ahead to seek for some spot where water would be abundant, and another part back on a similar errand. While thus left almost unprotected, he was suddenly attacked by a party of mounted guerrillas, including about forty "partisan rangers" and about sixty of the Fourth Alabama Cavalry, who, as it seems, had been lying in wait for an opportunity to attack a train. With the first shot General McCook divined the nature of the attack, ordered the few remaining members of the escort to keep back the assailants as well as possible, and had the ambulance turned back, at full speed, toward the advancing brigade. The attacking party could see that it contained only a sick man and an unarmed attendant (the curtains being rolled up on all sides), but they opened a sharp fire. The team ran about half a mile. By this time the top of the ambulance was knocked off, and some forty or fifty shots had been fired. General McCook, seeing the impossibility of escape, now ordered the driver to run his team against the bank at the side of the road, and held up his hands in token of surrender. Three shots were fired after this by the Rebels who were now surrounding the ambulance—two of them by Captain Frank Gurley. One of these last shots struck General McCook in the side, inflicting a mortal wound. A score of weapons were afterward levelled upon him, but Captain Hunter Brooke, of his staff, who was in the ambulance, begged them not to shoot a sick and wounded man, and General McCook himself exclaimed that it was idle to shoot now—he was already mortally wounded. He was taken into a neighboring house and there abandoned, the staff officer being dragged off a prisoner while trying to bathe the wound of his dying chief.

The General lingered in great agony until the next day. He remained rational to the last; sent kindly messages to the family; gave a detailed account of the attack to those about him, and dictated to Colonel Van Derveer his will—directing that his favorite horses should be divided between his brothers Alexander and Daniel, and that his other property should be given to his mother. About noon on the 6th of August he expired.*

The following official report of the murder was made by Colonel Van Derveer, the next in command of the brigade:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, THIRD BRIGADE, ARMY OF THE OHIO,
"Camp near Decherd, Tennessee, August 9, 1862.

"MAJOR GEORGE E. FLYNT, *A. A. G., Chief of Staff:*

"SIR: It becomes my melancholy duty to report that while a portion of the Third Brigade, composing the Ninth Ohio Volunteers, the Second Minnesota, and the Thirty-Fifth Ohio Volunteers, under the command of Brigadier-General R. L. McCook, were on their march from Athens, Alabama, to this point, at a point near the southern line of Tennessee, General McCook, who was sick and riding in an open carriage upon his bed, about three miles in advance of his troops, accompanied by Captain Hunter Brooke of his staff and Major Boynton of the Thirty-Fifth Ohio, together with nine members of his escort, was suddenly attacked by a band of mounted guerrillas, numbering between one and two hundred men, about noon on the 4th inst.

What the promising officer thus cruelly cut off might have become, we can not venture to say It is enough for his fame that he entered the war at the outset, that he was always at his post, devoted to the welfare of his men, gallant in action, energetic on the march, and equal to every task with which he was entrusted—that he was striving from a sick bed to direct the movements of his brigade—that in the midst of his devoted service he fell—a martyr to his zealous fidelity to the cause.

General McCook was personally a man of warm disposition and hearty attachments. No man was more beloved by his soldiers or deplored by his State. His abilities were fine, his standing among his brother officers and in the esteem of his commanders was of the best, and there was every reason to predict for him a brilliant future.

"Major Boynton, with one of the escort, and a citizen as a guide mounted upon the horse of another, had been sent half a mile to the rear, and three members of the escort, including the sergeant, a like distance to the front, in search of suitable camping grounds for the brigade, thus leaving but four of the escort with General McCook, one of whom was dismounted, and Captain Brooke, who was unarmed and in the carriage attending upon the General, when the attack began.

"The General succeeded in turning his carriage, but not until the guerrillas were within range and firing. He was soon overtaken and surrounded, although his horses were running at the top of their speed. In reply to the oft-repeated cry of 'stop! 'stop!' the General arose in his bed and exclaimed: 'Don't shoot, the horses are unmanageable; we will stop as soon as possible.' Nothwithstanding this surrender, those riding within a few feet, by the side of the carriage, fired, one ball passing through his hat, and one inflicting a mortal wound in the abdomen, which produced death in twenty-four hours after, at noon of August 6th.

"The alarm having reached the column it was hurried up at double-quick, and almost immediately encountered the advance of the band, but a few shots from the head of the Thirty-Fifth scattered them instantly.

"General McCook was found in a house near where he was shot, whither he had been carried by Captain Brooke and the driver.

"Of those in advance, Captain Brooke, two members of the escort, and two teamsters of the Ninth Ohio were captured, and one member of the Ninth Ohio band was wounded by a saber cut on the head.

"The condition of General McCook could not but have been known to the attacking party, as he was on his bed divested of all outer clothing, except a hat used as a shade, and the curtains of the carriage being raised on all sides.

"There are good reasons for supposing that the attack was planned solely for General McCook's capture or murder. Infuriated by this cowardly assassination, many of the soldiers of the brigade spread themselves over the country before any measures could be taken to check them, and burned nearly all the property of Rebels in the vicinity, and shot a Rebel Lieutenant who was on furlough and supposed to be connected with the gang.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"F. VAN DERVEER, Colonel Thirty-Fifth O. V. I., Commanding Third Brigade."

Some additional particulars are given by a staff officer:

'The people in the house where General McCook was left, when Captain Brooke was carried off, tried to conceal him, lest if the Yankee should die on their hands their premises would be burned. The advance of the brigade, however, soon discovered him, and gave him every attention. Recovering from a paroxysm General McCook said to Captain Burt: 'Andy, the problem of life will soon be solved for me.' In reply to Father Betty's question if he had any message for his brother Alexander, he said: 'Tell him and the rest I have tried to live as a man, and die attempting to do my duty. To Captain Burt he said: 'My good boy, may your life be longer and to a better purpose than mine.' Father Betty, the brigade wagon-master, was with him in his last moments. Clasping his hand in the death-struggle, he said to him; 'I am done with life; yes, this ends it all. You and I part now, but the loss of ten thousand such lives as yours or mine would be nothing, if their sacrifice would but save such a Government as ours.'

"Before his death, the General sent for Colonel Van Derveer, who drew up his will. In it he directed that his two favorite horses should be given to his brothers Aleck and Daniel, and the remainder of his property to his mother.

"The personal devotion of his troops to Gen. McCook was scarcely equalled during the war, and in spite of the best efforts of their commanders, after his death, they inflicted dire vengeance upon the country surrounding, and were only checked by the danger of the Rebels hanging Captain Brooke and his fellow-prisoners in retaliation. Captain Frank Gurley, who killed General McCook; was subsequently captured, tried, and found guilty of murder—with the sentence of death—but for some unknown cause the case was never finally acted upon by President Lincoln. He remained in prison for eighteen months, when by some error he was sent forward for regular exchange. After the surrender of Lee he returned to Madison County, and because of his murderous notoriety was almost unanimously elected sheriff of the county. President Johnson, finding out the error as to his exchange, and incensed at the insult of his election, ordered him arrested and placed in irons, but subsequently ordered his release upon parole, but prohibited him from holding his office."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. LYTLE.

WILLIAM HAINES LYTLE was born in Cincinnati, November 2, 1826. He was descended from a family distinguished for its military proclivities. His great-grandfather, William Lytle, held a commission in the French War of 1779, and afterward rendered valuable service against the Indians in Kentucky His grandfather, General William Lytle, served throughout the Indian War of the West, and was noted for his intrepidity and executive ability. His father, General Robert Lytle, was for many years an influential politician. He represented the Cincinnati district in Congress, and, under President Jackson, he held the office of Surveyor-General. He was ever known as a frank, courteous, generous gentleman, and he was admired and respected even by his political opponents.

William H. Lytle graduated at the old Cincinnati College at the age of sixteen, and, under the influence of his friends, selected the law as his profession, although his own predilections were in favor of West Point. Yet the martial spirit still burned beneath the surface, and revealed itself occasionally in boyish effusions of prose and verse. Upon the outbreak of the Mexican War his military ardor could be restrained no longer, and, though but twenty years of age, he at once proffered his services, and was elected Captain in the Second Ohio Volunteer Infantry He served with distinction during the war, and then returned to the practice of law, but was elected very soon to the Ohio Legislature. In 1857 he was commissioned Major-General of the Southern District of the Ohio Militia, a position previously held by his father and grandfather. At the opening of the rebellion he offered his services to the Government, and with great promptness and efficiency organized Camp Harrison, the first organized camp in the West. He was proffered the Colonelcy of the Tenth Ohio Infantry, which he accepted, and left Camp Harrison June 24, 1861, for active field service, proceeding to West Virginia, where he served under Rosecrans.

The campaign in this rugged and mountainous country was most arduous; but Colonel Lytle ever shared the hardships and privations of his men, thus winning their warmest love, while his true soldierly qualities and innate dignity commanded their deepest respect. Having missed Rich Mountain by only a few hours, to the great disappointment both of the Colonel and the regiment, they were first engaged at Carnifex Ferry The Tenth Ohio surprised an advance-guard of the enemy, and drove the Rebels from their position, when suddenly it found itself within range of a parapet battery and a long line of palisades for riflemen. Colonel Lytle, though with only a handful of men at

his command led a furious onslaught with telling effect; but a well-directed shot brought him to the ground, while his gallant steed, infused with the spirit of the rider, and maddened by a wound from the same bullet, pushed forward, leaped the parapet, and fell dead within the enemy's intrenchments. On this occasion the Rebels acknowledged "the courage displayed by Colonel Lytle even at the cannon's mouth," and some admitted that "but for his fall the works would probably have been carried."

Colonel Lytle had not recovered entirely from his wound when he was placed in command of a Camp of Instruction at Bardstown, Kentucky, where he remained for three months, having ten thousand men under him during a great portion of the time. He was then assigned to the command of the Seventeenth Brigade, of Mitchel's division, and was with that officer during his Alabama campaign. He enjoyed to a great degree the esteem and confidence of General Mitchel, and was assigned by him, during his absence, to the command of the division. To Colonel Lytle was also intrusted the evacuation of Huntsville; and, with his command, he brought up the rear of General Buell's army on the march to Kentucky, and for his services he received from General Buell the warmest commendations. At the battle of Perryville Colonel Lytle again was wounded. In this engagement, as in all others, Colonel Lytle literally led his men; and when they saw him fall, as they supposed, dead, they involuntarily fell back, and before they could regain the ground the Rebels had carried him off the field to their own hospital, where he was cared for as kindly as their resources admitted. The next day the enemy retreated, carrying Colonel Lytle with them. Upon reaching Harrodsburg some of his loyal friends procured his parole, and he was once more restored to his family.

After this battle Colonel Lytle's promotion came, and he was assigned to the command of the First Brigade, Sheridan's division, Army of the Cumberland. This brigade was composed of troops to whom General Lytle was an entire stranger, and it had previously been commanded by General Sill. Yet the soldiers soon discovered the true mettle in their commander, and were ever ready to follow his lead. About this time General Lytle was urged by his friends to become a candidate for the office of Governor of Ohio, but he declined. He had entered the army from a sense of duty to his beloved country, and as he had been in at the birth, so he desired to remain until the death of the rebellion.

A few weeks before the battle of Chickamauga Lytle's old regiment, then on duty as head-quarter-guard for General Rosecrans, presented him with an elegant testimonial of their regard, in the shape of a Maltese cross of gold, studded with diamonds and emeralds. The spot selected for the presentation was a most picturesque valley among the Alabama hills, and surrounded by his present and his old command, and by ladies, and officers of rank. The hero, with a graceful elegance so peculiarly his own, acknowledged the tribute.

On the 2d of September, 1863, General Lytle was ordered to break up his

camp at Bridgeport, and to commence the march which led to the fatal field of Chickamauga. After seventeen days of incessant marching, either under scorching suns or in heavy rains, he came to Lee and Gordon's Mills, September 19th. The march was particularly arduous for General Lytle, as a brigade from each division was detailed as a guard for the corps-train, the whole under his command. The troops had hardly laid down for their night's rest at Chickamauga, when General Lytle was ordered to move his brigade to the Widow Glenn's house. He was much pleased with his new position, but was ordered to move on the double-quick to the support of General Thomas, on the left. Simultaneously almost with this movement the fatal break in the line of battle occurred, through which the enemy poured, flushed with triumph, and opened a galling fire upon Lytle's brigade. There was no time, then, to re-enforce Thomas. In a moment General Lytle brought his command from the order in column to the order in battle, and though subjected to an inconceivably murderous fire, and flanked on right and left, the brigade pushed onward and forward, further and deeper into the midst of the blazing carnage and bloody havoc. General Lytle saw from the first that the case was hopeless; but he remarked to one of his staff, that if they were to die they would die in their tracks, with harness on; hastily adding that he was wounded in the spine, and he feared lest he should be compelled to leave the field. Again he ordered another charge, which was bravely executed. Then the brigade was forced back a little, but with desperate valor General Lytle rallied his men, and led them forward until, pierced by three bullets, he fell at the head of his charging column. Captain Howard Green, a volunteer-aid, sprang from his horse, received the General in his arms, and was rewarded with a smile of grateful recognition. Several officers and orderlies attempted to bear him off the field. The peril of this undertaking may be imagined since two of the orderlies were killed, and Colonel William B. McCreary was wounded, and left for dead on the field. General Lytle repeatedly opened his eyes and motioned to his friends to leave him and save themselves. Finally, upon coming to a large tree upon a green knoll, they laid him down. He then handed his sword to one of the orderlies, and waving his hand toward the rear, he thus tried to express with his last breath, that his well-tried blade should never fall into the hands of the enemy. So closed the life of the poet-soldier—Lytle. His death found him, as he prophetically wrote years before,

> "On some lone spot, where, far from home and friends,
> The way-worn pilgrim on the turf reclining,
> His life, and much of grief, together ends."

Having many friends in the Rebel army, General Lytle was recognized, and his remains were treated with every mark of respect. They were placed in a coffin and buried near Crawfish Springs, there to rest until they could be sent North through the lines. It may be truly said of General Lytle that "his mourners were two hosts—his friends and his foes." When the remains

were conveyed to his home, every honor was paid to them along the entire route. At Chattanooga, especially, where his old command was, the funeral obsequies were most imposing. At Cincinnati the body lay in state in the rotunda of the court-house for a day, and was visited by crowds of people, one-half of whom were ladies. He was buried with military honors. The pageant was large and imposing. All classes, ages, and sexes, seemed anxious to pay their last tribute to the illustrious dead. The houses were draped in mourning, the bells tolled solemnly, and the flags hung at half-mast. Just as the moon was gilding the tombs of Spring Grove Cemetry with mellow light, the sorrowful *cortege* slowly wound its way through the avenues, until it reached the tomb of his fathers, and there, amid the sobs of loving friends, and

"By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,

General William Haines Lytle was laid to rest.

In figure General Lytle was graceful and well-developed. His head was well-proportioned, and was covered with masses of long silken brown hair. His complexion was so fair as to be almost effeminate; but it was relieved by a flowing beard. A high, intellectual brow, expressive gray eyes, delicately curved nostrils, and a resolute mouth, made up an agreeable face, illuminated with the light of genius, and toned down by that unaffected modesty which ever distinguished him. Till the outbreak of the war poetry was to him a frequent occupation and amusement; and some of his fugitive pieces—like the well-known one, "Antony and Cleopatra," (first published in the Cincinnati Enquirer), with which we may fitly conclude this sketch—are likely to retain a prominent place in our lighter literature:

"I am dying, Egypt, dying,
Ebbs the crimson life-tide fast,
And the dark Plutonian shadows
Gather on the evening blast;
Let thine arm, oh Queen, enfold me,
Hush thy sobs and bow thine ear,
Listen to the great heart secrets,
Thou, and thou alone, must hear.

"Though my scarred and veteran legions
Bear their eagles high no more,
And my wrecked and scattered galleys
Strew dark Actium's fatal shore;
Though no glittering guards surround me,
Prompt to do their master's will,
I must perish like a Roman,
Die the great Triumvir still.

"Let not Cæsar's servile minions
Mock the lion thus laid low;
'T was no foeman's arm that felled him,
'T was his own that struck the blow—
His who, pillowed on thy bosom,
Turned aside from glory's ray—
His who, drunk with thy caresses,
Madly threw a world away.

"Should the base plebeian rabble
Dare assail my name at Rome,
Where the noble spouse, Octavia,
Weeps within her widowed home,
Seek her; say the gods bear witness,
Altars, augurs, circling wings,
That her blood, with mine commingled,
Yet shall mount the thrones of Kings.

"And for thee, star-eyed Egyptian!
Glorious sorceress of the Nile,
Light the path to Stygian horrors
With the splendors of thy smile;
Give the Cæsar crowns and arches,
Let his brow the laurel twine,
I can scorn the Senate's triumphs,
Triumphing in love like thine.

"I am dying, Egypt, dying;
Hark! the insulting foeman's cry,
They are coming; quick, my falchion,
Let me front them ere I die.
Ah, no more amid the battle
Shall my heart exulting swell;
Isis and Osiris guard thee,
Cleopatra, Rome, farewell!"

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM SOOY SMITH.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Tarleton, Pickaway County, Ohio, on the 22d of July, 1830. His father was a captain in the war of 1812, and his grandfather was a revolutionary soldier. Both belonged to the Society of Friends, but they severed their connection with their sect to fight for their country.

In September, 1844, the father, yielding to the desires of his son, gave him two shillings and his blessing, and permitted him to go to Athens, the seat of the Ohio University. The young student attended a select school for one year, and then entered the Preparatory Department of the College. He rang the bell, swept the halls, carried coal, attended to the grounds, in short, was a veritable "professor of dust and ashes," and received sufficient salary to pay his expenses. He graduated in 1849, and through the influence of the Faculty and other friends, he obtained an appointment as Cadet in the West Point Military Academy. McPherson, Sill, Schofield, Terrill, and other distinguished officers, were classmates, and the two first mentioned were his roommates. During two years out of the four which he spent at the academy, Cadet Smith was reported as one of the distinguished members of his class; and upon graduation, he was assigned as Brevet Second-Lieutenant to the Third Artillery. When he became full Second-Lieutenant, he was transferred to the Second Artillery; but finding army-life in time of peace rather monotonous, he soon resigned.

Buffalo, New York, then became his residence, and for two years he taught a select school, and then commenced civil engineering. In this he was very successful; he travelled through almost all the States, the Canadas, and the West Indies. When the war broke out he was engaged in the construction of a bridge over the Savannah River, where it is crossed by the railroad leading from Savannah to Charleston; but, ten days before the attack upon Sumter, he escaped to the North, and entered the volunteer service as Assistant Adjutant-General, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was very soon made Colonel of the Thirteenth Ohio Infantry, and he immediately moved with the regiment to West Virginia, where he participated in the campaigns of the summer and fall of 1861, under McClellan and Rosecrans. In the reports of the battle of Carnifex Ferry he was specially mentioned for gallantry, and in the pursuit of Floyd he led the advance, and three times engaged the enemy's rear-guard, for which he was again honorably mentioned in official reports.

His regiment was transferred from West Virginia to Louisville, Kentucky, and was assigned to the Army of the Ohio under General Buell. Colonel Smith

participated in the advance on Bowling Green and Nashville, and in the battle of Pittsburg Landing he commanded the Fourteenth Brigade, and on the 7th of April was engaged from eight o'clock in the morning until the close of the battle. The same ground was fought over three times. The brigade captured Standiford's Mississippi battery twice, and finally held it; many prisoners also were captured, among them Colonel, afterward General, Battle, of Tennessee. Six hundred and ten dead Rebels were counted in front of the brigade, but some of these were killed the day before. The brigade lost one-fifth of its number killed and wounded, but none were captured. Colonel Smith was again mentioned in official reports for gallantry and meritorious conduct, and was promoted to Brigadier-General, to rank from the 7th of April, 1862.

General Smith had already been employed in opening the railroad from Bowling Green to Nashville and from there southward, and now, upon the evacuation of Corinth, he was directed to open the railroad from that point to Decatur. This he accomplished in three weeks, by the aid of the First Michigan Engineers. He was then assigned to the command of the Third Division, Army of the Ohio. Soon after this the Rebel cavalry, under Morgan and Forrest, began to make destructive raids on the National lines of communication in Tennessee and Kentucky. General Smith was placed in command of about fifteen thousand troops, stationed upon the triangle of railroads having its vertices at Nashville, Decatur and Stephenson, and was busily engaged in building stockades and forts to protect the lines, when Bragg advanced into Kentucky. General Smith concentrated at Nashville, and was ordered to assume command of Bowling Green and defend it to the last. With four companies of cavalry as an escort, General Smith marched eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and reached Bowling Green safely. Here he remained until Bragg's army attacked Munfordsville and the main body of the National army arrived, when he was placed in command of the Fourth Division, and continued in command of it during the remainder of the campaign. He was present at the battle of Perryville, and participated in the pursuit of the Rebel army; beyond Wild Cat he led the advance, and had several sharp skirmishes. During the pursuit General Smith's division received the surrender of about six hundred Rebel soldiers, and captured four hundred fat cattle from the enemy's supply train. When the pursuit ended, the division moved to Nashville.

Just before the advance on Murfreesboro', General Smith was relieved by General Rosecrans, to make room for his senior. At his own request he was transferred to General Grant's army, and was assigned to the command of the First Division of the Sixteenth Corps, stationed along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, from Memphis to Grand Junction. He remained here until Vicksburg was invested, in the meantime making many raids into the Rebel territory between the Coldwater and the Tallahatchie. Enough horses and mules were captured to remount the cavalry, and to supply the trains with good draught animals. The General suggested the Grierson raid, and prepared the command for its adventurous ride. Upon the investment of Vicksburg, General Smith was assigned the duty of holding Haines's Bluff. Here Smith's and Kimball's

divisions dug six miles of rifle-pits and constructed six strong batteries in one week, for which they were highly commended by General Grant. Immediately after the surrender of Vicksburg, General Smith moved with his division against General Johnston, at Jackson. He participated in several sharp skirmishes, and in one of them lost eighty men in five minutes. After this he was assigned to duty on General Grant's staff as Chief of Cavalry, and in that capacity accompanied the General to Nashville and Chattanooga.

About this time General Smith was ordered to collect all the available cavalry at Memphis and to move southward, and to effect, if possible, a junction with General Sherman's forces at Meridian, on the celebrated raid to that point. There was at least twelve thousand Rebel cavalry which could be concentrated against General Smith; and it was definitely understood between General Sherman and General Smith, that the latter was not to risk a sacrifice of his command to cut his way through, General Sherman stating that his own success was not contingent upon a junction of the forces. It was thought that a junction could be effected at Meridian by the 10th of February; but the cavalry did not concentrate as rapidly as was expected, and General Smith did not leave Memphis until the 10th. At the very start the advance was confronted by General Forrest, who disputed the crossing of the Tallahatchie. Leaving a brigade of infantry to engage Forrest, General Smith threw his whole cavalry force up the river thirty miles, and crossed without firing a gun. Passing through Pontotoc toward Huston, he approached a swamp over which the road passed on a corduroy causeway. This road was held by a strong force, and as it was impossible to flank the swamp, General Smith changed his course, and turning to the left struck Okaloona, and sweeping down the Mobile and Ohio Road destroyed thirty-five miles of railroad, thirteen bridges and trestles, two trains of cars, five million bushels corn, and seven thousand bales of Confederate cotton. Negroes came in from every direction, bringing with them, in many instances, the horses and mules which their masters had sent them into the woods to secrete. When the expedition reached West Point, at least five thousand negroes and three thousand head of stock were collected. At the Octibbeha General Smith again encountered Forrest's entire force. The river was fordable at only one point, and that was guarded by a force fully equal to General Smith's. He was now one hundred and sixty miles in the Rebel territory; he was encumbered by his captures, and a Rebel brigade was moving upon his rear; accordingly he commenced to retire, and for the first sixty miles there was continuous fighting. The Rebels acknowledged a loss in killed and wounded of five hundred (among them was Forrest's brother, a Colonel commanding a brigade), and, in addition, they lost two hundred and fifty captured. The National loss was two hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing. General Smith reached Memphis safely with the stock, negroes, and prisoners, and on reporting to General Grant at Nashville, he was commended for the skill with which he managed the enterprise.

When General Sherman succeeded General Grant in the command of the

BRIG GEN C P BUCKINGHAM
BRIG GEN R P BUCKLAND
BRIG GEN E B SCAMMON
BRIG GEN B S ROBERTS

Military Division of the Mississippi, General Smith remained Chief of Cavalry, and exerted himself to the utmost to prepare the cavalry for the coming campaign. Horses were issued at the rate of five thousand per month, and arms and accoutrements were urged forward in great haste. But the excessive fatigue endured by General Smith in his Mississippi raid so shattered his system as to bring on an attack of inflammatory rheumatism in July, 1864, and for six weeks he lay on his bed, unable to move even a finger. His physician informed him that he never would be fit for active service, and though he might here perform post-duty, he had no relish for so inactive a position. Having given eight years of his life to the military service of his country, he tendered his resignation, feeling, as he himself expressed it, that he had done but little, and regretting that he could not do more, in a cause to which he would have freely given his life. The country he served will not rate his work so cheaply.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. P. BUCKINGHAM.

THE subject of this sketch was born March 14, 1808, at Putnam, then Springfield, Muskingum County, Ohio. His father, Ebenezer Buckingham, was one of the early settlers in the State, and his mother was a daughter of General Rufus Putnam, a soldier in the Revolution, the first Chief Engineer in the United States Army, and the first man to lead a band of settlers to Ohio. Young Buckingham was appointed a Cadet by President Monroe, and at the age of seventeen he entered West Point. His application was such that at the end of one year he was appointed Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics, and for two years, besides prosecuting his own studies, he spent several hours each day in teaching. At the end of four years he graduated second in Mathematics, Philosophy, and Engineering; and sixth in general merit. Among his classmates were General Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, O. M. Mitchel, Thomas A. Davis, James Barnes, Thomas Swords, and others of less celebrity.

In 1829 he was commissioned by President Jackson as Second-Lieutenant in the Third United States Artillery, and before the expiration of the usual furlough he was ordered to join a party engaged in surveying Green River, Kentucky, with a view to render it navigable. The next winter was spent in Washington completing maps of the survey, and in the following September, after a furlough of four months, he was ordered to West Point as Acting Assistant Professor of Natural Philosophy. After serving one year in this capacity,

Lieutenant Buckingham decided to quit the service and to devote himself to civil pursuits.

In 1833 he was called to the Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, which position he held for three years; and upon his retirement he was chosen a trustee of the institution. Professor Buckingham settled in Mount Vernon, Ohio, and in 1849 became the senior partner in the Kokosing Iron Works. In 1856 he removed temporarily to Chicago, where he spent two years in building and putting in operation the grain houses of the Illinois Central Railroad. At the end of that time he returned to Ohio and resumed the management of the Kokosing Iron Works.

A few days after the fall of Sumter Governor Dennison offered Mr. Buckingham the position of Assistant Adjutant-General of Ohio, and he at once repaired to Columbus and reported for duty. At that time the State of Ohio was organizing twenty-two regiments. These troops, to the number of seventeen or eighteen thousand, were collected in several camps and fed by contract at the rate of fifty cents per day for each man. The necessity for an organized Commissary Department was very urgent, and within a week after arriving in Columbus, Mr. Buckingham was appointed Commissary-General of the State. He immediately established depots of provisions, purchased supplies, appointed assistant commissaries, and within two weeks the troops were put upon regular army rations, and were fed at an average cost of fourteen cents per day for each man.

After the Commissary Department was fully organized, General Carrington, the Adjutant-General of the State, was commissioned in the regular army, and General Buckingham was appointed to succeed him; and for nine months he labored incessantly in raising regiments and forwarding them to the field. Special difficulties arose between the State authorities and the authorities at Washington in regard to the recruiting service, and to give a minute account of General Buckingham's efforts to bring order out of confusion; to establish a system of recruiting on fixed principles; to organize and arrange the records of the office so that the information which they contained should be reliable and easily accessible; to bring the War Department into proper relations with the State authorities; to reconcile the conflicting claims of officers, and, in a word, to meet all the wants and requirements of his position—to give a minute account of all this would require the publication of a voluminous correspondence, and an innumerable number of official documents. It is sufficient to say that by the end of the year eighty thousand men had been organized and equipped for the three years' service. Upon the accession of Governor Tod, General Buckingham still continued in his position, and nothing ever occurred in his private and official intercourse either with Governor Dennison or with Governor Tod to interrupt for a moment the confidence that existed between them.

On the 1st of April, 1862, General Buckingham was offered, and he accepted, the position of Brigadier-General of Volunteers, with special reference to service in the War Department. General Buckingham's duty was of a very miscellaneous character. Two or three examples will be sufficient to give an idea

of its nature. In July, 1862, when the National affairs on the James River wore their most gloomy aspect, it was decided that strenuous efforts should be made to raise a large additional force. Experience had shown the necessity of a complete understanding between the War Department and the State authorities; and to effect this the Secretary of State set out to visit several of the Governors, and to have interviews with them upon the subject. General Buckingham was directed to accompany him, with authority from the War Department to remove so far as possible any impediments which the State authorities might find in the way of recruiting. Together they conferred with the Governors of Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts; and then General Buckingham proceeded alone to Cleveland, where he met the Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin; and, without doubt, the arrangements thus made greatly facilitated the business of recruiting.

In October, 1862, General Buckingham was ordered to repair to Columbus, Indianapolis, and Rock Island, to select sites for the arsenals authorized at the preceding session of Congress. He performed this duty by selecting those now occupied by the Government at Columbus and Indianapolis, and by recommending that Rock Island, already owned by the Government, be selected for the third. His report was adopted in every particular.

The first conscription was ordered in July, 1862, and General Buckingham was selected to organize and arrange the details, and to set the machinery in motion. While engaged in this duty his attention was directed to the enormous amount of desertion and straggling, and also to the necessity of some means by which the Government could reach and control the recruiting system at all points. To this end, he suggested to the Secretary of War the propriety of appointing Provost-Marshals; and subsequently the Provost-Marshal's Bureau was established mainly upon General Buckingham's plan.

In February, 1863, Congress determined to pass a conscription law, and the Senate Military Committee requested General Buckingham to meet them, and to make such suggestions as would assist them in drawing up a bill. After hearing the views of General Buckingham, whose past experience, both as a State officer, and as having charge of the conscription during the previous summer, had made him quite familiar with the subject, the Committee requested him to take the papers and memoranda to his office and to draw up a bill to be submitted to them. This he did; and the bill as it passed Congress varied but little from the one which he reported to the Committee.

About this time General Buckingham's private affairs, which he had almost wholly neglected since the opening of the war, demanded his attention; and accordingly he tendered his resignation, and once more returned to civil life. His services through the war were not of the kind that figure largely in the public eye or in the newspapers of the day, but a large share of the credit which Ohio won for her promptitude in filling her quotas, and for the admirable organization of her troops is due to General Buckingham; and his name will ever deserve prominent mention in her list of those who served and honored their native State through the trials of the Great Rebellion.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FERDINAND VAN DERVEER.

FERDINAND VAN DERVEER, a brave and trusty officer from the opening to the end of the war, was born in Butler County, Ohio, 27th February, 1823, and was educated at Farmers' College, Ohio.

In May, 1846, he volunteered as a private in the company of the First Ohio (Colonel Alexander M. Mitchell), raised in Butler County, for the Mexican war. By October 4, 1846, he had passed through all the grades, Orderly-Sergeant, Second and First-Lieutenant, and had become Captain of his company. His company was at the head of one of the assaulting columns in the storming of Monterey, and his own conduct was conspicuously handsome. He continued to serve under General Taylor until 1847, when his regiment was mustered out.

Returning to Hamilton, Ohio, he first entered politics, and was presently elected sheriff of his native county. He subsequently entered upon the practice of law.

Soon after the outbreak of the rebellion he was appointed Colonel of the Thirty-Fifth Ohio. He recruited his regiment in six weeks, and was the first to take the field on the Central Kentucky line. Leaving Hamilton on the 26th of September, 1861, he reached Cynthiana, Kentucky, on the night of the same day.

His experience in Mexico caused every step taken in the rapid drill and discipline of his men to be of the most practical character, and the six weeks spent in camp in Ohio and Kentucky were given assiduously to preparation for active field service.

In the field his first care was to see for himself that his picket-lines were properly established, at any cost of fatigue and reconnoissance. His care of all the interests of his men was unceasing, and no effort on his part was ever spared to promote their comfort. From the men up through all grades of officers with whom he served, confidence in his judgment was general. Though suffering from attacks of a chronic disease contracted in Mexico, he was often in the saddle when he should have been in bed. At the battle of Mill Springs he got out of a sick-bed, where he had lain for weeks dangerously ill, and rode to the field with his regiment.

Colonel Van Derveer remained in the command of his regiment, following the fortunes of Buell's army through Tennessee to Pittsburg Landing and Corinth, and back toward Nashville, till, in September, 1862, the death of General Robert L. McCook left to him the command of the brigade of that lamented officer. With the exception of only a few months, he continued to command

this brigade until the expiration of his term of service, in September, 1864. It was the brigade originally organized by General George H. Thomas, shortly before the battle of Mill Springs, which was always a part of his command, and an object of his especial pride.

Soon after assuming command of the brigade, Colonel Van Derveer gave close attention to its drill as such, and long before these evolutions were common in the army to which he was attached, his regiments were skilled in all the movements of line which would be of practical use in battle.

The separate regiments making up the command arrived at a point where each had perfect confidence in the ability of the other to execute any maneuver. The result was, that in the first general battle after his assuming command his brigade was a unit, and through both days of that hot fight performed all of its evolutions as promptly as if on parade. It moved habitually in two lines, the one relieving the other as the ammunition became exhausted, or as the front became fatigued. From first to last it gave no foot of ground to the enemy, and on each day drove the enemy in its immediate front a full third of a mile when, regarding the field generally, the Rebel line was advancing.

How Colonel Van Derveer's conduct at the head of his brigade was esteemed in the army may be best seen, perhaps, in the official reports of his superiors. General J. M. Brannan, in his report on Chickamauga to General Thomas, said, with reference to the extreme right of his line, after the rout of the rest of the army had left it exposed:

"Finding that this latter point was the key to the position so desired by the enemy, I made every preparation to defend it to the last, my command being somewhat increased, and most opportunely re-enforced by Colonel Van Derveer's brigade (Third), which having successfully, though with great loss, held its precarious position in the general line until all in its vicinity had retreated, retired in good order, actually cutting its way through the Rebels to rejoin my division. This gallant brigade was one of the few who maintained their organization perfect through the hard-fought passes of that portion of the field. Where the conduct of all is so commendable, it is hardly possible for me to select any for particular mention. Yet I can not conclude this report without bringing to the special notice of the commanding General the gallant and meritorious conduct of Colonel F. Van Derveer, Thirty-Fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, commanding Third Brigade, whose fearlessness and calm judgment in the most trying situations added materially to the efficiency of his command, which he handled both days in the most skillful manner, punishing the enemy severely."

General A. Baird, who succeeded General Brannan in the command of the latter division, in his report to General Thomas regarding the storming of Mission Ridge, says:

"To my brigade commanders, Brigadier-General Turchin of the First, and Colonel Van Derveer of the Second, I invite your attention. To their skill, bravery, and high soldierly qualifications we are greatly indebted for the results we were able to accomplish. I hope that their services will be rewarded."

And after the Atlanta campaign, General Baird reported to General Thomas:

"On the 27th (June, 1864), Colonel Van Derveer, commanding my Second Brigade, who had long been suffering from disease, was compelled to go North for relief, and turned over the command of the brigade to Colonel Gleason, Eighty-Seventh Indiana, who has since retained it.

"In losing Colonel Van Derveer my command and the service generally was deprived of one of its most gallant and best officers, and most accomplished gentlemen. Always prompt, judicious, and brave, he had distinguished himself on many fields, and his promotion had been strongly urged upon the Government, but unaccountably overlooked.

"The long record would be incomplete should I fail to mention especially the five officers who, as brigade commanders, have been my chief assistants in the campaign.

"Colonel F Van Derveer, Thirty-Fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, the brave and accomplished commander of the Second Brigade at Chickamauga and at Mission Ridge, remained with the command until the end of June. He also has, by expiration of term of service, been returned to civil life."

Just before the line broke on the second day at Chickamauga there came an occasion for testing the General's mettle and the nerve of his troops. His brigade being in reserve was ordered to the left to re-enforce a hard-pressed point. Deploying his battalion, which was closed in mass, he marched rapidly toward the threatened point. The line of march lay through a forest skirting the road to Chattanooga. He had no knowledge of any force of the enemy having gained the rear. However, just as his front line was marching through some thick underbrush and coming out in the road, it received a brisk musketry fire exactly enfilading both lines, delivered by a heavy skirmish line of an entire division of Rebels advancing rapidly down the road, their line crossing it at right-angles. Without replying to the fire, the General in an instant sent a staff officer to each regiment, and while the ranks were actually melting away, the brigade in two lines changed front, both lines lay down, and received the full front fire from the Rebels. The remnant, however, delivered a volley which checked the Rebel line at less than a hundred yards, when, upon an order, the rear line (Thirty-Fifth and Ninth Ohio regiments) rose, and with a cheer to which they had been trained, without firing a shot, charged on a full run directly into the whole Rebel division, which turned and fled, followed closely for a full third of a mile by Van Derveer's entire brigade. Many prisoners were captured, and the army saved from being cut in two at the point attacked.

Oddly enough, the Rebel division proved to be that of Breckinridge—a gentleman whom Colonel Van Derveer had often expressed a desire to meet in the field, that he might get satisfaction for having voted for him for the Presidency.

After his muster-out in the fall of 1864, Colonel Van Derveer was appointed a Brigadier-General and assigned to the Fourth Army Corps, then operating in Tennessee. In this position he served through the brief remnant of the war.

General Van Derveer possessed many of the most valuable characteristics of an officer. Though never "spoiling for a fight," he was always anxious for any duty that would tell on the operations of the campaign. He was quick to sieze upon all the features of a position—for fortifications, attack, pickets. He always paid special attention to selecting comfortable camps; gave personal attention to every thing connected with the well-being of his troops; always had the best transportation, and took pride in keeping it in prime order; knew all his men by name, and generally had a joke that each would appreciate when

he met him; had the faculty of organizing his men so as to gain speed in field-work of all kinds; was so unceasingly vigilant, that from the day he entered the field a surprise to his camp would have been an impossibility. In action he was a cool and close observer. He was always close along the fighting line, always on horseback, and generally exposed more than any of his men.

He was a volunteer, and as such, was in the habit of criticising freely the orders he received, sometimes carrying his objections and expostulations to what a regular would call the verge of insubordination. A signal instance of this occurred almost at the outset of his career in Kentucky. He received from General Sherman one of the first and least justifiable of those panic-stricken orders on which many officers of the army based (and still base) their belief that General Sherman was insane. It was an order to destroy the railroad at Cynthiana, abandon every thing, and march back to Cincinnati! Van Derveer knew that the alarm was groundless; and, furthermore, he saw the absurdity of destroying the railroad and marching back to Cincinnati, when he might so much easier go back by rail, if a retreat became necessary He accordingly took the responsibility of flatly disobeying the order.

Before the war he had been a strong Breckinridge Democrat—a friend and supporter of Vallandigham. Soon after reaching Cynthiana, Kentucky, whose citizens made great outcry because his regiment had violated the laws of the State in bringing free negroes into the place, he ordered all black servants brought from Ohio to be taken back. With these early sentiments, he was still one of the first to learn the lesson of the war as it stood related to slavery; and long before his term expired he ranked with the advance of the most earnest War-Democrats. Though the majority of his regiment felt as he did politically when it took the field, in the great campaign between Brough and Vallandigham the latter did not receive a single vote in his regiment. This was in great measure due to the decided position taken by its first commander.

On leaving the service he took an active part in the Republican campaign of 1865, stumping the old Vallandigham district and carrying with him a large number. Just before the break between Congress and the President occurred, he received the appointment of Collector of the Third Ohio District. This was given at the time wholly on his military record and without any pledges whatever. In the canvass which followed the President's defections, though strongly urged by the old-time Democratic friends to take the stump for Johnson, he steadily refused.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE P. ESTE.

GEO. PEABODY ESTE, an officer in the service from the outbreak till the close of the war, with a record always good and sometimes brilliant, was born at Nashua, New Hampshire, on the 30th of April, 1830. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1846, at the age of sixteen.

Shortly after his graduation, in consequence of a brain fever, which left him in feeble health, he made a trip to California, where, with true Yankee "go-aheadativeness," the young college lad speedily began to interest himself in mining operations; in which, however, he gained more experience than money. While speculating in gold mining he also read law.

In 1850 he returned to "the States," paid a visit to the old homestead, then went to Galena, Illinois, and there began the practice of his profession with considerable success. In 1856 he removed to Toledo, where he continued in the practice, in the office of M. R. Waite, the acknowledged leader of the bar in Toledo, until the outbreak of the war. In 1859 he was elected prosecuting attorney of that county on the Republican ticket, in spite of obstacles which seemed to insure his defeat in advance. He was in those days a Republican of somewhat radical views, approaching more nearly to the position of Mr. Chase than to that of any of the other party leaders in the State.

When the news of the fall of Fort Sumter reached the North he was on a business visit at Troy, New York. He immediately sent a dispatch to his personal friend and political enemy, James B. Steedman, of Toledo, then conspicuous as the Democratic leader of the north-western section of the State. "Are you for your country," ran the dispatch, "after this news, or for your party?" He added that he would take the first train home, and that meantime he hoped Steedman would call a war meeting.

Steedman did call the meeting, and by the time Este arrived the war fever had risen so high that Steedman felt authorized in telegraphing to Columbus the offer of a full regiment within ten days—the first regiment offered for the war. He now proposed that Este should take the Colonelcy. This Este refused, and, in the hope of stimulating enlistments, himself volunteered as a private in the ranks. When the regiment was full, he was elected Lieutenant-Colonel (Steedman himself being chosen Colonel), but this also he declined at first. In some ten days, however, he accepted the position, and entered upon its duties.

Thenceforward, for some years, his history is that of the Fourteenth Ohio. He crossed with it into West Virginia, at Parkersburg, when the occupation of that State was determined upon; with it led the way along the broken railroad

to Grafton; with it fell upon Porterfield's fleet Virginians at Philippi, in the first skirmish of the war; with it advanced on Laurel Hill, led the pursuit of Garnett, and routed his rear-guard at Carrick's Ford; with it was transferred from Western Virginia to Buell's army, and advanced from Pittsburg Landing on Corinth.

After having been in constant service with the regiment until the fall of 1862, as Lieutenant-Colonel, he then took command of it, on the return from Corinth to Decherd—Colonel Steedman having by this time been assigned to higher duties.

From this time he led the regiment through all the battles of the Army of the Cumberland, with one exception, until he was able to lead it back on its veteran furlough. The exception was the battle of Chickamauga, which he missed by reason of the urgent calls from Ohio which had induced General Rosecrans to order him back to Ohio, nominally on recruiting duty, that he might participate in the campaign against Vallandigham.

He was now able to accomplish the work which, out of his whole military service, he himself most values. He saw very clearly, as the expiration of the terms of enlistment began to approach, the necessity of securing the continued services of the large body of instructed soldiery who made up the best part of the Army of the Cumberland; and to the task of obtaining their re-enlistment as veterans he devoted himself. For some time the work was a difficult one, but it was at last happily accomplished. To Colonel Este, as much, at least, as to any officer of his grade, more perhaps than to any other, was due this success; and for it he received the grateful acknowledgments of his superiors.

At the expiration of the veteran furlough, Colonel Este took back his regiment to the field, rejoining the army at Chattanooga.

He was then put in command of the Third Brigade, Third Division, Fourteenth Army Corps, comprising the Fourteenth Ohio, Thirty-Eighth Ohio, Tenth Indiana, and Eleventh Kentucky Infantry This brigade he continued to lead through the Atlanta Campaign, the march to the sea, the campaign of the Carolinas, and the Grand Review

He was in all the battles of his corps: Snake Gap, Resaca, Kenesaw, the Chattahoochie, Peachtree Creek (in which, however, his command only skirmished), and at Jonesboro' At the Chattahoochie he was slightly wounded in the leg, and his horse was shot under him; and at Jonesboro' he was again slightly wounded, and another horse was shot under him. The number of his narrow escapes in this campaign was something remarkable. He started out with a pair of high, glazed cavalry boots; by the time he reached Atlanta they were fairly shot to pieces, and he had received repeated contusions from half-spent balls which they served to check; so that it came to be a saying in the division that Este's boots were a better coat of mail than the patent bullet-proof vests which the agents and sutlers had been trying to introduce.

At Jonesboro' Colonel Este and his brigade were particularly distinguished. After the repulse of the regulars, he led them up to the attack, stormed two lines of works held by Hardee's command, captured four hundred and twenty-

six prisoners, two pieces of artillery and three battle-flags, and lost in the brief assault three hundred and thirty killed and wounded, out of one thousand and twenty engaged. So brilliant was his conduct, and that of his brigade in this action, as to draw from the division commander the following unusually eulogistic notice in his official report:

"This charge of my Third Brigade, one of the most magnificent on record, and the first, during this campaign, in which works upon either side have been assaulted and carried, was productive of the greatest results, in opening the way for the advance of the troops on our right and left, and destroying the *morale* of the boldest and most confident troops in the Rebel army.

"The losses sustained attest the severity of the struggle. Out of eleven hundred officers and men who went into the action, seventy-five were killed, and two hundred and fifty-five wounded, nearly one out of every three being hit, and all in a space of thirty minutes' time. Among those who fell was the gallant Colonel Choate, of the Thirty-Eighth Ohio, who has since died. Major Wilson, commanding the Fourteenth Ohio, lost his leg; and numerous others of our best officers and men, on this glorious occasion, sacrificed themselves upon the altar of their country. For the names of those who particularly distinguished themselves, I refer to the reports of brigades and regiments.

"On no occasion within my own knowledge has the use of the bayonet been so well authenticated. Three brothers, named Noe, of the Tenth Kentucky, went over the Rebel parapet together, and two of them pinned their adversaries to the ground with the bayonet, and as an officer of the Seventy-Fourth Indiana was about to be bayoneted by a Rebel, a soldier warded off the blow and, after some moments fencing, transfixed his antagonist. These, as the wounded Rebels show, are but isolated instances.

"The brigade captured four hundred and twenty-six prisoners, including fifty-five officers, from the rank of Colonel down. They were from the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Kentucky; the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Arkansas; the Twenty-Eighth, Thirty-Fourth, and Forty-Sixth Alabama; the Twenty-Fourth South Carolina, and the Sixty-Third Virginia Regiments. It also captured the battle-flags of the Sixth and Seventh Arkansas Regiments, and the battle-flag heretofore spoken of.

"In closing the report of this battle, and whilst testifying to the heroic conduct of all officers and men of the brigade, I can not overlook the splendid gallantry of Colonel Este, commanding it. His horse was shot under him, and his clothing torn with bullets, yet he retained the utmost coolness, and managed his command with a high degree of judgment and skill. I hope that he will receive the reward which his service merits.

"A. BAIRD,
"Brigadier-General, Commanding Division."

Before this, on the 20th November, 1862, Colonel Este had been promoted to the Colonelcy of his regiment, and had been recommended by General Geo. H. Thomas for a Brevet Brigadier-Generalship. Thomas and Sherman now united in recommending him for a full Brigadiership, and the commission was accordingly issued, although he did not receive it till during the campaign of the Carolinas.

In the march to the sea General Este's brigade supported the cavalry during the operations on the left wing, and participated in the little affairs brought on by the enemy's cavalry on that flank.

In the campaign of the Carolinas, just before the battle of Bentonville, General Este was sent back to take charge of the army trains, numbering some one thousand three hundred wagons, which were supposed to be in considerable danger.

Shortly after participating in the Grand Review he resigned his commission, to enter upon the practice of law in Washington City, in connection with Judge James, of Cincinnati.

General Este passed for one of the handsome men of the army. He is tall, portly but compact, with good head, and an open, manly countenance. Yet, three years after the close of the war, he was still a bachelor.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOEL A. DEWEY.

JOEL A. DEWEY, a resident before the war of Ashtabula County, Ohio, and one among the youngest Brigadiers in the service, was born on the 20th of September, 1840.

He entered the service as a Second-Lieutenant of the Fifty-Eighth Ohio, on the 10th of October, 1861. Early in 1862 he was transferred to the Forty-Third Ohio, and mustered in as Captain. After service here until 1864, he was, in February of that year transferred to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the One Hundred and Eleventh United States Colored Infantry. In April, 1865, he became Colonel of the same regiment. In November, 1865, he was appointed a full Brigadier-General of volunteers, in which capacity he continued to serve until his honorable discharge, on the 31st of January, 1866. He then settled in the town of Dandridge, Tennessee.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL BENJAMIN F. POTTS.

GENERAL POTTS was born in Carroll County, Ohio, on January 29, 1836. His parents were farmers. He received a good English education in the public schools of his native county, and when seventeen years old entered the dry-goods store of Charles Boies at Wattsville, Ohio, as clerk. In about a year he left the store and entered Westminster College, at New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. He remained at college during 1854–5 but, his funds becoming exhausted, he returned to Ohio, and engaged in teaching school and reading law.

Although only twenty years of age he took an active part in the political contest of 1856, and addressed numerous meetings in favor of Mr. Buchanan and the Democratic party In September, 1857, he entered the law office of Colonel E. R. Eckley, Carrollton, Ohio (late Colonel of the Eightieth Ohio Infantry, and now member of Congress from the Seventeenth Congressional District), where he remained devoting his whole time to the study of law until May, 1859, when he was admitted to the bar by a full bench of the District Court at Canton, Ohio. He immediately opened a law office in his native county and, by energy and application, soon obtained a good practice.

In November, 1859, he was elected a delegate to the Charleston Convention. He was present at Charleston and Baltimore and voted, first and last, for Stephen A. Douglas.

Upon the fall of Sumter the Douglas Democrat, following the example of his political leader, declared for his country, advocated vigorous war measures, raised a company. and entered the Thirty-Second Ohio. He was mustered as Captain on August 29, 1861. He served with the regiment in West Virginia, and was present at Cheat Mountain and Greenbrier. He was engaged in scouting with his company during a portion of the winter of 1861–62; and in the spring of 1862 he accompanied the regiment in the advance under General Milroy, and was engaged in the battles at McDowell and Franklin. He accompanied General Fremont in his campaign up the Shenandoah Valley in pursuit of Stonewall Jackson, and was present at Cross Keys and Port Republic.

In July, 1862, Captain Potts was detached with his company, and was placed in charge of a battery of light artillery. He was stationed at Winchester until the evacuation of that place in September, 1862, when he fell back with the army to Harper's Ferry For gallant conduct, during the siege of Harper's Ferry, the company was transferred, by order of the War Department, to the artillery arm of the service, and was afterward known as the Twenty-Sixth

Ohio Battery. Captain Potts was now (August, 1862.) appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Ohio Infantry, but he declined to leave his company in the face of the enemy, remained, and was captured at Harper's Ferry September 15, 1862. He was paroled, was sent to Annapolis, Maryland, and thence to Camp Douglas near Chicago.

Owing to the resignation of one and the dismissal of another of the Field-Officers of the Thirty-Second, the regiment became demoralized and many of the men returned to their homes. At the request of Captain Potts the regiment was ordered to Cleveland for re-organization, and it arrived at its destination on the 1st of December with an aggregate of twenty-five officers and fifty-five enlisted men. On the 2d of December Captain Potts was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment. The work of re-organization was at once commenced, and in twelve days there were eight hundred men in camp ready for the field. On the 25th of December he was commissioned full Colonel, and on January 20, 1863, he left Cleveland with the regiment under orders to report to General Grant at Memphis, Tennessee. At Memphis the regiment was assigned to the Third Brigade, Third Division, Seventeenth Army Corps. On the 20th of February Colonel Potts moved with his regiment on the Vicksburg campaign. At Port Gibson he was complimented for gallantry by General J. D. Stevenson, the brigade commander; and at Raymond, Jackson, and Champion Hills he received the thanks of General Logan. At the latter place Colonel Potts charged with his regiment, and captured an eight-gun Rebel battery and about one-half of an Alabama brigade that was guarding it. He was at the front during the entire siege of Vicksburg, and was in command of the skirmish-line the day that Generals Grant and Pemberton negotiated the surrender.

In August Colonel Potts was assigned to the command of the Third Brigade, Third Division, Seventeenth Army Corps, and he accompanied an expedition to Monroe, Louisiana. In November he was transferred by General McPherson, and was placed in command of the Second Brigade, Third Division, Seventeenth Army Corps. On General Sherman's Meridian expedition Colonel Potts led the advance of the Seventeenth Army Corps across Baker's Creek, routed the Rebels under Wirt Adams, and drove them into Jackson. He commanded the forces that destroyed Chunkeyville and the railroad from Meridian south. On March 4, 1864, Colonel Potts with his regiment left Vicksburg for Columbus, Ohio, on veteran furlough; and on the expiration of the furlough he reported at Cairo to General Crocker. He was assigned to the command of the Second Brigade of the Tennessee River expedition, which was to make a campaign in pursuit of the Rebel General Forrest. The expedition arrived at Cliffton, Tennessee, on the 1st of May; but Forrest had made his escape, and so the expedition marched to Huntsville, Alabama. The Seventeenth Corps, to which Colonel Potts was now attached, joined Sherman's army at Acworth, Georgia, on the 10th of June, and participated in the movements at Big Shanty and Kenesaw.

On the 10th of July Colonel Potts was assigned to the command of the First

Brigade, Fourth Division, Seventeenth Army Corps. He participated in the battles near Atlanta on the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 28th of July; and was complimented highly by Generals Blair and Smith in their official reports, and General Giles A. Smith, commanding the Fourth Division, said in a private letter: "Colonel Potts did more, on the 22d of July, 1864, to save the good name of the Army of the Tennessee, than any other one man." The official report of the campaign that closed with the capture of Atlanta, showed that Colonel Pott's brigade had been in the thickest of the fight and, within ninety days, had been reduced in numbers more than one-half. Colonel Potts participated in the battles of Jonesboro' and Lovejoy Stations, and returned with his command to East Point to enjoy a brief rest; but no rest was allowed him, as he was detailed immediately as President of a Court-Martial at General Smith's head-quarters.

He moved with the army to the sea-coast. At the Occonee River he drove the Rebels across the river on the railroad bridge, and held the crossing until pontoons were laid. On the 10th of December he commanded the advance brigade of General Sherman's army, drove the enemy into the works around Savannah, and cut the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. During the siege of Savannah he commanded the post at King's Bridge. He was present at the review in Savannah, December 24, 1864, and at the taking of Pocotaligo Station, South Carolina, January 15, 1865.

Colonel Potts had been recommended repeatedly for promotion, and at this place he received his appointment as Brigadier-General of volunteers. He accompanied Sherman's army through the Carolinas, was present at the capture of Orangeburg and Columbia, and with his brigade was the first to enter Fayetteville. He participated in the battle of Bentonville, and again was present at the capture of Raleigh. After the surrender of the Rebel forces he moved with the army to Washington City, and led his command in the grand review. On the 7th of June he embarked his troops on cars for Louisville, and upon arrival was assigned to the command of the Fourth Division, Seventeenth Army Corps. General Pott's command was mustered out of the service on the 22d of July, and he was ordered to proceed to his home and report by letter to the Adjutant-General of the Army. He was discharged from service January 15, 1866, and he is now engaged in the practice of law at Carrollton, Ohio.

General Potts, though a volunteer officer, stands recommended by Generals Sherman, Howard, Logan, Smith, and Blair for a Colonelcy in the Regular Service. He is full six feet and one inch in height, weighs two hundred and thirty pounds, and possesses wonderful muscular strength and great energy. General Sherman said to General Potts at Richmond, that he wished to show him to the Foreign Ministers at Washington City, as evidence that he had not starved his army while campaigning in the South; and General Sherman actually did point out General Potts at the head of his brigade, on review in front of the Presidential mansion, as his "Sample Vandal."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JACOB AMMEN.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Botecourt County, Virginia, January 7, 1808. When about ten years of age his parents removed to Brown County, Ohio. His father established the first printing office in that county, and published "The Benefactor," a weekly paper, at a little village called Levanna. In this office Jacob learned the printer's art, and followed it for some years.

In June, 1827, he entered West Point Academy, graduated at that institution in July, 1831, and was assigned to the First United States Artillery as Brevet Second-Lieutenant. Among his classmates at West Point were Henry Clay, jr., Samuel R. Curtis, Andrew A. Humphreys, and William H. Emory. In June, 1833, he became a full Second-Lieutenant, and served with his company at Castle Pinckney, Charleston harbor, during the nullification excitement of that day. In October, 1834, he was ordered back to West Point on academic duty. He continued to serve there as Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics, and then as Assistant Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, until November 30, 1837 when he resigned to accept the Professorship of Civil Engineering in Bacon College at Georgetown, Kentucky. From this date until 1861, he was engaged as professor in various colleges of the South and West.

On April 17, 1861, two days after the first gun was fired at Fort Sumter, he enlisted as a private soldier, but was chosen Captain the next day. He reported with his company at Columbus, April 24th. The company was at once assigned to the Twelfth Ohio Infantry, and, on the organization of that regiment, Captain Ammen was elected Lieutenant-Colonel. He was transferred from the Twelfth, and commissioned Colonel of the Twenty-Fourth Ohio by Governor Dennison, June 22, 1861. The Twenty-Fourth was placed in Camp Chase, and Colonel Ammen immediately commenced organizing and preparing his regiment for the field.

On July 26th he left, with his regiment, for Western Virginia, and participated in the affair at Cheat Mountain Summit, September 12th, and in the engagement at Green Briar, Virginia, October 3d. On November 18th he was ordered, with his regiment, to Louisville, Kentucky, arriving at that place on the 28th. On November 30th he was placed in command of the Tenth Brigade, Fourth Division, Army of the Ohio, then under General Buell.

Reaching Nashville on the 25th of February, 1862, the brigade went into a temporary camp. On March 17th it left Nashville on its advance to Pittsburg Landing. On the arrival at Duck River, near Columbia, it was discovered that

the enemy had destroyed the bridge over that stream. Its banks were high and precipitous, and the water was at a stage which rendered it almost impossible to cross without bridge facilities. General Nelson (in charge of the division in which Colonel Ammen's command was brigaded), impatient of delay, ordered Colonel Ammen to devise some means whereby he could place his men on the other side of the stream, and in that way gain the advance. Colonel Ammen at once commenced his operations, and, marching his men to the bank of the creek, ordered them to strip, place their clothes on the points of their bayonets, and make their way to the opposite bank. This order was promptly and successfully accomplished, and thus the delay was overcome.

Colonel Ammen, with his brigade, reached Savannah, twelve miles below Pittsburg Landing, and was there personally met by General Grant, who said to him: "Colonel Ammen, I hardly think we will need your troops. I do not think we will have an engagement short of Corinth. Keep your men in hand at this point, and I will send the boats down for you."

At daylight the next morning (6th of April) the heavy guns of the contending forces at Pittsburg Landing were heard, and an hour or two later came orders to march to the battle-field. Through difficult swamps the column made its way, and, on the evening of the 6th, reached a point on the river opposite the battle-field. Crossing on steamers, it took position, and the next morning the command hotly engaged the enemy.

Colonel Ammen participated in the tedious approach to, and siege of, Corinth, and took part, with his command, in the numerous affairs of that approach.

On July 16, 1862, Colonel Ammen was promoted to the position of Brigadier-General "for valuable services on the march to, and gallant conduct in, the battle of Pittsburg Landing." On August 17th he was placed in command of the Fourth Division of the Army of the Ohio, head-quarters at McMinnville, Tennessee. With this command he accompanied General Buell's army on its memorable march to Louisville, in chase of Braxton Bragg.

While at Louisville, in September, 1862, General Ammen was relieved from active duty in the field on account of bad health. From this time until December, 1863, he was in command at Camp Nelson, and at other points in Kentucky. He was, also, for a period of six months, in command of the District of Illinois, head-quarters at Chicago, a responsible and arduous position. In these various posts General Ammen performed valuable service in organizing and dispatching needed re-enforcements to the field. His military education at West Point eminently fitted him for this description of duty.

From April, 1864, until after the battle of Nashville, he was in command of the Fourth Division of the Twenty-Third Army Corps. While stationed at Knoxville he took part, with his command, in numerous skirmishes and affairs with the enemy, who were at that time making demonstrations in that quarter of Tennessee, in aid of General Hood's movement on Nashville. For a time, at Knoxville, matters assumed a serious shape. If Thomas had been defeated, General Ammen's position would have been critical in the extreme. The General

held matters with a firm hand, and invariably defeated the Rebel bands of cavalry who were operating around Knoxville.

While there he also had many chances to observe the action of *quasi* Union men, in their efforts to supply the Rebels with provisions. Their most approved plan was to deceive Parson Brownlow (then Treasury Agent at Knoxville), get a permit to bring "hogs and salt" through Cumberland Gap, and, at a convenient point on the road, contrive to get "gobbled" by the Rebels. General Ammen, by his personal watchfulness, soon put a stop to this rascality. At one time he dressed himself as a common soldier, contrived to get into conversation with several of these "Union shriekers," and thereby learned their plans.

This was the last service General Ammen performed in the War of the Rebellion. He remained at Knoxville until the middle of January, 1865, when, the war being virtually ended, he resigned and returned to his home in Ohio.

His present residence is on his beautiful country place, near Lockland, Hamilton County. Here he proposes to pass the remainder of his days, devoted to the culture of fine fruits, with which his grounds are bountifully stocked. When on duty, General Ammen was a stern, unbending disciplinarian. When off duty he was ever among his men, listening to their complaints and supplying their wants. No officer in the field was more beloved by the soldiers, and the name of "Uncle Jake Ammen" will ever be held in grateful remembrance by thousands of brave men who had the honor to serve under him.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL DANIEL McCOOK.

DANIEL McCOOK, one of the martyrs of the war, and the third of his family to fall in battle, was the sixth son of Judge Daniel McCook. He was born in Carrollton, Carroll County, Ohio, on the 22d of July, 1834. Unlike his lamented brother Robert, he was delicate and nervous from childhood. He early manifested a liking for books, had a fine memory, familiarized himself with poetry and would recite it by the page, read history, kept a diary—in short, had the ways and characteristics of a thoughtful, studious lad. The surviving members of the family also describe him as affectionate, warm-hearted, unselfish, and devoted to his mother. He was sent to a college at Florence, Alabama, where, after a four years' course, he graduated in 1857. He next studied law, and in 1858 was admitted to practice. He settled in Leavenworth City, and became a member of a notable firm—Ewings, Sherman & McCook—the several members of which were to make some figure in the country a few years later. While here young McCook was married in December, 1860, to Miss Julia Tibbs, of Platte County, Missouri.*

He had a militia company, the Shield Greys. When news came of the firing on Sumter, he marched this company to the fort, and forthwith entered the service. A little later he left Leavenworth City to report to General Lyon, then at Wilson's Creek. "Here's for a General's star or a soldier's grave," was his joyous exclammation as he bade good-by to family and friends at starting. He was, alas, to win both.

Some time after Wilson's Creek, his brother Alexander, then a Brigadier, commanding a division in Buell's army, asked for an appointment for him as Adjutant-General on his staff. In November, 1861, he received this appointment, and he continued to serve in this capacity for nearly a year, accompanying his brother through the advance on Nashville, the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and a part of the inconsequential campaign against Chattanooga that followed.

In May, 1862, he was called to Columbus by Governor Tod, who wished him to undertake the recruiting of the Fifty-Second Ohio. The work went on slowly, but by August the regiment was full, just in time to answer the sudden call for troops in Kentucky at the time of Kirby Smith's invasion.

Thenceforward Colonel McCook's career may be best read in the history of

*Since the death of her husband this lady has married again—the widow of General Daniel McCook becoming the wife of Major Wm. B. Locke, formerly of the Rebel army.

his regiment. He led it for a time with acknowledged success; was then made commander of a brigade containing it and three other new regiments; kept it with him through all the active campaign that followed, from Perryville to Kenesaw, and at the last bore only, on the field on which he fell, the title of Colonel of the Fifty-Second Ohio.

At Perryville Colonel McCook's brigade was in the division of Sheridan, which was advanced from the central corps to the relief of General A. M. McCook's imperiled command. General Sheridan compliments the Colonel in his official report. At Stone River he was sent to look after the ammunition train, and General Rosecrans in person complimented him for having saved it in the hand-to-hand encounter with Wheeler's men. Through the Tullahoma campaign he led his brigade, not failing, as he passed the spot where his brother Robert had been murdered, to detail a detachment instructed to desolate the entire locality. At Chickamauga his brigade held the extreme left of Thomas's position and maintained its ground to the last. It was in Sherman's command at Mission Ridge, and participated actively in the pursuit. It moved to the relief of Burnside at Knoxville, and then returned in time for the Atlanta campaign.

Through this, too, Colonel McCook continued to lead it till, at last, in the fatal assault on Kenesaw Mountain, he fell mortally wounded. "If Harker and Daniel McCook had lived," wrote Sherman afterward, "I believe I should have carried the position."

A little before he died a dispatch was brought him from the War Department, announcing his promotion to a Brigadier-Generalship of volunteers, for distinguished gallantry in battle. He had won the star he set out for, and the soldier's grave as well.

To the bare outlines thus presented we can do no better than add this tribute, from the pen of George D Prentice:

[From a private letter to the author of this work.]

"I first met Daniel McCook at the house of General Rousseau in this city, and was very much pleased with his gentleness, his urbanity, his intelligence, and his ardent patriotism. I felt, before we had been fifteen minutes together, that we were friends. I next met him on the northern bank of Green River, where the army of his brother, General Alexander M. McCook, was stationed. Dan. saw that I had an especial regard for him, and he did whatever he could to make my time pass pleasantly. There had just been a fight on the southern bank of Green River, and although the Confederates were still pretty thick upon that bank, and for a considerable distance beyond, he invited me to make with him a horseback incursion into the doubtful territory. We rode several miles, beholding at two points the marks of battle; and I could not fail to understand that he was far more concerned for me than for himself. While I was at the Green River encampment a little incident occurred that may illustrate in some small degree one phase of Daniel McCook's disposition. He was a pale and feeble-looking young man; one whom you might expect to die of consumption. He has in his command a brave but reckless and lawless soldier. The soldier committed a great offense. It was reported to McCook. The latter summoned him in front of the troops (simply a company, I believe), and told him that he could have him tried and punished with the utmost severity. "But," he added, "I prefer punishing you myself without trial. I will give you a fight. Do the best you can, and whether I whip you or you whip me, your offense shall be forgiven." Daniel whipped him awfully, and he assured us months afterward that the offending soldier would at any time from the date of the whipping have died for him.

"In one of the battles or skirmishes south of Murfreesboro', Daniel McCook shot my son, Colonel Clarence J. Prentice, inflicting a very severe and even dangerous wound. A short time afterward, and while my son was still confined to his bed, I met my friend Dan. at a hotel in Nashville. He knew that I knew that it was he who had wounded my son. He advanced to me, but not with his accustomed alacrity, apprehensive, as he afterward told me, that I might not wish to speak to him. But when I heartily grasped his hand, he gave utterance to all the joyousness of his nature. He told me that he had always liked me and admired me, and that he should thenceforth like and admire me more than ever. And he was kind enough to say (I am sure in all sincerity) that if he had recognized my son in the fight he should have fired his pistol in some other direction.

"My impression of Daniel McCook is that he was one of the noblest, bravest, and most generous spirits that I ever knew. I know not where he sleeps, but I should love to lay a flower upon his grave. Yours respectfully, GEO. D. PRENTICE."

General McCook was buried in Spring Grove Cemetery, near Cincinnati. The family group there sleeping was to receive yet another accession before the war should end.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. W. FORSYTH.

JAMES W FORSYTH was born in Ohio, and appointed a cadet to West Point from Maumee City in 1852. He was graduated in 1856, and commissioned as Brevet Second-Lieutenant of the Ninth Infantry. At the outbreak of the war he had risen to be a First-Lieutenant, and in October, 1861, he was promoted to a Captaincy in the Eighteenth regulars, a new regiment, then recruiting under the management of General Carrington at Columbus. From service with this regiment he was detached for staff duty, and was ultimately attached to the staff of General Sheridan, with whom he served through the active campaigns in the Shenandoah and in the pursuit of Lee, and afterward in the civil administration in the South-west. He was promoted to a Brigadier-Generalship of volunteers, and was brevetted a Brigadier in the regular service in April, 1865. In the autumn of 1867 he was married to the eldest daughter of ex-Governor Dennison.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL RALPH P. BUCKLAND.

GENERAL BUCKLAND was born about 1812 or '13. He studied law and when quite a young man settled at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Ohio, where he has continued to reside ever since. He was elected twice to a seat in the State Senate, and served with honor to himself and with satisfaction to his constituents.

In October, 1861, he began to organize the Seventy-Second Ohio Infantry, and in three months it was ready for the field with full ranks. He left Camp Chase on February 19, 1862, and reported with his regiment to General W T. Sherman at Paducah, Kentucky He was assigned to the command of the Fourth Brigade of Sherman s Division. On the 7th of March he moved up the Tennessee River, and on the 17th encamped at Pittsburg Landing; the left of the brigade resting at Shiloh Church. On the 3d of April he made a reconnoissance with his brigade some four miles to the front, and on the 4th he participated in a skirmish with some of the enemy's advanced forces. On the morning of the 6th Colonel Buckland's brigade was in line full half an hour before the hard fighting began. He advanced his lines about two hundred yards on the left and about four hundred on the right, and met the enemy. The fighting was desperate for two hours, and then the Rebels gradually fell back. During this time Colonel Buckland was riding along the line continually, encouraging officers and men by words and example. When the firing ceased in front of the brigade it retired to the color-line, obtained a fresh supply of ammunition, and was advancing again when orders were received from General Sherman to fall back and to form on the Purdy Road. While forming this line the troops to the left of Colonel Buckland's brigade gave way, and ran in great confusion through the half-formed lines of the brigade, causing it to fall back. Colonel Buckland at the first opportunity rallied his command, and reported to General Sherman for orders. During the second day of the fight the Colonel was continually in the saddle, and three times did he drive the Rebels from his immediate front. General Lew. Wallace remarked on Monday morning, while riding over the ground in front of the brigade, that "Judging from the dead bodies here seems to have been the best and hardest fighting." Colonel Buckland's horse received a slight wound in the neck, but he himself escaped uninjured.

The Colonel continued in command of the brigade during the advance on Corinth until about the 16th of May, when he was succeeded by General J. W Denver. At Memphis, Tennessee, in November, Colonel Buckland was

assigned to the command of a brigade in General Lauman's division, and he accompanied his brigade on the Tal ahatchie expedition. In March, 1863, he received his commission as Brigadier-General to rank from November 29, 1862. He left Memphis on the 20th of March and, joining General Sherman's corps in front of Vicksburg, he participated in that series of battles which occurred in the movement to the rear of Vicksburg. When the Rebels were driven into their fortification General Buckland walked at the head of his command, and led each regiment to its proper position, while shot and shell fell thick about him. One of the color-bearers having faltered in moving forward to his designated position, General Buckland took the colors in his own hand and planted them on the line which he wished the regiment to maintain. During the siege he was always active and vigilant, and was at times much exposed. One day, while he was standing within twelve inches of an artillery officer, a ball passed between their faces; and at another time, while he was examining the works in front of his command, a Minie ball struck the body of a tree just above his head, and fell at his feet. He picked it up and remarked that he would keep that, as it seemed to be intended for him. During the months of August, September, and October his command was in the rear of Vicksburg. About the 1st of October General Buckland's right wrist was broken by his horse falling; and in consequence of this injury he was incapacitated for active field-service for months.

His command arrived at Memphis on the 12th of November, and was retained there by General S. A. Hurlburt. On January 26, 1864, General Buckland was assigned, by direction of Major-General W T. Sherman, to the command of the Post of Memphis, where his administrative abilities were exemplified and his integrity of character was clearly manifested. At the time of the Forrest raid into Memphis General Buckland, though commanding the post, did not have control of the defenses. Forrest captured the cavalry-patrols, rushed over the infantry-pickets, and was in Memphis before daylight. As soon as General Buckland knew of the danger he ordered the signal-gun fired, and in an hour the enemy was driven from the city. General Buckland then rode to the front and, in another hour, the line was clear and the Rebels were moving to the south. He remained in command of the Post of Memphis until December 24, 1864, eleven months; when having been elected to Congress from the Ninth District, he asked to be relieved, and immediately afterward he resigned.

General Buckland never sought popularity in the field or elsewhere; and he was strictly conscientious in the discharge of his duty. He did not ask the nomination for Congress, and he did not go home to forward his election. He was continually on duty, except when sick or disabled, from the time he entered the service until he resigned; and on every battle-field, and in every campaign, he proved himself a brave, energetic, and reliable officer. In Congress his course harmonized with that of the Radical wing of the Republican party; and his constituents manifested at once their approval of his course and their regard for the man, by returning him to the Fortieth Congress with an increased majority.

BRIG GEN ISRAEL GARRARD
BRIG GEN EMERSON OPDYCKE
BRIG GEN THOS KILBY SMITH
BRIG GEN J S ROBINSON
BRIG GEN A C PARRY
BRIG GEN W H POWELL
BRIG GEN VANDERVEER
BRIG GEN S B TYLER
BRIG GEN B B ECCLESTON
BRIG GEN JAS A WILCOX

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. POWELL.

WILLIAM H. POWELL was born in South Wales, Great Britain, on the 10th of May, 1825. When he was only five years old his parents emigrated to the United States, and settled in New Jersey. He removed from there after a year's residence, and spent two years in Pennsylvania. In the spring of 1833 he removed to Nashville, Tennessee; in the spring of 1843 to Wheeling, Virginia; and in the spring of 1853 to Ironton, Lawrence County, Ohio. When the rebellion broke out he was employed as financial agent and general superintendent of an extensive iron manufactory in the State of Ohio.

In August, 1861, he relinquished his position and organized a company for a regiment which was recruited in the counties of Jackson, Lawrence, Athens, Vinton, Meigs, Washington, Morgan, and Monroe. Governor Dennison was requested to assign this regiment to the cavalry service, but the request was refused, in consequence of an order from the Secretary of War, directing the muster out of all cavalry in the United States service in excess of forty regiments. Application was then made to Governor Pierpont, of West Virginia, who, by special permission from the War Department, accepted the organization, and denominated it the Second Regiment (Loyal) West Virginia Cavalry. Thus the State of Ohio lost the credit of an entire organization of seven hundred and ninety enlisted men and thirty-nine officers. In June, 1862, Captain Powell was promoted to Major. In the following fall, with one officer and twenty-five men from his own regiment, he charged a Rebel camp of two hundred men, captured one hundred and seventeen prisoners, including two commissioned officers, five hundred stand of arms, and one hundred and thirty horses. For gallantry in this action he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, and soon after was made Colonel. He led his regiment on the Wytheville Raid and charged into the town, capturing two pieces of artillery and eighty prisoners. The enemy was routed, but unfortunately Colonel Powell was wounded and fell into the hands of the Rebels. He was taken to Richmond, and it being reported that he had burned the property and maltreated the families of Rebels in West Virginia, he was confined, without bed or bedding, for thirty-seven days, and was kept on bread and water. During that time he succeeded in sending a letter to the Rebel General Jenkins, commanding the Department of South-Western Virginia, who, in reply, made such representations to the authorities at Richmond, as induced them to allow Colonel Powell the privileges of a prisoner of war. After suffering the hardships and indignities of a Rebel prison for six months,

he obtained a special parole for thirty days, went North, and succeeded in effecting an exchange for the Rebel Colonel Richard H. Lee. Colonel Powell again assumed command of his regiment, and participated in General Hunter's movement against Lynchburg, and it was Colonel Powell's brigade, the Third of the Second Cavalry Division, that opened the engagement in front of Lynchburg. Upon returning to the Kanawha Valley, Colonel Powell was complimented by General Averill for his part in the expedition. On the 20th of July, 1864, his command was engaged at Stevenson's Depot, on the 22d at Newtown, and on the 24th at Winchester. As a brigade commander he passed through all the battles from Moorefield, on the 7th of August, to Winchester, on the 19th of September, including also the engagement at Fisher's Hill. Colonel Powell succeeded General Averill in the command of the Second Cavalry Division, and led it in all the movements in the neighborhood of Port Republic, Weyer's Cave, and Brown Gap.

He had been recommended for promotion by Generals Averill, Crook, and Sheridan, and these recommendations had been favorably indorsed by President Lincoln. Finally, on the 19th of October, 1864, Colonel Powell was made Brigadier-General for gallant conduct in the battles of Winchester and Fisher's Hill. He was next engaged at Nineveh, where he attacked General Lomax. He killed twenty and wounded twenty-five of the enemy, captured sixty-one prisoners, including twenty commissioned officers, two battle-flags, and all the enemy's artillery and train. His own loss was two killed and fifteen slightly wounded. On the 22d of November General Powell charged his division against Early's whole army, deployed in three lines of battle—the center covered with artillery and the flanks protected by cavalry—and brought off his command in good order, with the loss of only a few men killed. In consequence of family afflictions General Powell tendered his resignation. Very reluctantly it was approved, and passed through the regular channels to Washington. The Secretary of War received an official protest against its acceptance, based on the fact that the cavalry could not afford to lose so well-trained and so gallant an officer, who had been looked up to with confidence by his soldiers from the time he was in the line until he attained the grade of a general officer. But General Powell pushed the matter and his resignation was finally accepted. He issued his farewell address on the 10th of January, 1865; this drew forth a reply from the division, from General Torbert, Chief of Cavalry, and from General Sheridan, all expressive of regret and esteem; and so General Powell left the service, enjoying in the highest degree the affection of his inferiors, and the confidence of his superiors.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN G. MITCHELL.

JOHN G MITCHELL was born in Piqua, Ohio, November 6, 1838. He entered Kenyon College in 1855, graduated in 1859, immediately commenced the study of law in the office of Sloan, Andrews & Noble, at Columbus, and was ready for admission to the bar in the early part of 1861.

On the 27th of June he enlisted as a private in the first battalion of Ohio Reserves, then on duty in the south-eastern part of the State. On the 29th of July he was appointed by Governor Dennison First-Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Third Ohio Infantry He joined his regiment in West Virginia, and participated with it in the campaign under Rosecrans. In the fall of 1861 the Third Ohio was transferred to Kentucky, and was assigned to General O. M. Mitchel's command. On the 21st of December Adjutant Mitchell was commissioned Captain, and in that capacity he served during General Mitchel's campaign in Tennessee and Alabama. He participated in the action at Bridgeport, and in other engagements which occurred during that period.

Captain Mitchell was ordered to Ohio on recruiting service in the latter part of the summer of 1862, and while on that duty he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Thirteenth Ohio. He accompanied the regiment to Kentucky, which, after guarding railroads for a short time, was ordered to the Army of the Cumberland, and for several months was stationed at Franklin, Tennessee. Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell was promoted to the Colonelcy of the regiment April 29, 1863. In June the regiment was attached to the Reserve Corps, Army of the Cumberland, and it participated in all the hardships and marches incident to the Tullahoma campaign, and the pursuit of Bragg. After the occupation of Chattanooga the Third Division of the Reserve Corps was brought up to the immediate vicinity of the main army, in order to give assistance in case the result of the impending battle should render support necessary. Upon the solicitation of General Steedman, commanding the division, Colonel Mitchell was assigned to the command of the Second Brigade. During the first, and the morning of the second, day of the battle of Chickamauga. Steedman's division was stationed at Rossville Gap, and at McAfie's Church, on the Ringgold Road, protecting the left flank of the army. About noon on the second day the division moved in the direction of the sound of the artillery, and arrived on the field of battle just in time to check the victorious course of the Rebels. Mitchell's and Whittaker's brigades at once went into action, and drove back the Rebels that were pressing General Thomas's right. This diversion enabled the army to make sure its retreat, and, perhaps, saved it

from destruction. In the official reports Colonel Mitchell was especially mentioned, and was recommended for promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General.

In the reorganization of the Army of the Cumberland Colonel Mitchell's brigade fell to General John Beatty, and was known as the Second Brigade, Second Division, Fourteenth Corps. At the battle of Mission Ridge the division supported General Sherman's column, and upon the retreat of Bragg, led in the pursuit, having a warm fight with the Rebel rear-guard near Chickamauga Station. The division moved to the relief of General Burnside, at Knoxville, and upon returning, went into winter-quarters at Rossville. Previous to the Atlanta campaign General Beatty resigned, and Colonel Mitchell again assumed command of the brigade. In the Atlanta campaign the brigade was assigned to many difficult and responsible duties. It led the advance at Rocky Face Ridge, suffered severely at Resaca, took a prominent part in the capture of Rome, and in the battles of Dallas and New Hope Church. At Kenesaw Mountain Mitchell's brigade, in conjunction with Colonel Daniel McCook's, led an assault, and suffered terribly in an attempt to break the enemy's center. One single regiment, the One Hundred and Thirteenth Ohio, lost one hundred and fifty men within twenty minutes. At the battle of Peachtree Creek the Second Division was on the extreme right of the army, and Mitchell's brigade had a severe fight in forcing a crossing at the mouth of the stream. In the subsequent movements about Atlanta the Second Division generally operated on the right, and participated in the sanguinary struggles which marked the close of the campaign. At Jonesboro' the Second Brigade captured several pieces of artillery, a large number of small arms, and several hundred prisoners, including one general officer. In the official reports of the campaign, the commander of the Second Brigade was again complimented, and recommended for promotion.

When General Sherman moved from Atlanta on his march to the sea, Colonel Mitchell was at the North, and so was prevented from joining him. He reported to General Thomas, at Nashville, and was placed in charge of the detachment of the Fourteenth Corps which remained there. With his command Colonel Mitchell participated in the battle of Nashville, and in the pursuit of Hood. After this Colonel Mitchell hastened around by New York, and joined his corps at Sister's Ferry, South Carolina. There he found awaiting him a Brigadier-General's commission, bearing date January 12, 1865. This was one of the appointments made by Secretary Stanton during his visit to Sherman at Savannah. General Mitchell was assigned to the command of his old brigade, and he led it through the campaign of the Carolinas. It was engaged at Averysboro' and Bentonville, and at the latter place the Second Brigade was the first to break the impetuous advance of the Rebels, and though compelled to refuse the left until it was at right angles to the right, and to fight at times on both sides of the works, it never left its ground, and at the close of the battle found it occupying the same position which it had taken at the opening. After the surrender of Johnston General Mitchell accompanied his brigade to Washington, and upon the disbanding of the army he tendered his resignation, and returned to Columbus, Ohio, which he made his place of residence.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. SANDERS PIATT.

GENERAL PIATT was born at Cincinnati on May 2, 1821. He received a thorough education at the Athenæum, subsequently called St. Xavier, in his native city. After graduating he chose the life of a farmer, and retired to his lands in the rich valley of the Macacheek, where, surrounded by books and friends, he was tilling the soil and indulging in poetry and politics, the latter more as a pastime than as a pursuit, when the rebellion broke upon the country. He entered earnestly into the strife, offering his services in any capacity to the Government.

On April 30, 1861, he was commissioned as Colonel of the Thirteenth Ohio Infantry, then organized in Camp Jackson, near Columbus. From this camp he was ordered to Camp Dennison, where he remained until the regiment enlisted for the three years' service. An order from the Governor authorized an election for officers; but Colonel Piatt, unwilling to receive as constituents the men whom he had sought to command as soldiers, declined appearing as a candidate for the Colonelcy. He solicited and received authority from Mr. Lincoln to enlist a brigade for the war. Relying upon his own means he selected a camp, and organized the first Zouave regiment (so-called, though for no reason save that they wore a fancy, red-legged uniform which they were soon forced to discard) in Ohio. He subsisted his regiment for one month and six days, and was then commissioned as Colonel and ordered to Camp Dennison. The regiment was designated the Thirty-Fourth. He continued recruiting, with permission from the State authorities, and a second regiment was subsequently organized and designated the Fifty-Fourth. This second regiment was being rapidly filled up, and there is every reason to believe that the brigade would soon have been completed, when Colonel Piatt was ordered to report, with the Thirty-Fourth, to General Rosecrans, then commanding in Western Virginia. He proceeded as far as Camp Enyart, on the Kanawha River, where, for lack of transportation, he was compelled to remain. On the 23d of September he led a portion of his own regiment and a detachment from a Kentucky regiment across the Kanawha, in search of an organized band of Rebels, known to be encamped at some point south, and to be preparing to obstruct the navigation of the river. On the 24th the detachment from the Kentucky regiment was sent up Cole River, while Colonel Piatt continued his march to Chapmansville, where he arrived at three o clock P. M. on the 25th and found the Rebels strongly fortified. After making a reconnoissance he attacked and drove the enemy, in utter rout, from his position, and wounded and captured the commander of the force, Colonel J. W Davis.

During the return march the troops were overtaken by a storm, almost unparalleled for severity in the history of the valley; Camp Enyart was submerged, and they went into quarters at Camp Piatt.

Colonel Piatt next attacked and defeated a Rebel force at Hurricane, which was co-operating with General Floyd, then at Cotton Hill; and on the 24th of October he went into winter-quarters at Barboursville. In March, 1862, by order of General Cox, he removed to Gauley Bridge; where, in the latter part of the month, he was taken ill with typhoid fever. He returned on leave to his home in Ohio, where he remained until he recovered sufficiently to report for duty During this sickness he was commissioned Brigadier-General, and was ordered to report to General Fremont. He joined that officer at Harrisonburg in the Shenandoah Valley, and was assigned a brigade in General Schenck's division. When General Sigel succeeded General Fremont, General Piatt was ordered with his brigade to Winchester, and was directed to fortify and to command that post. He enjoyed the satisfaction of having his works inspected and approved by General Sigel.

On the 28th of July he was directed to report to General Sturgis at Alexandria, and was assigned to a brigade in General McClellan's army, which was then returning from the Peninsula. Shortly after organizing his brigade General Piatt received information from the division General, that in the press for transportation he had succeeded in securing only twenty cars; that these should be at the disposal of the first regiments ready to take possession of them, and that they would thus be privileged to go to the front. General Piatt immediately took possession of the track, and as soon as the cars arrived ordered his men into them. He arrived at Warrenton Junction at midnight, and the next day, August 26th, he reported to General Pope.

On the evening of the 27th General Piatt was ordered to march to Manassas Junction. He immediately put his troops in motion and had proceeded three miles, when General Sturgis ordered his return to Warrenton Junction to protect that point from an expected attack. On the morning of the 28th he was again ordered to Manassas Junction. He reached the junction at noon on the 29th, having been seriously delayed by trains and troops in his front. He marched a mile and a half towards the battle-field on the Manassas Gap Road, and was then ordered back to the junction; but before reaching the junction he was directed to march toward the gap. He went into camp for the night, and in the morning received an order to report to General Porter. He had proceeded but a few hundred yards when he met a brigade belonging to General Porter's corps, which was marching to join the command. General Piatt followed the brigade and found that it led him to Centerville. Here he halted his brigade while the one in front marched on toward Washington. General Piatt remarked to General Sturgis that he had gone far enough in that direction in search of General Porter, and that with his permission he would march to the battle-field. He then ordered his men into the road and, guided by the sound of the artillery, he arrived at the battle-ground of Bull Run at two o'clock P M. The brigade went into action on the left, and acquitted itself

with great courage. General Pope in his official report complimented General Piatt highly, for "the soldierly feeling which prompted him, after being misled and with the bad example of the other brigade before his eyes, to push forward with such zeal and alacrity to the field of battle."

On the 4th of September General Piatt reported to General Morril on Minor's Hill, and remained there until ordered to Harper's Ferry. He reported at that post, and marched on the extreme right of the army under General McClellan, in its flank movement against the Rebels at Winchester. At Manassas Gap he was ordered by General McClellan to make a reconnoissance of the gap, which he did successfully It the battle of Fredericksburg General Piatt occupied the right, and had the satisfaction of being assured by his superior officer that his brigade performed well the duty assigned it.

General Piatt entered the army with no intention of making it his profession, and now that a large family of motherless children demanded his attention and care, he tendered his resignation and retired from the service.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ELIAKIM P. SCAMMON.

ELIAKIM P SCAMMON was born at Whitefield, Lincoln County, Maine, December 27, 1816. His father was the Honorable Eliakim Scammon, and he was the fourth son in a family of eight children. At the age of sixteen he obtained a cadetship at West Point, where he graduated in June, 1837 standing seventh in a class of forty-six members. Among his classmates were Generals Benham, Hooker, and Sedgwick, of the National army, as well as the Rebels Bragg, Pemberton, and Early. He was commissioned Second-Lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery, but in the summer of 1838 was transferred to the Corps of Topographical Engineers. Immediately upon graduating he was assigned to duty as Assistant Professor of Mathematics at West Point, where he remained until September, 1838, when he was ordered to Florida, where he served one year, under General Taylor, in the Seminole War. He was then ordered on the Military Survey on Lake Ontario, and thence to Washington, where he remained two years, assisting the celebrated French astronomer and topographer, Nicolet, then employed by the United States Government. In 1847 he married Margaret Stebbins, of Springfield, Massachusetts, and about the same time was appointed Assistant Professor of Ethics at West Point, where he remained five years. At the end of that time he went as aide-de-camp with General Scott to Vera Cruz, where he remained until after the capture of that city, when, his health failing, he was ordered north by the com-

mander in-chief, as bearer of dispatches. At Washington he was directed to report to Colonel Kearney for duty on the Lake Survey, at Detroit, Michigan. Here he served eight years, and during that time was promoted to a Captaincy.

In 1850 he resigned his commission, and became Professor of Mathematics in Mount Saint Mary's College, near Cincinnati. When the rebellion broke out he was Principal of the Polytechnic College, of Cincinnati. He immediately offered his services to the Government, and was commissioned by Governor Dennison Colonel of the Twenty-Fourth Ohio Infantry. He was soon transferred to the Twenty-Third, and with this regiment he performed brilliant and valuable services in West Virginia, at the second battle of Bull Run, and at South Mountain and Antietam. With two regiments he held the enemy in check at Bull Run Bridge during General Pope's retreat, in September, 1862. He was made Brigadier-General "for gallantry and meritorious services" at South Mountain; and at Antietam he commanded a division. After that he constantly commanded a division or a district—generally a district. On the 3d of February, 1864, he was captured. He was returning from an official visit to the department commander, General Kelly, to his own head-quarters at Charlestown, West Virginia. He took the boat at Gallipolis, expecting to reach his destination before daylight. After he had retired the night grew dark and tempestuous, and the captain of the boat "tied up" below Red House Shoal, in the Kanawha. Here a party of Rebels surprised and captured the boat, and hurried off the General to Richmond. After three months' confinement in Libby Prison, he was transferred to Danville, then to Macon, Georgia, and finally to Charleston, South Carolina, where he was exchanged on the 3d of August. On the 19th of September he was ordered to report to Major-General Foster, commanding the Department of the South, and by him was assigned to the command of the District of Jacksonville, Florida.

From the beginning of the war General Scammon held radical views on the subject of slavery, believing that it was the cause of the war, and that it was doomed to perish with it. He is a person of affable and winning manners; to his equals just and kind, but not familiar, and to his inferiors a rigid disciplinarian. In religion he is a sincere and earnest Roman Catholic.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL CHARLES G. HARKER.

CHARLES G HARKER was born at Swedesborough, Gloucester County, New Jersey, December 2, 1825. His father died when he was still quite young, leaving a widow and a large family of children. Charles enjoyed the advantages of a common-school education until he was twelve or thirteen years old, when he removed to Mullica Hill, and entered the store of the Honorable Nathan T. Stratton, as clerk. At an early age he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and it was his intention, should circumstances permit, to enter the ministry Shortly after entering Mr. Stratton's employ that gentleman was elected to Congress, and, being called upon to nominate a suitable person from his district for the cadetship at West Point, he nominated Charles G. Harker.

He entered the Military Academy in 1854, and graduated in 1858 with distinction. He was assigned as brevet Second-Lieutenant to the Second Infantry in July, and in August he was promoted to a full Second-Lieutenancy in the Ninth Infantry Lieutenant Harker joined his regiment on the frontier, where he remained until the summer of 1861, when he was detailed for special duty at a camp of instruction in Ohio. While there, by permission from the Secretary of War, he accepted the Colonelcy of the Sixty-Fifth Ohio Infantry; and at the same time he was promoted to a Captaincy in the Regular Army.

He joined General Buell's army, and participated in the battle of Pittsburg Landing and the siege of Corinth; and commanded a brigade in the campaign against Bragg in Kentucky At the battle of Stone River he distinguished himself greatly, and was recommended for promotion. At the close of this campaign he received a leave for twenty days. He rejoined the brigade at the expiration of his leave, and, under General Thomas, he participated in the battle of Chickamauga. Two horses were shot under him, but he himself escaped without injury. He was again recommended for promotion, and was commissioned a Brigadier, to date from the battle of Chickamauga. At Mission Ridge his horse was killed, and he was slightly wounded. At Resaca he again had his horse killed, and was again slightly wounded; and, finally, he was mortally wounded in an assault at Kenesaw Mountain, June 27, 1864. His remains were forwarded to the scenes of his childhood, and though no gorgeous pageant followed them to the grave, yet a large assembly of friends gathered to pay their sad tribute of respect to one they loved so well.

General Harker's courage was of no ordinary quality; and the estimation in which he was held by his superiors, will be seen by an extract from a letter

from General Howard to Colonel Buell of the Fifty-Eighth Indiana: "At Rocky Face where his division wrested one-half of that wonderful wall of strength from the Rebels; at Resaca where he tenaciously held a line of works close under the Rebel fire; at Dallas where he hammered the Rebel works at less than one hundred yards; at Mud Creek where he re-enforced the skirmishers, and directed their movements with so much skill and vigor as to take and hold a strong line of the enemy's earthworks; in fact, in every place where the corps has been engaged this noble young man earnestly and heartily performed his part. God grant that we may live like him, and if called to die have as good an earnest of an enduring peace in heaven as our lamented General Harker."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. W. REILLY.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. W REILLY was born in Akron, Summit County, Ohio, May 21, 1828. His father, Thomas Reilly, was for many years a contractor on the public works of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and died in 1852 in Ireland. General Reilly was educated at Mount St. Mary's, Emmettsburg, Maryland. In 1847 he commenced the study of law in Wellsville, Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in 1851. In 1861 he was elected a member of the Legislature from Columbiana County, by the Republican party

In July, 1862, he was tendered the Colonelcy of the One Hundred and Fourth Ohio by the military committee of the district comprising Summit, Stark, Portage, and Columbiana counties. Accepting the trust he went vigorously to work to fill the ranks of the regiment. By the 9th of August he had recruited one thousand eight hundred men. The recruits rendezvoused at Camp Massillon, and from them a regiment was mustered into the service on the 29th and 30th of August, 1862. Colonel Reilly reported his regiment to General Lew. Wallace at Covington, on the 2d of September, and thereafter took it to Lexington, Kentucky.

In August, 1863, he led his command to Knoxville, Tennessee. With General Burnside's forces it participated in the taking of Cumberland Gap and the siege of Knoxville. Colonel Reilly commanded the reserve during that siege.

While at Knoxville, before the siege, he was ordered to organize and command the East Tennessee troops, then pouring into the National ranks. In the pursuit of Longstreet Colonel Reilly commanded the First Brigade, Third Division, Twenty-Third Army Corps, and remained in East Tennessee until April, 1864. He then went with General Schofield to Dalton, Tennessee, and participated

with his command in all the engagements of the Atlanta campaign. Upon the recommendation of Generals Cox and Schofield, Colonel Reilly was promoted to the rank of a full Brigadier, July 30, 1864.

With his brigade he joined in the pursuit of Hood's Rebel forces into Northern Alabama, and thence to Rome, Georgia. He then joined General Thomas's command in Tennessee, and went with him to Nashville. From Nashville he went to Pulaski, Tennessee, and participated in the engagements with Hood's forces at Columbia and Franklin. In the battle of Franklin General Reilly commanded the Third Division of the Twenty-Third Army Corps.

His next service was in the last fighting around Nashville, but before the final battle he left Nashville on a leave of thirty days for Ohio. At the expiration of his furlough he was ordered to join his troops at Wilmington, North Carolina, and on his arrival was assigned to the command of the Third Division of the Twenty-Third Army Corps. With it he marched from Wilmington to Kingston, and made connection with General D. C. Cox's forces at Wise's Forks, below Kingston. He then, with the rest of the army, moved on to Goldsboro', North Carolina.

At the end of the war General Reilly tendered his resignation—on the 20th of May, 1864—returned to Ohio, and resumed the practice of his profession.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSHUA W. SILL.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSHUA W SILL was born at Chillicothe, Ohio, December 6, 1831. His father is a lawyer of distinction, who early settled at Chillicothe, where he continued to reside for years after the war. He lost his mother in his infancy, and he was reared and educated at home under the eye of his father. His taste for literature and science developed rapidly, and in 1850 he was appointed a cadet at West Point. He graduated in 1853, standing third in his class. He was appointed immediately Second-Lieutenant of Ordnance at the Watervliet Arsenal, but was soon ordered back to West Point as instructor, where he remained until the next year, when he was sent to Oregon to supervise the construction of magazines and fortifications. During the Indian war in Oregon Lieutenant Sill was Chief of Ordnance to General Harney, and performed the duties of his office with energy and efficiency A difficulty arising between himself and the General, he applied for and obtained an exchange; and in the fall of 1859 he was again at Watervliet. He was ordered from there to Fort Leavenworth, where he

remained until the spring of 1860, when, weary of the monotony of military life in time of peace, he resigned, and accepted the Professorship of Mathematics and Engineering in the Polytechnic College at Brooklyn, New York.

This position he filled with ability until the opening of the war. He was offered and urged to accept the Colonelcy of several New York regiments, but he returned to his native State, entered the Adjutant-General's office, and assisted in organizing and equipping the Ohio regiments until the summer of 1861, when he assumed command of the Thirty-Third Ohio Infantry, and accompanied General McClellan to the Kanawha Valley. From this time until his death on the field, he was constantly in active service; under Nelson and Thomas in Eastern Kentucky; Mitchel in Alabama; and Buell and Rosecrans in Tennessee and Kentucky. In every sphere of military duty to which he was called he proved himself a thorough soldier, a skillful officer, and an honorable gentleman. He was idolized by his regiment while its Colonel, and upon promotion he still retained the affection of his men. He commanded a brigade, however, from the first, and in the winter of 1861 he was nominated and confirmed Brigadier-General of volunteers, for gallant and meritorious conduct on the field. On the organization of Buell's army at Bardstown, General Sill was placed in command of a division in McCook's corps, which he continued to hold until his death. He was killed at Murfreesboro' December 31, 1862.

Of slight frame, mild and pleasing address, of sterling and extraordinary merit both as a soldier and a scholar, yet reserved almost to a fault—from modesty, not from pride—he seemed to court obscurity rather than notoriety. The simplicity and kindness of his manners, his perfect and stainless integrity, and the singular purity of his life, endeared him beyond measure to all who were happy enough to know him; and the State will not fail to keep green his memory among the lists of her sons "dead on the field of glory'

BRIGADIER-GENERAL N. C. McLEAN.

NATHANIEL C. McLEAN, son of Hon. John McLean, of Ohio, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born February 2, 1815, in Warren County, Ohio. At sixteen years of age he graduated at Augusta College, Kentucky, and went immediately to Harvard College, where he passed through the studies of the senior class as a resident graduate, and then entered the law school. After completing the course prescribed in this branch, he returned to his home in Ohio, and in a short time commenced the practice of the law in Cincinnati.

In 1838 he married the daughter of Judge Burnet, of Cincinnati. He continued the practice of his profession successfully until his health failed, when, by the advice of his physicians, he took a sea voyage and visited Europe. His health was benefited, but not fully restored, by this trip, and he was compelled to abandon his profession and seek employment in business which would enable him to lead a more active life.

After remaining in active business for a number of years, his health seemed to be entirely re-established, and he again returned to the practice of his profession. He had not made the change in his business many months before meeting with a sore affliction in the loss of his wife, who died suddenly, after a short illness, leaving four children.

In 1858 he again married, his second wife being the daughter of Phillip R. Thompson, of Louisville, Kentucky.

At the breaking out of the rebellion he was engaged successfully in the practice of his profession. In conjunction with the late Colonel Robert Riley, of Hamilton County, Ohio, under authority received from General Fremont, he commenced the organization of the Seventy-Fifth Ohio. On the 18th of September, 1861, he was commissioned as its Colonel.

In January, 1862, Colonel McLean was ordered with his regiment to West Virginia. He reported to General Milroy, and commanded the regiment personally in all its operations under Generals Milroy, Schenck, and Fremont, up to and through the battle of Cross Keys, when he was promoted to the command of a brigade, consisting of four Ohio regiments. This brigade Colonel McLean commanded through all the campaigns of General Pope in Virginia, from the time of his taking command up to the retreat upon Washington after the second battle of Bull Run. During this period of several months—from the battle of Cross Keys to the retreat upon Washington—his conduct had been such that he secured the approbation of his commanding officers, and they warmly recommended his promotion.

On the 29th of November, 1862, Colonel McLean was commissioned as Brigadier-General. He remained with his command in the Army of the Potomac, under Generals McClellan, Burnside, and Hooker, participating in all its active operations through the battle of Chancellorsville. General McLean then applied to be relieved of his command, and ordered to report to General Burnside in the Department of the Ohio. By General Burnside he was placed upon duty as Provost-Marshal General of his Department. When General Burnside was relieved of the command of his department by General Schofield, General McLean was ordered to the command of a brigade in the field in Tennessee, where he joined the corps of General Schofield, and actively participated in all the operations of the army under General Sherman, up to within a short period of the taking of Atlanta. After the battles of Kenesaw and Lost Mountains he applied to be relieved of his command, and ordered to Kentucky There he was placed in command of a district, where he remained several months, participating, in the meantime, in the raid upon Saltville, Virginia. He was subsequently ordered to Tennessee to take command of a brigade. Sherman was then marching across the country, and our army under General Thomas was pushed up the Tennessee River. After some time, however, the orders were changed, and this command was ordered to North Carolina, by way of Washington City, and at Alexandria the troops were embarked on transports, and conveyed to the coast of North Carolina, landing at Fort Fisher. From this time they steadily advanced up to their junction with General Sherman, when the surrender of Lee virtually ended the war. Believing that the war was now over, and that his services were no longer needed, General McLean sent in his resignation which was, after a short period, accepted.

Dnring the whole war General McLean was off duty for the space of only thirty days, having had leave of absence once for twenty, and again for ten days. Since the war he removed to the State of Minnesota, where he retired to the quiet occupation of a farmer.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM T. H. BROOKS.

WILLIAM T. H BROOKS, a native of Ohio, and one of her cadets at West Point, was graduated from the Academy in July, 1841, and appointed Brevet Second-Lieutenant, Third Infantry. He had risen to a Captaincy when the war broke out, and by March, 1862, to one of the Major's commissions in the Eighteenth Infantry He was made a Brigadier-General of volunteers in September, 1861. In July, 1864, he resigned.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE W. MORGAN.

GEORGE W MORGAN, a Democratic politician of prominence and a Brigadier-General of volunteers during a part of the war, best known by his evacuation of Cumberland Gap, was born in Washington, Washington County, Pennsylvania. He is a descendant, on the paternal side, of a Revolutionary soldier, whose name is still preserved in the history of the country, and, on the maternal side, of the Duanes.

He evinced military proclivities at an early age. When only eighteen years old he entered the army of General Houston, in the war for the independence of Texas, and served throughout that struggle with such courage as to attract the special notice of his superiors. On his return he received a commission as cadet at West Point, but he left the Academy before graduating.

When volunteers were asked for the war with Mexico he at once raised a company and marched with it to Camp Washington, near Cincinnati. Upon the organization of the Second Ohio Regiment, he was elected its Colonel. With this command he served under General Taylor on the Rio Grande till the expiration of the term of service of the regiment. President Polk then appointed him Colonel of the Fourteenth Regular Infantry, and this he commanded with distinction till the close of the war. In the battle of Contreras he was severely wounded. He had been in high favor with the Democratic party, and President Polk now gave him a consular appointment in Portugal, and afterward made him Minister Plenipotentiary.

Colonel Morgan only returned to the United States shortly before the outbreak of the war. Uniting with the war wing of the Democratic party, he at once offered his services to the Government, and, on the credit of his past military experience, he was made a Brigadier-General of volunteers, his commission dating from 12th November, 1861.

When General Buell first proposed to occupy Cumberland Gap he directed General Morgan to go there. He moved vigorously, fortified the place securely when he gained possession of it, and was supposed to have a sure foothold. But when Kirby Smith, passing by Cumberland Gap, entered Kentucky in the summer of 1862, General Morgan considered his position compromised. Destroying his works as well as he could, he abandoned the gap and began a hasty retreat to the Ohio River. John Morgan's Rebel cavalry was sent to hang upon and harass his flanks, but he succeeded in extricating his command. His operations, however, were not satisfactory to the Government, and he held no further important place. General Morgan is a man of soldierly appearance and a fluent speaker. His manners are polished and popular, and his political friends still have hopes of further advancement for him.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN BEATTY.

JOHN BEATTY was born at Sandusky City, Ohio, in 1828. For several years prior to the rebellion he was engaged in banking at Cardington, and in 1860 he was Presidential Elector for the Thirteenth Congressional District on the Republican ticket.

After the fall of Fort Sumter he at once abandoned his business, and early in April, 1861, enlisted as a private in a company raised in his own town. Of this company he was immediately and unanimously elected Captain, and on the 19th of the month he reported his men for duty to the Adjutant-General of Ohio. Eight days later he was elected Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Ohio Infantry, of which his company was a part. It was originally a three months' regiment; but on the 12th of June, previous to taking the field, it reorganized for the three years' service; the field-officers remaining the same. On the 23d of June the Third Ohio was sent to West Virginia, and, during a summer and fall campaign in that wild and mountainous region, at Middle Fork, at Rich Mountain, at Cheat Mountain, and at Elkwater it illustrated its own excellence, and the skill and bravery of its officers.

Transferred to Kentucky in November, the regiment had the good fortune to be assigned to the old Third Division of the Army of the Ohio, commanded by General O. M. Mitchel. While at Bacon Creek, Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel Beatty was promoted to the Colonelcy of his regiment, and in that capacity he accompanied General Mitchel through his campaign in Southern Kentucky, Middle Tennessee, and Northern Alabama. In the fight at Bridgeport, and in the operations about Decatur and Point Rock, Colonel Beatty took a conspicuous and useful part. Selected by General Mitchel as Provost-Marshal of Huntsville, he discharged the delicate and difficult duties of that office with fidelity and tact.

Returning to Louisville with General Buell in September, 1862, he joined in the pursuit of Bragg through Kentucky, and on the 8th of October fought at the head of his regiment in the battle of Perryville. Here he first attracted general attention. Holding the extreme right of General Rousseau s division his regiment was assailed, both in front and flank, by an overwhelming force; and though, in an hour's time, one-third of his men were killed and wounded, Colonel Beatty refused to yield an inch of ground until relieved by Colonel Pope, with the Fifteenth Kentucky

On the 26th of December Colonel Beatty assumed command of the old Seventeenth Brigade, which had been formed previously with such leaders as Lytle

and Dumont. On Wednesday, the 31st of December, at Murfreesboro', this brigade forming the third part of Rousseau's division, assisted checking the onset of Hardee. Colonel Beatty had two horses shot under him, but he came out uninjured. On Saturday night, January 3, 1863, he was ordered to attack the enemy's works lying near the Murfreesboro Turnpike. Placing himself at the head of his brigade, he charged over the Rebel works and carried them at the point of the bayonet. On the 12th of March, 1863, Colonel Beatty was commissioned Brigadier-General of volunteers, to rank from the 29th of November, 1862.

Being assigned to the First Brigade of Negley's division, he participated in the Tullahoma campaign, and after the Rebels had been driven out of that stronghold he led the column which pursued them, skirmishing successfully with their rear-guard, until he gained the lofty plateau of the Cumberlands. In the Chattanooga campaign General Beatty had the honor of being the first to lead his command to the summit of Lookout Mountain. The Rebels, after a feeble resistance at Johnson's Creek, retired rapidly before him. In the masterly retreat from Dug Gap, which elicited warm commendation both from General Rosecrans and General Thomas, General Beatty was assigned by General Negley to the responsible and difficult duty of protecting and bringing away a large wagon-train in the face of an immense force of Rebels. Not a single wagon fell into the enemy's hands.

In the battle of Chickamauga it was General Beatty's fortune to commence the fighting both on the 19th and 20th of September; the first day upon the extreme right, and the second upon the extreme left of the line. Assailed early on the morning of the 19th, he handsomely repulsed the enemy, after a fight of three hours' duration, and held his ground until ordered to the center of the line, late in the afternoon. On Sunday morning he reported to General Thomas with his command, and was placed on the extreme left along the Lafayette road, with orders to hold it at all hazards. Hour after hour, with his comparatively feeble force, he maintained his position against the masses of the foe which surged around him. He was re-enforced at last by Colonel T. R. Stanley, with his brigade, and in conjunction they charged and drove the Rebels half a mile, capturing a large part of General Adams's Louisiana brigade, with its leader at its head. Later in the day General Beatty was among the heroes who held the last position against the combined efforts of the Rebel army. Again on the 21st, while in position near Rossville, a heavy reconnoitering column attacked General Beatty's brigade, but it was driven back with considerable loss.

In the reorganization of the army General Beatty was assigned to the Second Brigade of Davis's division, and, during the operations which resulted in the expulsion of the Rebels from Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain, his command held the left of the line. Though not actively engaged at that time, it joined with great vigor in pursuit of the retreating foe. On the 20th of November General Beatty, in conjunction with Colonel Daniel McCook, over-

took the Rebel General Maury at Graysville, and, after a sharp conflict, entirely defeated him.

On the 1st of December General Davis's division commenced its march toward Knoxville for the relief of General Burnside, not returning to its camp at Chattanooga until the 18th of the same month. General Beatty participated in this march, sharing fully the fatigues and hardships of the humblest private soldier in the command. On the 13th of January, 1864, he tendered his resignation for reasons of a private nature.

General Beatty was never absent, during his entire term of service, from any command to which he had been assigned, while that command was actively engaged. He was thoroughly impressed with the duties and responsibilities of his position, and his soldierly reputation was stainless. In fact, so marked were his honesty and open-hearted integrity, that his name became a synonym for these qualities among his men; and when they wished to express their unquestioning trust in any one, they said he was "as honest as John Beatty." General Beatty remarked to General Thomas, after he had tendered his resignation, that he hoped there would be no misunderstanding of the motives which induced him to resign. General Thomas replied: "General, we know you too well to suspect your motives in anything." In the camp, in the bivouac, or upon the field of battle, it is said that he never laid down or closed his eyes in sleep, without first reading a passage in the Bible and commending himself, his soldiers, and his country to God in earnest prayer. An orderly whose business took him around to various places, said that General Beatty's were the only head-quarters which he ever visited where he never heard an oath. Mirth and amusement were by no means unknown at these head-quarters; but gaming, and intemperance were utter strangers; and on no pretense could General Beatty be induced to consent to the sale of liquor within his command.

His power of endurance was wonderful. When occasion demanded he could perform the longest and most fatiguing marches without complaint, and seemingly without suffering the slightest inconvenience from want of food or sleep. Changes of temperature were nothing to him; and snow, rain, and sleet were equally unable to affect his equanimity Whatever was the soldier's bed, that also was his couch; and whatever was the soldier's fare, he also partook of it. A soldier once said, "If we were compelled to eat the bark of trees I believe General Beatty would find it delicious food." The evening before leaving Chattanooga he received a communication from the commanders of the several regiments in his brigade, tendering their sincere thanks for his kind and generous bearing toward all, and expressing their high appreciation of his valuable services. Indeed, it did not often happen that the resignation of an officer excited more universal regret than did that of General Beatty.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM W. BURNS.

WILLIAM W BURNS entered the Military Academy at West Point as a Cadet from Ohio, his native State, in the year 1843. He graduated in 1847, and was brevetted Second-Lieutenant Third United States Infantry on the 1st of July of the same year. During July and August he was stationed with a company of sappers and miners at West Point, and in September of the same year he sailed for Mexico. In 1848 he returned from Mexico and marched for Arkansas. In 1851 he was promoted to First-Lieutenant in the Fifth Infantry, and was ordered to Texas. In 1854 he was on recruiting service in Philadelphia, and in 1857 he was engaged in the Florida campaign. He was Depot Commissary at Fort Myers, and afterward was Regimental-Quartermaster in the Fifth Infantry. He participated in the Utah campaign, and in 1858 was appointed Captain and Commissary of Subsistence. In 1859 he was Chief Commissary for the Arkansas and Texas frontier. He escaped capture at Fort Smith in 1861, and was appointed Chief Commissary on the staff of General McClellan, for the Department of Ohio. He was with General McClellan in West Virginia until after the capture of Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill, when he returned to Cincinnati as Chief Commissary, Department of the Ohio.

In September, 1861, he was appointed Brigadier-General of volunteers, and was ordered to report to General McClellan, at Washington. He was assigned to the brigade formerly commanded by Colonel Baker. General Burns was member of a Board of Examiners for Stone's division, and, after that, was President of a General Court-martial. In February, 1862, he made a campaign to Winchester, Virginia, and was then transferred to the peninsula. He made the first reconnoissance in front of Yorktown, and was engaged at Hanover C. H., Fair Oaks, Old Town, Peach Orchard, Savage Station, Glendale, and Malvern Hill. On the 5th of July he was granted a leave of absence, in consequence of a severe wound. Upon returning to the field he made the campaign in White Plains Valley, and was engaged at Snicker's Gap. He assumed command of the First Division, Ninth Corps, November 3d, and on the 12th and 13th of December participated in the battle of Fredericksburg. On the 10th of February, 1863, General Burns was ordered to report to General Rosecrans, and on the 12th he was notified by the Secretary of War of his appointment as Major-General; but on the 6th of March he resigned his commission of Brigadier-General, preferring to return to his former rank of Major and Commissary of Subsistence in the regular army His course in this respect was much regretted by many, who believed he had shown the capacity to make an excellent officer of volunteers, and to win distinction in the army.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN S. MASON.

JOHN S. MASON was born at Steubenville, Ohio, August 21, 1824. His father was a prominent physician, and a surgeon in the war of 1812. John Mason's early years were spent at school in Steubenville, and in 1840 he entered Kenyon College, where he remained until the winter of 1842, when he went to Washington College, Pennsylvania. In 1843 he entered West Point, and in 1847 he graduated, standing ninth in a class of thirty-eight. Among his classmates were Generals Burnside, Gibbon, Griffin, Wilcox, Ayres; and A. P. Hill and Henry Heath of the Rebel army. While a cadet he always held one of the highest military offices in the class, and he graduated second in tactics.

He was appointed Second-Lieutenant in the Third Artillery, and he joined his company at Tampico, Mexico. Soon after arriving he was attacked with yellow fever, and when convalescent he was ordered to Cincinnati for his health, where he spent the winter in assisting Major Shover to prepare his battery for the field. He returned to Puebla, Mexico, with recruits in April, 1848, and there he remained as Commissary of Subsistence until peace was declared, when he joined Shover's battery, and after a perilous passage reached New Orleans, where he was again attacked with yellow fever. He proceeded to his home in Ohio, and upon regaining his health, repaired to Fort Adams, Rhode Island, where he remained until January, 1852; in the meantime being promoted to First-Lieutenant, September, 1850.

Having suffered in health ever since his return from Mexico he applied for a transfer, and was ordered to California. He sailed with the first detachment of troops that ever crossed the isthmus, and in February, 1852, arrived at San Francisco. He was stationed for some months at Monterey, and was then ordered to San Diego, where he was engaged in garrison duty and in scouting against the Indians. In December, 1853, he was ordered to Fort Yama, at the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, and from that point he made a scout to the head of the Gulf of California. In July, 1854, having been appointed Regimental Quartermaster, he proceeded to the head-quarters of the regiment at Benecia Barracks, where he remained until June, 1858, when, at his own request, he was detailed on recruiting service. He was assigned to Louisville, Kentucky, but was soon ordered to Newport Barracks as commandant of recruits at that rendezvous. In July, 1860, after a short leave, he joined his regiment at Vancouver, Oregon.

In the summer of 1861 he was appointed Captain in the Eleventh Infantry,

and about the same time Governor Dennison offered him the Colonelcy of the Fourth Ohio Infantry, which he accepted. He assumed command of the regiment at Camp Pendleton on the Alleghany Mountains, and joined General Kelly in his attack on Romney. The Fourth Ohio led the advance, and after a sharp skirmish the Rebels were driven from the town. In January Romney was evacuated, and the command fell back to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Patterson's Creek. While at this point Colonel Mason was appointed Chief of Artillery to General Lander, and during the winter he was engaged in reorganizing that arm of the service. Upon the reorganization of the division under General Shields, the senior officer of artillery was made Chief of Artillery, and Colonel Mason's regiment was assigned to Colonel Kimball's brigade. Colonel Mason remained with General Shields himself, and, with a force of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, was engaged in reconnoissance-duty around Middletown, Strasburg, and Winchester. General Shields, in his reports and letters, made frequent mention of Colonel Mason for efficiency and gallantry, and there was scarcely a movement of the division in which he did not participate.

The brigade was ordered to Harrison's Landing, where Colonel Mason remained until that place was evacuated, when, after re-enforcing General Pope at Centerville, he marched to Georgetown, where the regiment was withdrawn from the field, in consequence of disease contracted at Harrison's Landing. It rejoined the brigade at Harper's Ferry, after the battle of Antietam, and marched with the army to Falmouth. At the battle of Fredericksburg Colonel Mason was in command of three regiments, which composed the advance line of skirmishers for Couch's corps. General Kimball being wounded early in the action Colonel Mason assumed command of the brigade, and held a position on the front line until near nightfall, when the brigade being out of ammunition was withdrawn.

A few weeks after this Colonel Mason was promoted to Brigadier-General. His health having failed from severe exposure, he obtained a sick leave, and at its expiration was transferred to the Department of the Ohio, and assigned to the command of the District of Ohio; but upon the arrival of General Cox, his senior, he was transferred to the command of the troops at Columbus. His health would not admit of his returning to the field, and in November, 1863, he was ordered on duty at San Francisco.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL S. S. CARROLL.

GENERAL CARROLL is a native of Washington City He graduated at West Point in 1856, and was a Captain in the Tenth United States Infantry at the opening of the war. He was appointed Colonel of the Eighth Ohio Infantry in December, 1862, and assumed command of the regiment at Romney, West Virginia. It was serving then under Kelly; and it subsequently served under Lander and Shields.

Colonel Carroll commanded his regiment in the first battle of Winchester, and soon after he joined General McDowell's corps at Fredericksburg. There he took command of a brigade, and moved with General Shields to the Luray Valley. He was engaged in the battle of Port Republic, and was badly injured by his wounded horse falling upon him, and partly dislocating his right shoulder.

Colonel Carroll's brigade was transferred to Rickett's division of McDowell's corps, and it participated in the battles of second Bull Run and Cedar Mountain, and in General Pope's Virginia campaign. The Colonel was badly wounded on the Rapidan while inspecting the picket line. After Antietam the brigade was transferred to Whipple's division, Third Corps, and was engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg. In the spring of 1863 Colonel Carroll was transferred to the First Brigade, Third Division, Second Corps, and was engaged in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Bristow Station, Mine Run, and Morton's Ford.

In the reorganization of the Army of the Potomac, in the spring of 1864, he was assigned to the Third Brigade, Second Division, Second Corps. He was wounded, May 5th, in the battle of the Wilderness, through the right arm; again, May 10th, in the right leg; and again, May 13th, through the left elbow-joint, permanently losing the use of the arm. He was promoted to Brigadier-General on the 12th of May, 1864.

He continued in the service until the close of the war, and was a portion of the time in temporary command of the Department of West Virginia.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY B. CARRINGTON.

HENRY B CARRINGTON was born at Wallingford, Connecticut, March 2, 1824. In 1840 he exhibited a marked taste for military studies, but on account of ill-health he abandoned them and entered Yale College, where he graduated in 1845, and from the Law School in 1848. He removed to Ohio in the same year, and began the practice of law at Columbus, at first in partnership with A. F Perry, and afterward with Honorable William Dennison.

In 1857 he was placed upon Governor Chase's staff, and he remained Adjutant-General of Ohio until he was appointed Colonel of the Eighteenth United States Infantry. This appointment was made without the solicitation, and even without the knowledge of Colonel Carrington, for services rendered in the organization of troops, and for aiding in the inauguration of the first West Virginia campaign. Lieutenant-General Scott was one of the prominent army officers who interested themselves in this appointment. Colonel Carrington had given evidence of military ability while Adjutant-General of the State. At a military convention held in Cincinnati in 1859, Generals Lytle, Hildebrand, and Fyffe, on the part of the Volunteer Militia, presented him with a fine sword and a brace of revolvers.

In November, 1862, Colonel Carrington was promoted to Brigadier-General of volunteers. He served mostly in the district of Indiana, and took an active part in the border defense, and in the destruction of secret societies with treasonable ends. When mustered out of the service as Brigadier-General in August, 1865, General Carrington was assigned to duty in Kentucky, where he remained till November, when he was ordered to the Indian frontier. He was placed, at first, in command of Fort Kearney, then of the East Subdistrict of Nebraska, and finally of the Mountain District, Department of the Platte. He was charged with the building of forts and the opening of a new line to Virginia City, through Dacotah and Montana. General Carrington was still on duty in that section of country, when a disaster to a small detachment of his command, which was met by hostile Indians, a short distance from the fort, and cut to pieces, led to his being relieved from command for an investigation into the cause of the disaster.

General Carrington's field service during the war was not considerable, but his administration in Indiana was wise, active, and able, and greatly endeared him to the loyal people of that State. His efforts to unearth the machinations of the Knights of the Golden Circle and the like secret treasonable organizations, were most efficient. Next to General Rosecrans more is due to General

Carrington than to any other one man for the exposure and defeat of formidable schemes, aiming at revolution in the North. His course in the trial of the Indiana conspirators was bitterly denounced by the opposition; but it was sustained by the army, by the public sentiment of the country, and by the Government. The case was ultimately carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, where a majority of the Justices held that his court, being held within a State not in rebellion and not the theater of war, was illegal, and that the case should have been tried before the ordinary civil tribunals. This decision never affected the popular approval of General Carrington's course, or the general gratitude for his unshrinking service in the premises. At the outbreak of the war his zealous and faithful labors as Adjutant-General of Ohio well deserved similar returns; though they would have been more valuable had he possessed more system. Of the nature and extent of these labors, we have spoken at greater length in the preceding sketch of Governor Dennison's administration.*

In person, General Carrington is below the medium size, slender, nervous, and active. He has a finely-cultivated mind and good literary acquirements.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MELANCTHON S. WADE.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Cincinnati on the 2d of December, 1802. He is descended from the old Revolutionary stock, his father, D. E. Wade, having participated in that struggle, and having suffered imprisonment in the prison-ship and in the old sugar-house at New York.

Melancthon S. Wade, upon arriving at manhood, became identified with the volunteer militia companies of the city, and rose by regular gradation from Second-Sergeant to Brigadier-General. He was in commission from 1825 to 1849, and he always evinced a lively interest in the citizen-soldiery. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion he at once tendered his services to the Government, and, at the recommendation of General O. M. Mitchel, he was commissioned Brigadier-General of volunteers by President Lincoln, and was assigned to duty as commandant of Camp Dennison, then the rendezvous for the great majority of Ohio troops. In this position General Wade's arduous and responsible duties were faithfully performed. The camp literally swarmed with volunteers, eager to be drilled, equipped, and sent to the field. All this General Wade did to the satisfaction both of his superiors and of his inferiors. His severe labors, the miasma of the camp, and advancing years, were too much for his constitution, and after three months' service he was compelled to tender his resignation, which was accepted.

*Part I, History of the State and her War Administration.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN P. SLOUGH.

JOHN P SLOUGH was born in Cincinnati in 1829. His father, Martin Slough, was one of the pioneers of the West, having removed to Cincinnati as early as 1806. The son obtained his education in the public schools of Cincinnati, except one year in the Cincinnati College, before it burned down. He afterward graduated from the Cincinnati Law School, and for a number of years was a member of the Hamilton County bar, a local politician, and for a time a member of the Ohio Legislature, in which his belligerent tendencies involved him in some trouble.

In 1861, at the breaking out of the war, he was in Denver City, Colorado Territory He at once organized a company for the Union service. It was afterward increased to a regiment and he was appointed its Colonel. He participated in the engagement at Port Union, New Mexico, and for gallantry there was promoted to Brevet Brigadier-General, and was called to the East, where he served at Harper's Ferry during its seige. He was afterward promoted to a full Brigadier-Generalship and placed in command at Alexandria, where he remained until the close of the war. His administration at Alexandria was vigorous, and the post was important. His strenuous efforts to preserve order brought upon him the hostility of influential classes, and particularly of the liquor-sellers; and concerted efforts were several times made for his removal. But he passed successfully through every investigation, and retained the confidence of the Government to the last.

After the war he was for a time in Ohio, but he ultimately returned to Colorado.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL B. C. LUDLOW.

BENJAMIN CHAMBERS LUDLOW was born in the year 1832, at Ludlow Station, Hamilton County, Ohio; was educated at Carey's Academy, College Hill, near Cincinnati, and at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. He studied medicine, and graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, in 1854. He practiced his profession in the city of New York for a year; but ill health compelling him to seek some milder climate, he sailed for California, and thence went to Mexico, where he remained for three years. Returning to Cincinnati, he was appointed, by the Trustees of the Longview Lunatic Asylum, assistant physician in that institution, in November, 1859.

Educated from childhood to a hatred of slavery, Dr. Ludlow had held himself always ready for any action that should wipe out that blight upon our National honor, and he hailed with enthusiasm the call of the President in April, 1861. He raised a company of cavalry and went to Washington, hoping to get an order to some place of immediate usefulness. Armed with letters of recommendation to Mr. Cameron, he obtained an audience with that gentleman, but was met with these words for an answer: "No cavalry will be raised or required; General Scott thinks that, with the regular regiments (four) filled to their maximum, there will be sufficient for all purposes in putting down the rebellion."

A few days later he heard that Carl Schurz had authority to raise one cavalry regiment; and, calling to see that gentleman, was told that he wanted to raise two companies in the West; would be in Cincinnati soon on that business, and would then see him.

Dr. Ludlow returned to his duties at the Asylum for a time; but the news of the authority given to Fremont, for raising a great Western army, decided him to go to St. Louis and offer his services there.

General Fremont gave him a commission as First-Lieutenant, and afterward as Captain of his company, which composed part of the regiment of "Fremont Hussars," raised under the immediate direction of Colonel G. E. Waring. The Fremont Hussars marched to Springfield under Fremont, and back again to St. Louis under Hunter. Under General Curtis they marched again to South-western Missouri, in February, 1862. At Lebanon, one-half of the Fremont Hussars, under Captain Ludlow, were detailed to occupy that post, an important one, to maintain the line of communication with the grand army. Fighting guerrillas, breaking up their strongholds, taking some of the most noted of them prisoners, having some brave men killed and others

wounded (being wounded himself and having his horse shot under him), constituted the dangerous and uncomfortable duty of those long months, while their companions shared in the glory of Pea Ridge. On being reunited, they moved to Helena, where they remained all summer. In the fall the regiment was ordered to Pilot Knob, Missouri, and there consolidated with the Fifth Missouri Cavalry, and Captain Ludlow was made Major of the new organization. In December, 1862, he received the appointment of Major in the Seventh Ohio Cavalry, but it was declined, in consequence of his being ordered to the Army of the Potomac as Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Hooker. Major Ludlow acted as Aid-de-Camp to General Hooker at the battle of Chancellorsville, and until that officer was relieved by Major-General Meade. By an order of the Adjutant-General of the army he was retained on the staff of the General commanding, as Inspector of Artillery, and performed honorable service at Gettysburg, Williamstown, Mine Run, Rappahannock, Bristow Station, and other battles fought by the Army of the Potomac between the last of June, 1863, and February, 1864. At this time his regiment of hussars enlisted as veterans, and Major Ludlow received the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel.

In February, 1864, Colonel Ludlow was ordered to report to Major-General Butler, and was appointed Chief of Cavalry in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. In the siege of Richmond the gunboats and monitors were of no avail, except in keeping the James River free from guerrillas to the base of operations, Fortress Monroe. This was owing to a bar at the head of Devil's Reach, and a strong battery which the Rebels had constructed at what was called "Howlet House," which commanded the James at that point. General Butler proposed to cut a canal through a narrow strip of land made by the windings of the river, known as Dutch Gap. If this could be accomplished the gunboats could pass up the river above the point commanded by the Howlet-House batteries, and give material aid in the taking of Richmond. To do this it was not only necessary to have a strong working party, but enough troops to retain possession of a position which would become the most advanced post of our line then investing Richmond. By order of General Butler Colonel Ludlow was placed in command of this undertaking. Fifteen hundred infantry took possession of the position, and, before the enemy discovered their intention, fortifications were thrown up strong enough to meet any attack made upon them by land. A one-hundred-pound Parrott gun was placed to protect the position from the Rebel gunboats, which cast their huge projectiles into the works. A battery of light guns, three eight-inch, and two twenty four-pound mortars, and three Gatlin guns were added to Colonel Ludlow's command. From the mortar batteries, placed by the enemy on the north side of the river, shells were thrown night and day into the works of defense, as well as into the canal; and for this reason all troops, when not on duty, were obliged to be protected by bomb-proofs. This confinement was so destructive of health that the troops were frequently changed. The work was commenced in August, 1864, and finished the following December. In the latter month, owing to the attacks upon Fort Fisher, the gunboats which had been stationed

on James River had been ordered to more southern points; and Captain Nichols, commander of the Fifth Division of the North American Squadron, in a communication to Colonel Ludlow, requested him not to open the canal at that time, for fear the Rebel vessels would take advantage of the opening and attack his (Captain Nichols's) reduced naval force. The blowing out of the bulkhead of the canal, which had been prepared by a mine, in the center, of nine thousand pounds of powder, was delayed until the 1st of January The explosion cleared away the bulkhead and allowed the water to pass through the canal. This canal shortened the distance to Richmond six miles and a half, and was used after the fall of Richmond for small side-wheel steamers and tugs. Its width had been proportioned for the passage of the double-turreted monitor Onondaga, and it was, therefore, not wide enough for large steamers.

On the 28th of October, 1864, Colonel Ludlow was appointed Brigadier-General by brevet, for gallant and meritorious services at Dutch Gap and for his attack upon the enemy's works at Spring Hill, Virginia. The latter engagement occurred while he was in command at Dutch Gap.

By special orders of the War Department, and by direction of President Lincoln, General Ludlow was assigned to duty, according to his brevet rank, December 9, 1864. He was placed in command of the James River and York River defenses, head-quarters at Fort Magruder, which he held at the time of Lee's surrender. Afterward he was assigned to the command of the Eastern District of Virginia, with head-quarters at Williamsburg, comprising the territory between the James and Rappahannock Rivers.

General Ludlow resigned in August, 1865, and resumed the practice of his profession in Cincinnati. His career throughout was honorable and laborious. He served in a great variety of positions and on widely separated theaters of the war, never failing, in any station, to command the confidence of his superiors and the admiration of his soldiers. He was notable for refusing to avail himself of family influence to secure promotions (he is brother-in-law to Chief-Justice Chase, and a member of one of the oldest families in Cincinnati), and for a modesty not often displayed in the scramble for place. His personal presence was fine; and in battle he displayed a chivalric bearing which those who saw him at Gettysburg, or in other engagements of the Army of the Potomac, will never forget.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL ANDREW HICKENLOOPER.

ANDREW HICKENLOOPER, a meritorious artillery and engineer officer, of varied and always valuable service, but best remembered in the army by his connection with the lamented McPherson, was born in Hudson, Ohio, August 30, 1837. His youth was spent mainly at school, till in 1854, about the close of his seventeenth year, he entered the office of Mr. A. W Gilbert, the city engineer of Cincinnati. After three years spent here he was admitted to a partnership with Mr. Gilbert. In 1859 he became city surveyor of Cincinnati, in which position he confirmed the opinion that had already become general, concerning his efficiency and energy as an engineer.

In August, 1861, he recruited an artillery company, first known as Hickenlooper's Cincinnati Battery, and afterward as the Fifth Ohio Independent Battery This was raised under the auspices of General Fremont, and in October was taken to Jefferson City, Missouri. Here, under special instructions from General Fremont, he was presently appointed Commandant of Artillery at the post.

In March, 1862, Captain Hickenlooper returned to the command of his battery, and with it was transferred to General Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing. Here he participated in the bloody battle that soon followed, behaving so creditably as to attract the instant attention of his superiors. Three days after the battle General McKean appointed him Division Commandant of Artillery.

In this capacity he continued to serve until after the battles of Iuka and Corinth, when, his conduct having still further secured the confidence of his superiors, he was, on the 26th of October, 1862, ordered, by General Grant, to report for staff duty to General McPherson. The connection thus began which was only terminated by the untimely death of his chief. McPherson at first made him Chief of Ordnance and Artillery, with special instructions to complete the fortifications at Bolivar; then in February, when about to start down to Vicksburg, changed his position and made him Chief Engineer for the Seventeenth Army Corps.

He was with his chief throughout the masterly movements by which the besieging army was planted in the rear of the defenses of Vicksburg, and won especial praise, after the battle of Champion Hills, by the rapid construction of a bridge of cotton bales, across the Big Black, over which the hurrying pursuit followed on the heels of Pemberton until he took refuge within the defenses of Vicksburg—not to emerge save as a paroled prisoner.

Throughout the siege Captain Hickenlooper had charge of the engineer operations on the front of the corps, and conducted them so well as to elicit the warm approval of so competent and critical an engineer as McPherson himself. The approaches were pushed up until some of the enemy's guns were silenced, and a mine—the first important one of the war—was run under one of the Rebel works. McPherson named one of the forts "Battery Hickenlooper," in his honor, and made special mention of him in official reports and letters of recommendation as follows:

"Captain A. Hickenlooper deserves special mention for his ability, untiring energy and skill in making reconnoissances and maps of the routes passed over, superintending the repairs and construction of bridges, etc., exposing himself constantly, night and day. He merits some substantial recognition of his services."—From McPherson's Offi. Rep. Operations in approaching Rear of Vicksburg.

"I write, without solicitation, to urge the claims for promotion, by brevet or otherwise, of one of the best and at the same time, one of the most modest, officers on my staff, Captain Andrew Hickenlooper, Fifth Ohio Battery. I first made his acquaintance at Jefferson City, in the winter of 1861–2, and was most favorably impressed with his intelligence and military bearing. On assuming command at Bolivar, Tennessee, in October, 1862, I was very much in need of an engineer officer, and knowing his qualifications (as no regular engineer could be spared), I applied to Major-General Grant, and had him assigned to me as Chief of Artillery and engineer officer. He has made a reputation commensurate with the reputation of the corps. As all the Ohio batteries of light artillery are "independent batteries," there is no chance for him to obtain promotion in that branch of the service; and I think it but due that the General commanding should give him some token of its appreciation, cheering to the heart of a soldier. I therefore respectfully request that you will present his name for a brevet commission of Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel."—From letter to Halleck, then General-in-Chief, by McPherson.

After the fall of Vicksburg the "Board of Honor" of the Seventeenth Corps awarded him the gold medal, with the inscription, "Pittsburg Landing, Siege of Corinth, Iuka, Corinth, Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, Vicksburg."

When McPherson took command of the Army of the Tennessee, Captain Hickenlooper was made Judge-Advocate on his staff, and a little later Chief of Artillery for the Department and Army of the Tennessee. In this position he accompanied his chief through the Atlanta campaign. After McPherson's death, when General Howard took command of the army, he was accompanied by his own Chief of Artillery. Hickenlooper was therefore returned to his duties as Judge-Advocate, and made Assistant Chief of Artillery. From this he was relieved at the request of General F. P. Blair to accept the position of Assistant Inspector General Seventeenth Army Corps, which carried with it promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. After the campaign of the Carolinas was nearly over, in the little rest at Goldsboro', the opportunity was taken to recommend him for a Brigadier-Generalship—General Howard indorsing that he "knew of no officer in the service whom he would more cordially and heartily recommend;" General Sherman saying, "He served long and faithfully near General McPherson, and enjoyed his marked confidence; is young, vigorous, and well educated, and can fill any commission with honor and credit

to the service;" and General Grant saying, "He has proved himself one of the ablest and most energetic volunteer officers, no one having the confidence of his superiors in a higher degree."

He was appointed a Brevet Brigadier-General of volunteers (20th May, 1865), and assigned to the command of a brigade composed of the Eleventh, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Iowa Veteran Volunteers.

After the muster-out of the troops he was warmly recommended by Blair, Logan, Howard, Sherman, and Grant for a commission as Major of Artillery in the regular army, or for the office of United States Marshal for the Southern District of Ohio. He was appointed to the latter position, was soon confirmed, and at once entered upon its duties, being at the time still under thirty years of age.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS KILBY SMITH.

THOMAS KILBY SMITH was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in the year 1821. He was the eldest son of George Smith, who followed the seas for many years as captain in the East India trade.

At an early age young Smith removed, with his parents, to Hamilton County, Ohio, where, after a brief business life in Cincinnati, his father settled on a farm in Colerain Township. Thomas was educated at Woodward College, in Cincinnati, studied law with Salmon P Chase, and was admitted to the bar in 1846. In 1853 he was called to fill a responsible position in the Post-Office Department at Washington City In 1856 President Pierce gave him the appointment of United States Marshal for the Southern District of Ohio, which position he retained until the accession of President Buchanan. From that time until the breaking out of the rebellion he filled with ability the position of deputy clerk of Hamilton County

In the summer of 1861 Governor Dennison appointed him Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifty-Fourth Ohio, but before the regiment went to the field he was promoted to be its Colonel, October 31, 1861, a position he accepted with some reluctance, owing to his lack of military knowledge, and to his self-distrust. But he inherited the fearlessness of his sailor father, and his subsequent career showed that he underrated himself, for, after a series of severe tests in the familiar path of the Army of the Tennessee—at Pittsburg Landing, the advance on Corinth, Chickasaw Bayou, Arkansas Post, Champion Hills, Big Black Bridge, and the assaults on Vicksburg, in all of which, by his conspicuous bravery, he won the highest admiration of his command and the warmest confidence of his superior officers—he was among the first to receive the reward of promotion. His commission as Brigadier General dated from August 11, 1863.

In consequence of sickness contracted by exposure in the service, General Smith was compelled to abandon field duty early in 1864. In the latter part of 1866 he was appointed and confirmed United States Consul at Panama.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL B. D. FEARING.

BENJAMIN DANA FEARING was born in Harmar, Ohio, in 1837. His paternal grandfather, Hon. Paul Fearing, came out with the first colony of the "Ohio Company," and, at the first court organized in the North-west Territory, held in the block-house at Campus Martius, now Marietta, in 1788, "was admitted an attorney," and was the first lawyer in the Territory. He was also afterward the first delegate from the Territory to the National Congress. Through his maternal grandfather, Benjamin Dana, who was also a member of the "Ohio Company," and one of the first colony that founded Marietta, he is the lineal descendant of the fourth generation from General Israel Putnam.

His youth was spent in his native place, mostly in attendance upon schools; and, in 1856, at the age of nineteen, he graduated from Marietta College. The two years subsequent to his graduation he spent in business in Cincinnati, and the three following in Philadelphia. While on a visit to Cincinnati, in 1861, news came of the firing upon Fort Sumter. On the second day following, young Fearing enlisted in the "Zouave Guards," which, immediately upon its organization, started for Washington; and, upon the organization of regiments at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, became Company D, of the Second Ohio. With this regiment he proceeded to the capital, and thence into Virginia, under command of General Schenck. On this march he received his first promotion, being made Fourth Corporal.

At the request of Lieutenant-Colonel Clark and Major Andrews, he next entered the camp of the Thirty-Sixth Ohio, to assist them in drilling that regiment. Fearing accompanied it to West Virginia, serving in the double capacity of Acting Adjutant-General to Inspector-General Slemmer, and as Adjutant to Major Andrews, then in command of the Thirty-Sixth. While in this service he received the appointment of First-Lieutenant and Adjutant to the Sixty-Third Ohio, and soon after an appointment as Major, with orders from Governor Dennison to report to Colonel Hildebrand, then recruiting the Seventy-Seventh Regiment at Marietta. While General Grant was in front of Fort Donelson orders came for the regiment to move at once to Paducah, Kentucky, and report to General Sherman, with a request to know "How soon?" The superior officers being absent, Major Fearing answered: "In an hour." By first train and first boat he was off, and his regiment was the first, out of the nine ordered from Ohio, to report. While General Sherman was making an expedition for destroying the bridges on the railroad near Iuka, sudden rains

caused a rise in a bayou putting into Yellow Creek, which threatened to cut off the return of his division to the boats. Major Fearing was detailed to construct a bridge, and performed his work so rapidly as to elicit a complimentary notice from the General.

At the battle of Pittsburg Landing, Colonel Hildebrand being in command of a brigade, the command of the regiment devolved upon the Major, who was posted at Shiloh Church (the line of the regiment being across the main Corinth road), which was regarded by General Sherman as the key-point to his position. Realizing the importance of his post he held it till the lines both upon his right and his left were broken. He repelled the charges of the enemy for the capture of Taylor's battery, till orders came for its withdrawal, when he protected its retirement to the new line.

Major Fearing was now promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and being mustered out of the Seventy-Seventh for that purpose, reported to his new command in Ohio, the Ninety Second Ohio. Colonel Van Vorhes being compelled by ill-health to resign, Lieutenant-Colonel Fearing was promoted to the Colonelcy He led his regiment in the fight at Hoover's Gap, and with it took part in the engagements of the Fourth Division, Fourteenth Corps. At the battle of Chickamauga his regiment formed a part of Turchin's brigade. While advancing to repel a charge of the enemy, Colonel Fearing was severely wounded, a Minnie-ball having passed through the front part of his right and the thick portion of his left thigh. When sufficiently recovered for partial duty he was detailed on several courts-martial at Cincinnati and Louisville, where he remained till March, 1864, when he returned to his command at Ringgold, Georgia. In the subsequent engagements in the Atlanta campaign Colonel Fearing's regiment took a part, fighting in Turchin's brigade and Baird's division, as also in those following in the march to the sea. At Savannah he received a commission from President Lincoln as Brigadier-General by brevet, bearing date of December 2, 1864, for "gallant and meritorious service during the long campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and from Atlanta to Savannah."

General Fearing was assigned to duty in General Morgan's division of the Fourteenth Corps, as commander of the Third Brigade, a body of troops familiarly known in the army as "Colonel Dan. McCook's Brigade." With it he participated in the campaign in the Carolinas, and at Averysboro' held the left of the line. General Davis ordered General Fearing "to check the enemy and hold them if it cost his whole brigade." The charge of General Fearing was made with spirit and accompanied with hard fighting. The General had his horse shot under him, and was himself wounded, a Minnie-ball having passed through his right hand from the wrist forward, carrying away the thumb, fore finger, and left portion of the hand. Being permanently disabled by this wound General Fearing, now at the age of twenty-seven years, was mustered out of the service, having, as a private, taken part in the first, and as commander of a brigade, in the last important battle of the war.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY F. DEVOL.

HENRY F DEVOL was born near Waterford, Washington County, Ohio, in 1831. At the age of nineteen he began to speculate in the South, and was in New Orleans in May, 1861. With much difficulty he reached the North. Soon after arriving he commenced recruiting a company, and in August he was mustered into the service as Captain of Company A, Thirty-Sixth Ohio Infantry.

He entered the field in West Virginia, and was engaged at Carnifex Ferry, and in the following spring at Lewisburg, when Crook's brigade routed the Rebels under Heath. In August, 1862, the regiment joined the Army of the Potomac at Warrenton Junction, and Captain Devol was engaged in the battle which soon ensued. He was present at South Mountain and Antietam, and in September he accompanied the regiment to Clarksburg, where he was promoted to Major, and soon after to Lieutenant-Colonel. He was transferred, with the regiment, to the West, joining the Army of the Cumberland at Carthage, Tennessee. At Chickamauga he was in Turchin's brigade, Reynold's division, Fourteenth Corps, and was warmly engaged. For gallantry in this battle he was made Colonel. He participated in a reconnoissance in front of Chattanooga in which he was slightly wounded; and was also in the affair at Brown's Ferry. He was again transferred to West Virginia with his command, and after an expedition against the enemy's communications by the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, in which he was engaged at Cloyd's Mountain, he joined General Hunter on the Lynchburg raid. Then followed a series of battles with Early's force at Snicker's Ford and Kearnstown. In the campaign of the valley Colonel Devol was engaged at Berryville and Opequan, where he was given a brigade, which he commanded during subsequent operations, including the battle of Cedar Creek. This was the end of his active field service. He was mustered out at Wheeling on the 31st of July, 1865, and soon after was brevetted Brigadier-General, "for gallant and meritorious services during the war."

During four years he had but twenty-five days' leave of absence, and never missed a march, scout, skirmish, or battle in which the regiment was engaged.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL ISRAEL GARRARD.

ISRAEL GARRARD was born in Cincinnati, and is the eldest son of Jeptha D. Garrard and Sarah Bella Ludlow, his wife. He is a descendant on the paternal side of James Garrard, one of the earliest settlers and Governors of Kentucky; and on the maternal side of Israel Ludlow, one of the original proprietors of the town site of Cincinnati.

He was a pupil of Ormsby M. Mitchel; afterward was student at Cary's Academy and at Bethany College in West Virginia. He read law with Judge Swayne at Columbus, and graduated in the Law School at Cambridge. Being fond of an adventurous life, he sought pleasure and occupation in the West, and spent much time in Missouri, Texas, and Minnesota. In May, 1856, he married the eldest daughter of George Wood, a distinguished lawyer in New York. The war found him deeply engaged in property interests in Minnesota.

During the siege of Cincinnati he served on the staff of Major McDowell, commanding the organization of the city and State forces. On the 18th of September he was appointed Colonel of the Seventh Ohio Cavalry, and from that time until the close of the war he was absent from the field but eight days, and then his command was in camp recruiting. He commanded a brigade much of the time, and after the capture of Stoneman on the Macon raid before Atlanta, he commanded a division. He was promoted to Brigadier-General by brevet on the 21st of June, 1865, and on the 4th of July of the same year he was mustered out.

On taking leave of his regiment he was presented with a cavalry standard, on which was embroidered the following epitome of his service: Carter Raid, Dutton Hill, Monticello, West's Gap, Buffington Island, Cumberland Gap, Blue Springs, Blountsville, Rogersville, Morristown, Cheek's Cross Roads, Bean's Station, Dandridge, Massy Creek, Fair Garden, Cynthiana, Atlanta, Duck River, Nashville, Plantersville, Selma, and Columbus. On a plate on the staff is an inscription, expressing the regiment's confidence in him as a leader and its respect for him as a patriot and a gentleman.

General Garrard is now enjoying the quiet retirement of agricultural life at Frontenac, on Lake Pepin, Minnesota.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL DANIEL McCOY.

DANIEL McCOY was born at Rainsboro', Highland County, Ohio, of humble parentage. He received but little more than an ordinary common-school education, and on the 1st of June, 1861, he was sworn into the service as a private soldier. The company was assigned to the Twenty-Fourth Ohio Infantry. Private McCoy was appointed Third-Sergeant, and in that capacity he participated in the battles of Greenbriar and Cheat Mountain. The regiment was transferred to the West, and Sergeant McCoy was promoted to First-Sergeant. In the battle of Stone River his company officers were disabled, and he commanded the company through the principal part of the battle. Sergeant McCoy was struck in the knee, but he immediately struggled to his feet, and remained on the field until the close of the battle. For gallantry upon this occasion he was promoted to Second-Lieutenant.

He was soon promoted to First-Lieutenant, and he continued in command of the company until after the battle of Chickamauga. In that engagement, he received nine bullet holes through his clothing, and at last he was struck in the leg by a minnie ball, which brought him down. He received a short leave, and soon started again, crutch in hand, for his command. By order of General Sherman, he was placed in charge of the exchange barracks at Nashville, where he remained until June 24, 1864, being promoted in the mean time to the rank of Captain.

He was mustered out at the expiration of his term of service, but he immediately commenced organizing the One Hundred and Seventy-Fifth Ohio Infantry, and on the 10th of October, 1864, he returned to the field in command of the regiment, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The regiment went on duty at Columbia, Tennessee, and Lieutenant-Colonel McCoy was placed in command of the post. Here he remained until the advance of Hood's army; and upon the retreat of the Union army, Lieutenant-Colonel McCoy was charged with the duty of covering the withdrawal of the troops. This he did with skill, and by rare good management he was able to rejoin his command. In the battle of Franklin, Lieutenant-Colonel McCoy held the regiment firmly to its place, and put it through the manual of arms under fire. He received three severe wounds, and was borne from the field insensible.

After the battle of Nashville Lieutenant-Colonel McCoy received a leave, and spent a short time in Ohio recuperating his health. He was recommended for promotion to the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General by General George H. Thomas and by General Rousseau. The Tennessee Legislature made a similar recommendation, which was approved and forwarded by Governor Brownlow,

and accordingly Lieutenant-Colonel McCoy was appointed Brigadier-General of volunteers by brevet, "for gallant and meritorious services during the war, particularly in the battles before Nashville, Tennesse."

General McCoy was now but twenty-four years of age, being one of the youngest officers of his rank in the army. He was assigned to the command of the forces at Columbia, Tennessee, where he remained until July 8, 1865, when he was honorably mustered out of service, having passed through twenty-seven battles, having been wounded severely five times, and having been struck in his clothes and person fourteen times. After muster-out he went into business at Wheaton, Du Page County, Illinois.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. P. RICHARDSON.

W P RICHARDSON was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, May 25, 1824, and was educated at Washington College, in that county In 1846 he enlisted as a private in the Third Ohio Infantry, and served out the term of his enlistment in the Mexican War. He was admitted to the bar of Cadiz, Ohio, in August, 1852, and in 1853 he commenced the practice of the law at Woodsfield, Monroe County, Ohio. In 1855 he was elected prosecuting attorney, and he continued to hold that office until he entered the service in 1861. He was also, at the breaking out of the rebellion, a Brigadier-General in the Ohio Militia.

Immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter, he raised two companies, but Ohio's quota was filled before he could get them accepted. They, however, changed the term of their enlistment from three months to three years, and were assigned to the Twenty-Fifth Ohio Infantry, of which regiment W P. Richardson was appointed Major. On the 10th of June, 1861, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, and with that rank he went to the field. On the 10th of May, 1862, he was promoted to the Colonelcy of his regiment. On the 2d of May, 1863, he was wounded severely through the right shoulder at the battle of Chancellorsville. This wound deprived Colonel Richardson of the use of his right arm, which he has never fully recovered. He was not on duty again until January, 1864, when he was detailed as president of a court-martial at Camp Chase. On the 11th of February he was placed in command of that post, where he remained until the last of August, 1865.

In the fall of 1864, Colonel Richardson was elected Attorney-General of the State of Ohio, and it was his intention to retire from the army; but upon the representations and solicitations of Governor Brough he remained in the service, and in December, 1864, he was brevetted Brigadier-General. In September,

1865, General Richardson joined his command in South Carolina, and was placed over a sub-district, with head-quarters at Columbia. He was afterward placed in command of the District of East South Carolina, with head-quarters at Darlington.

As a commanding officer General Richardson possessed the confidence and esteem of his men. His service in detached positions has been frequently commended, and during his five years service no charges or complaint of any kind has ever been made against him.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. F. WILES.

G. F. WILES entered the service on the 26th of October, 1861, as First-Lieutenant in the Seventy-Eighth Ohio Infantry. He soon became the best drill officer in the regiment, and in May, 1862, was appointed regimental drill-master. He was promoted to Captain in May, 1862, and soon after was detailed by General John A. Logan to command the division engineer corps. The long marches and tedious sieges in which the army was engaged made his position very arduous, but he displayed spirit and ability, and won the confidence and applause of all.

On the morning of the 16th of May, 1863, he received his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel. He immediately took command of the regiment, and an hour later he was in the thickest of the fight at Champion Hills. His coolness, skill, and bravery in that engagement were particularly noticed by his commanding officer. He was present at the siege of Vicksburg, and contributed his share to the capture of the city. He accompanied General Sherman to Jackson, but the communications being threatened, he was ordered to Clinton to hold the place against any force that might come against him. He had barely posted his command when he was attacked by superior numbers, but the enemy was repulsed.

He was promoted to Colonel, September 1, 1863, and was in command of the regiment from that time until July 22, 1864, when he took charge of a brigade, which he continued to lead most of the time until the close of the war. He was brevetted Brigadier-General for meritorious conduct.

He has participated in the following battles: Pittsburg Landing, Corinth, Bolivar, Iuka, Thompson's Hill, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, Bushy Mountain, Kenesaw Mountain, Atlanta July 21st, 22d, and 28th, Jonesboro', Savannah, and Pocotaligo. He was mustered out July 15, 1865.

General Wiles possesses a stentorian voice, and is of pleasing personal appearance; being over six feet tall, well proportioned, erect, and eminently military in form and feature.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS M. VINCENT.

THOMAS M. VINCENT was born in Green Township, near Cadiz, Harrison County Ohio, November 15, 1832. At the age of sixteen he entered West Point, and in 1853 graduated eleventh, in a class of fifty-five. While at the Military Academy he passed through the grades of private, corporal, sergeant, Lieutenant, and Captain of Cadet Infantry Battalion, and during the academic year 1852–53 he was Chief Cadet Officer of Cavalry

Among his classmates from Ohio were James B. McPherson, Joshua W Sill, William S. Smith, William McE. Dye, Philip H. Sheridan, Elmer Otis, and Robert F Hunter.

His first service was against the Indians in Florida, sometimes with his regiment, and sometimes on the staff, as Assistant Adjutant-General, Assistant Quartermaster, and Assistant Commissary. He was stationed at Fort Hamilton and Plattsburg, New York, from December, 1856, until August, 1859, when he was detached as Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology at West Point.

In 1861 he served against the rebellion in the Army of North-Eastern Virginia as Assistant Adjutant-General, and was engaged in the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861 He was in the War Department, Adjutant-General's office, in charge of the recruiting service for the regular army until June, 1862, and after that was in charge of the organization, recruiting, and miscellaneous business of the volunteer armies of the United States.

The following is the record of his promotion:

Second-Lieutenant, Second Artillery, October 8, 1853.
First-Lieutenant, Second Artillery, October 20, 1855.
Captain, Eighteenth Infantry, May 14, 1861 (declined).
Regimental Quartermaster, Second Artillery, June 1, 1861.
Brevet Captain, staff (Assistant Adjutant-General), July 3, 1861.
Captain, staff (Assistant Adjutant-General), August 3, 1861.
Major, staff Assistant Adjutant-General), July 17, 1862.
Captain, Second Artillery, July 25, 1863; vacated regimental commission, by resignation, June 11, 1864.
Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, United States Army, for "faithful and meritorious services during the war," September 24, 1864.
Brevet Colonel, United States Army, for "faithful and meritorious services during the war," September 24, 1864.
Rrevet Brigadier-General, United States Army, for "faithful and meritorious services during the war," March 13, 1865.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. S. JONES.

JOHN S. JONES was born in Champaign County, Ohio, February 12, 1836. He was educated at the Ohio Wesleyan University, and after graduating studied law with Judge Powell of Delaware, and was admitted to the bar in June, 1857. He was elected prosecuting attorney in 1860, but in 1861 he resigned his office and enlisted as a private in the Fourth Ohio Infantry. He was soon appointed First-Lieutenant, to rank from April 16, 1861.

Upon the reorganization of the regiment for the three years' service, Lieutenant Jones retained his position, and with his regiment entered the field in West Virginia. He was at Rich Mountain and at Romney At the latter place he participated in a charge made by the infantry through the bridge, and upon a battery posted on the opposite side. In March, 1862, he was detailed upon the staff of General Shields, and was by the General's side when he was wounded at Winchester. At Mount Jackson he received the special thanks of General Shields for leading a cavalry charge against Ashby. He participated in the engagements at Front Royal and Port Republic, and finally joined his regiment at Harrison's Landing, on the 22d of July, 1862. He was promoted to Captain on the 5th of September, 1862, and was next engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg. At Chancellorsville he acted as Major of the regiment, and was specially mentioned in brigade orders. He was engaged at Gettysburg, at Bristow Station, and at Mine Run, where he was wounded. On the 22d of January, 1864, he was detailed for recruiting service, but he rejoined the regiment in May, and was present at the North Anna River, at Prospect Hill, and at Cold Harbor. He was mustered out with the regiment on the 21st of June, 1864.

He was nominated by the Union Convention for the Legislature, but he declined the nomination, and was mustered into the service as Colonel of the One Hundred and Seventy-Fourth Ohio Infantry, on the 21st of September, 1864. The regiment entered the field in the South-west, and was engaged at Overall's Creek near Murfreesboro', and in the battle of Wilkison's Pike. In this latter engagement it was complimented by General Rosseau in special orders.

Colonel Jones was transferred with his command to the East, and after participating in the battle of Kingston, joined General Sherman at Goldsboro' He remained with Sherman's army until after the surrender of Johnston, when he was ordered to Charlotte, North Carolina, where he was President of an Examining Board for a time, and then was in command of the post, and then of a brigade. He was brevetted Brigadier-General on the 27th of June, 1865, for gallant and meritorious conduct during the war, and discharged at Columbus, July 7, 1865.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL STEPHEN B. YEOMAN.

THIS officer is a native of Washington, Fayette County, Ohio. His great-grandfather served with credit as Captain in the Revolution, and his grandfather as First-Lieutenant in the War of 1812. At the age of fifteen Stephen B. Yeoman shipped as a sailor. He visited New Zealand, and different points in South America, Asia, and Africa. After enjoying many adventures and undergoing many hardships, he finally returned to the United States.

At the outbreak of the rebellion he volunteered as a private in Company F, Twenty-Second Ohio Infantry. He was appointed First-Sergeant of his company, and with this rank he made a three months' campaign under Rosecrans in West Virginia. At the expiration of his term of service he immediately commenced recruiting, and he returned to the field in September, 1861, as Captain of Company A, Fifty-Fourth Ohio Infantry. Captain Yeoman was slightly wounded in the breast and left leg at the battle of Pittsburg Landing; at Russel's House he was again wounded in the left leg; on the picket-line he was wounded in the arm and abdomen; and in the battle of Arkansas Post his right arm was struck by a shell, and amputation became necessary. For distinguished services he was promoted to Major, but his wound prevented him from returning to the field, and accordingly he declined promotion and resigned.

He was appointed Captain in the Veteran Reserve Corps, and in May, 1864, he was made Colonel of the Forty-Third United States Colored Infantry. He was detailed at Camp Casey as Superintendent of Recruiting Service, and Chief Mustering Officer of the North-East District of Virginia. He joined his regiment November 29, 1864, on the Bermuda Front, and led it in all subsequent engagements until the capture of Richmond. During a portion of the time he commanded the Third Brigade, First Division, Twenty-Fifth Corps. He was brevetted Brigadier-General "for gallant and meritorious services during the war."

General Yeoman has participated in the following engagements: Pittsburg Landing, Russel's House, Easel's House, Corinth, July, 1862, Holly Springs, July, 1862, Chickasaw Bayou, Arkansas Post, Siege of Vicksburg, and capture of Richmond; and in at least fifteen skirmishes. He possesses by nature many of the qualities necessary for a soldier, and among them his personal bravery is by no means the least. His empty sleeve will ever be touching evidence of his loyalty and courage, and his sure title to the regard of his fellow-citizens.

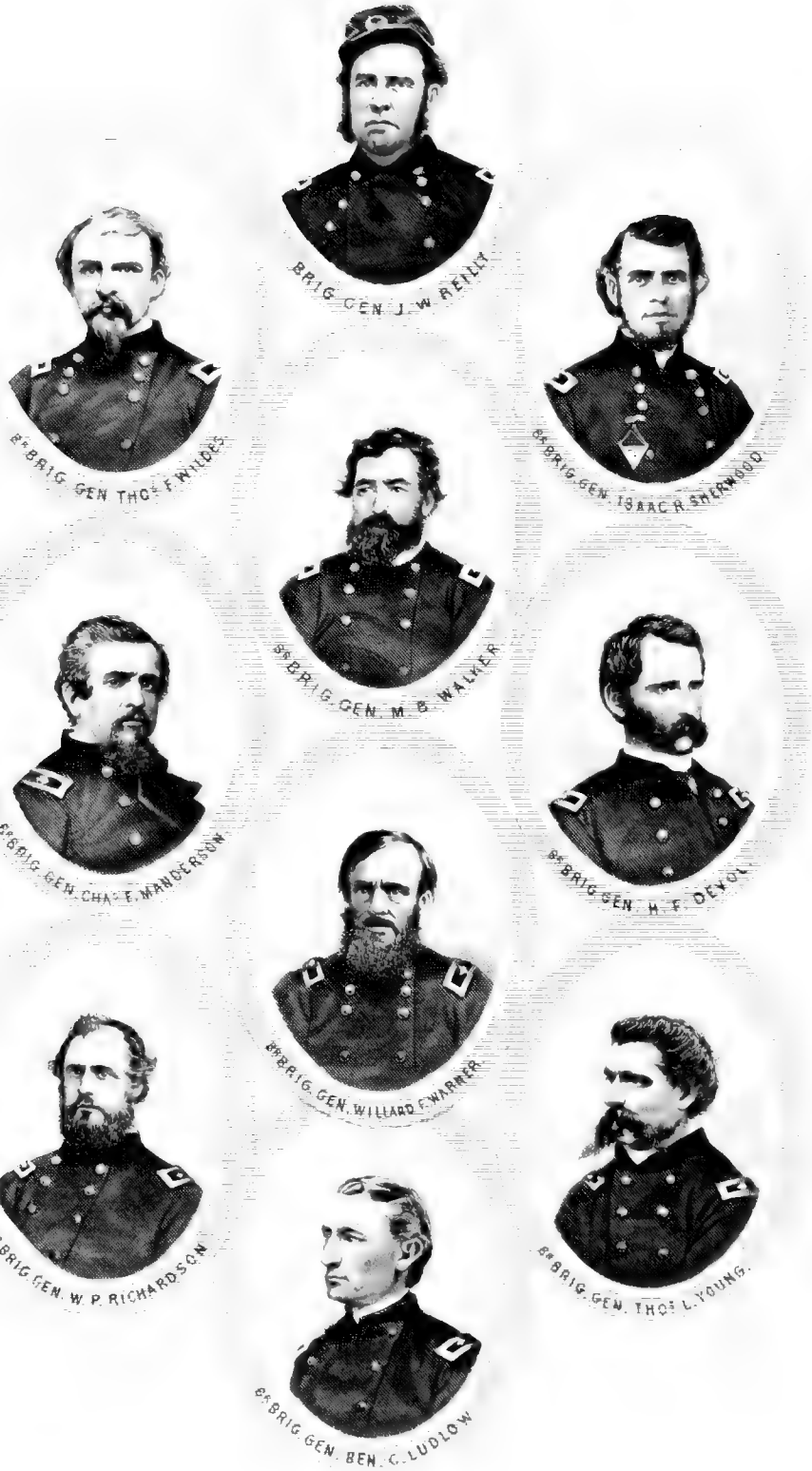
BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL F. W. MOORE.

AT the first call for volunteers in April, 1861, the subject of the present sketch assisted in organizing company G of the Fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and was chosen Second-Lieutenant of the same company. With the Fifth Ohio Infantry he went to Western Virginia, and subsequently to the Army of the Potomac—in the meantime being promoted to First-Lieutenant and Captain. In the spring of 1862, with his regiment, he took part in the campaign of Banks and Shields in the Valley of Virginia. For his conduct in the battle of Port Republic, the Governor appointed him Colonel of the Eighty-Third Infantry. At that time (July, 1862), he was about the youngest officer of the grade of Colonel in the army, having just attained the age of twenty-one. In September following he led his regiment into Kentucky to resist the Rebel forces of Kirby Smith. In November his regiment became part of General Sherman s army operating against Vicksburg; and took part in the first assault of the works in December, 1862; and subsequently in the siege and final assault of that place. His conduct throughout the whole was such as to elicit the commendation of the General officers in command.

The record of his career, from the fall of Vicksburg to the end of the year 1864, shows him to have been engaged in all the campaigns of the Department of the Gulf, and in the Red River expedition under General Banks. Part of the time he commanded the Fourth Division, Thirteenth Army Corps.

Early in the spring of 1865 Colonel Moore was placed in command of the Third Brigade, Second Division, Thirteenth Army Corps—a new organization which composed a part of the army under General Canby, operating against the defenses of the City of Mobile. In that campaign General C. C. Andrews speaks of him in a voluntary recommendation to the War Department as follows: "In the campaign of Mobile—involving severe marches, the siege of the works at Blakely, Alabama, and final taking of them by assault—he, as a brigade commander, was equal to all his duties. He was always punctual, reliable, energetic; never cast down or despondent on account of obstacles, but addressed himself to critical and difficult duties with the alacrity of a true soldier; and in the triumphant assault of the enemy's works on the 9th instant, his personal conduct was gallant and praiseworthy."

He was made Brevet Brigadier-General, and sent with his brigade to Galveston, Texas; where he remained in command of the post till mustered out in August, 1865. He subsequently studied and entered upon the practice of law.


BRIG. GEN. J. W. REILLY
BR. BRIG. GEN. THOS. F. WILDES
BR. BRIG. GEN. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD
BR. BRIG. GEN. M. B. WALKER
BR. BRIG. GEN. CHAS. E. MANDERSON
BR. BRIG. GEN. H. F. DEVOL
BR. BRIG. GEN. WILLARD F. WARNER
BR. BRIG. GEN. W. P. RICHARDSON
BR. BRIG. GEN. THOS. L. YOUNG
BR. BRIG. GEN. BEN. C. LUDLOW

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS F. WILDES.

THOMAS F. WILDES was born at Racine, Canada West, June 1, 1834. His parents, who were natives of Ireland, emigrated to America in 1832. His grandfather, Thomas Wildes, was an ardent revolutionist, and for this offense suffered confiscation of his goods and had to flee to France to save his life. Young Wildes came with his father to Portage County, Ohio, in 1839, where he remained on a farm until he was seventeen years of age. At this time he left home with an education limited to reading and writing. For some years he worked during the summers for farmers near Ravenna, and went to school in the winter time. He was also aided in efforts for an education by a daughter of one of his employers, Miss Elizabeth M. Robinson, to whom he was afterward (1860) married. He attended the Twinsburg Academy and also an academy at Marlboro', Stark County, Ohio. He afterward (1857–58) spent two years at Wittenburg College, Springfield. He became the Superintendent of the Wooster Graded School during the years 1859 and 1860. On the 1st of January, 1861, he purchased from Nelson H. Van Vorhes, the "Athens Messenger," at Athens, Ohio, which paper he edited until August, 1862, when he entered the service as Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Sixteenth Ohio Infantry. With this command he served in Virginia at Moorefield, Romney, in the Shenandoah Valley under Sigel, participating in the battles of Piedmont, Snicker's Gap, Berryville, Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. During all this time Colonel Wildes was with his regiment in every march, skirmish, and battle, in which it was engaged. At the battle of Piedmont he was injured by concussion from a shell, and at Winchester he was seriously hurt by being thrown from his horse.

During a portion of the Shenandoah campaign, including the battle of Cedar Creek and other minor engagements, he commanded the First Brigade, First Division, of the Army of West Virginia. He retained this command until February, 1865, when he was promoted to Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Sixth Ohio. With this regiment he went to Nashville and afterward to Cleveland, Tennessee, where he received his commission as Brevet Brigadier-General "for gallant conduct at Cedar Creek, Virginia, October 19, 1864," to date from March 11, 1865. He was appointed to the command of a brigade at Chattanooga, which he retained until his muster out in September, 1865.

General Wildes entered the Law School at Cincinnati, and graduated in 1866, after which he entered upon the practice of his profession at Athens.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. H. GROSVENOR.

CHARLES H. GROSVENOR was born in Pomfret, Connecticut, September 20, 1833, and five years after was brought with his father's family to Athens County, Ohio. His grandfather, Colonel Thomas Grosvenor, was an officer in the Revolutionary War, serving first as a Lieutenant under Putnam, then on the staff of General Warren (he was wounded at Bunker Hill), then as Colonel of the Second Connecticut Regiment of the Line, and finally as a member of the staff of General George Washington.

Major Peter Grosvenor, the father of Charles H. Grosvenor, served as a private soldier in the war of 1812. His title as Major was from militia service.

General Grosvenor entered the service July 30, 1861, as Major of the Eighteenth Ohio Infantry; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel March 16, 1863, and to Colonel April 8, 1865. He served first under General Mitchel until he was relieved, then in the campaign to Nashville and Huntsville. He was not in the battle of Stone River with his regiment, being then in Ohio to obtain recruits.

At the beginning of the Atlantic Campaign, his regiment being in garrison at Chattanooga, General Grosvenor obtained permission to accompany the army, and was assigned to duty on the staff of General Turchin of Baird's division in the Fourteenth Corps. He remained with the army until in June, when he returned to Chattanooga, and participated with General Steedman in his campaign in East Tennessee, and afterward was engaged against Forrest at Pulaski, Tennessee.

At the battle of Nashville, in December, 1864, he was in command of a brigade and made an assault in which he lost two hundred and twenty-eight men in fifteen minutes.

He was for some time commander of the post at Chattanooga. When General Steedman was assigned to the command of the Department of Georgia, General Grosvenor was detailed as Provost-Marshal General on his staff, in which position he remained until mustered out October 28, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

He was in the service from the beginning to the end, and throughout the war proved himself worthy of the fighting stock from which he came.

he was transferred to Washington City as Post Quartermaster, and remained on that duty until June, 1865, when he was made Colonel and Inspector of the Quartermaster's Department. He was then retained on duty at the War Office, by Secretary Stanton until November, when he was ordered to Cincinnati as Chief Quartermaster of that department.

In September, 1866, he was brevetted a Brigadier-General of volunteers. Shortly after this he resigned his commission, and was mustered out of service on the 1st of October, having completed five years of continuous service in the army.

General Brinkerhoff deservedly ranks as one of the most competent officers of the staff corps of the army, having won every grade of his department below its chief, by meritorious and efficient service.

General Brinkerhoff is the author of the book entitled "The Volunteer Quartermaster," which is still the standard guide for the officers and employees of the Quartermaster's Department. After his retirement from the army he returned to the practice of his profession at Mansfield.

CHARLES E. BROWN was born in Cincinnati, July 4, 1834. At the age of sixteen he entered Miami University, and graduated in 1854. He studied law, and commenced the practice of his profession in Louisiana; but in 1859 he returned to Ohio, and opened an office in Chillicothe.

On the 23d of October, 1861, he was commissioned a Captain, and was assigned to the Sixty-Third Ohio Infantry. He was under General Pope in Missouri, and participated in the movements which resulted in the capture of New Madrid and Island Number Ten. He was in the siege of Corinth, and was engaged at Iuka, and at Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862. For gallant and soldierly conduct in these engagements Captain Brown was particularly mentioned in the official reports. At Corinth he was the only officer in the left wing of the regiment who was unhurt.

He was promoted to Major for meritorious conduct, March 20, 1863, and to Lieutenant-Colonel, May 17, 1863. He commanded the regiment in the Atlanta campaign, and was engaged at Snake Creek Gap, Resaca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain. On the 22d of July, in front of Atlanta, he lost his left leg, and while recovering from his wound served as Provost-Marshal of the Eighteenth Ohio District.

He was promoted to Colonel, June 6, 1865, and was subsequently brevetted Brigadier-General, to date from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the campaign before Atlanta, Georgia." He resumed the practice of law at Chillicothe.

JEFFERSON BRUMBACK was commissioned Major of the Nintey-Fifth Ohio, August 10, 1862; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, October 4th; mustered out August 14, 1865. His appointment as Brevet Brigadier-General dated from March 13, 1865.

HENRY L. BURNETT was appointed Judge Advocate, August 10, 1863, under the act of July 17, 1862. He conducted the famous treason trials at Indianap-

olis, and was also associated with Hon. John A. Bingham, in the trial of the assassination conspirators at Washington. His appointment as Brevet Brigadier-General was "for meritorious service in the Bureau of Military Justice," to date from March 13, 1865.

After leaving the army he resumed the practice of law in Cincinnati, in partnership with Hon. T. W Bartley, late of the Supreme Court of Ohio.

JOSEPH W. BURKE entered the service as Major of the Tenth Ohio Three Months' Regiment. He continued in the same rank in the three years' organization; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, January 9, 1862, and to Colonel, January 20, 1863. He was mustered out June 17, 1864; but he afterward entered the Invalid Corps. His rank as Brevet Brigadier-General was from March 13, 1865. He was a gallant fighting officer, and was more than once severely wounded. He had great influence among his fellow Irishmen of Cincinnati, and used it well and wisely.

JOHN ALLEN CAMPBELL was born in Salem, Ohio, October 8, 1835. He entered the service as Second-Lieutenant of the Nineteenth Ohio in April, 1861, and served in that capacity until the following August, when he was mustered out. He then entered the First Ohio Infantry as First-Lieutenant. He served as Ordnance officer on the staff of General A. M. McCook until after the evacuation of Corinth, in 1862, then as Acting Assistant Adjutant-General until November 26, 1862, when he was promoted to Major and Assistant Adjutant-General. In March, 1863, he was transferred to the staff of General Schofield, where he served till the end of the war. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in January, 1865, and was brevetted Colonel and Brigadier-General March 13, 1865, "for courage in the field and marked ability and fidelity."

He participated in the battles of Rich Mountain, Pittsburg Landing, Perryville, Stone River, all the battles of the Atlanta campaign, Franklin, Nashville, and Wilmington. After being mustered out as a volunteer officer, he was appointed Second-Lieutenant of the Fifth United States Artillery. He is an earnest member of the Republican party

CHARLES CANDY was commissioned Colonel of the Sixty-Sixth Ohio November 25, 1861, and was honorably discharged December 16, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOHN S. CASEMENT entered the three months' service May 7, 1861, as Major of the Seventh Ohio Infantry. When the regiment was reorganized for the three years' service he held the same rank; resigned May 25, 1862. In August, 1862, he was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Third Ohio Infantry; resigned April 30, 1865. His brevet rank dates from January 25, 1865.

MENDAL CHURCHILL entered the Twenty-Seventh Ohio as Captain, August 6, 1861; was promoted to Major November 2, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel March 19, 1864; to Colonel June 27, 1864; he resigned September 15, 1864. His brevet rank dated from March 13, 1865.

HENRY M. CIST was born in Cincinnati, and is a son of Charles Cist, Esq.,

(well-known as an early journalist, and compiler of "Cincinnati in 1841," and "Cincinnati in 1851.") He entered the Seventy-Fourth Ohio as First-Lieutenant October 22, 1861. May 22, 1864, he was appointed Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General of volunteers, and afterward promoted to Major. He was brevetted Brigadier-General "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Stone River, and in the campaign under General Rosecrans, terminating in the battle of Chickamauga, and for meritorious services generally throughout the war," to date from March 13, 1865.

BENJAMIN F. COATES was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Ninety-First Ohio, August 10, 1862; was promoted to Colonel December 9, 1864, and was mustered out with his regiment, June 30, 1865. His brevet rank was from March 13, 1865.

JAMES M. COMLY was born in Perry County, Ohio, March 6, 1832. He entered the United States service in June, 1861, and on the 12th of August was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Third Ohio Infantry After some time spent at Camp Chase, he gave up the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Forty-Third, for the appointment of Major of the Twenty-Third Ohio Infantry, then in the field, for the sake of getting more speedily into active service. He was mustered as Major on the 31st of October, 1861, and he commanded the regiment in every action in which it was subsequently engaged, except for a short time in the morning at the battle of South Mountain. He was eventually made Colonel of the regiment, and Brevet Brigadier-General (to date from March 13, 1865), the latter position having been earned by gallant and faithful service in the field. General Comly, after the war, became editor of the Ohio State Journal, at Columbus, where he displayed marked ability as a writer and politician, and came to exert large influence. His history in the field may be best read in the history of the regiment he commanded so long, and led to so much honor. During the war he was married to a daughter of Surgeon-General Smith, of Columbus.

HENRY S. COMMAGER was commissioned Captain of the Sixty-Seventh Ohio Infantry, November 10, 1861; promoted to the rank of Major July 29, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel August 28, 1862; Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Fourth Ohio February 22, 1865. Brevet rank dates from February 27, 1865.

H. C. CORBIN was appointed Second-Lieutenant in the Seventy-Ninth Ohio November 12, 1862; promoted to First-Lieutenant in 1863; he resigned November 15, 1863, and afterward became Colonel of the Fourteenth United States Colored Infantry His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

BENJAMIN RUSH COWEN was born August 15, 1831, in the village of Moorefield, Harrison County, Ohio, to which place his parents had emigrated in 1825, from Washington County, New York. His mother was a daughter of Judge Wood, of the latter county. His father, Judge B. S. Cowen, gave up the practice of medicine for that of law, and has, since 1832, resided at St. Clairsville,

Ohio. An uncle, Hon. Esek Cowen, was Chief Justice of the New York Court of Appeals, and was the author of "Cowen's Treatise," "Cowen's Reports," and other legal works.

General Cowen received an English and classical education at "Brooks's Institute," and another school of like character in St. Clairsville. This was supplemented by a practical printer's education in the office of the Belmont Chronicle. He became local editor of that paper at the age of seventeen, and four years later became sole editor and proprietor. During this time he also studied medicine with Dr. John Alexander, but he never practiced in that profession. In September, 1854, he married Miss Ellen Thoburn, of Belmont County. Three years afterward he disposed of the Chronicle, and removed to Bellair. There he was in mercantile business until 1860, having, in the meantime, served as member of the Legislature, and Clerk of the House of Representatives.

His first military appointment was that of Engineer-in-Chief, with the rank of Colonel, on Governor Dennison's staff. This post he resigned upon the fall of Fort Sumter, and enlisted as a private in Captain Wallace's company, in the Fifteenth Ohio. He did not, however, sever his connection with the Legislature, which was then in session, until its adjournment, when he joined his regiment at Zanesville. He was commissioned First-Lieutenant May 24th, and assigned to duty as Assistant-Commissary of Subsistence. In the summer of 1861 he received the appointment as Additional Paymaster, dating from June 1. He served at Washington and in West Virginia in this capacity. He also served at the same time as Pay Agent for Ohio, in forwarding soldiers' pay to their friends at home.

In December, 1863, he was ordered to New Orleans, as chief paymaster of the Department of the Gulf; but before leaving for that post he was tendered the position of Adjutant-General of Ohio, by Governor Brough. He accepted this, and having obtained leave of absence, with suspension of pay and allowances, he entered upon his new duties in January, 1864. In this position there was the greatest need of a man thoroughly systematic and prompt, as well as untiringly energetic, to accomplish its manifold duties. To General Cowen's intelligent labors in this department is due much of the efficiency of the military force of Ohio. Perhaps the most striking instance of his ability was displayed in his management of the calling out and equipment of the "National Guard;" where, in twelve days, thirty-five thousand nine hundred and eighty-two men were organized, mustered, clothed, equipped, and turned over to the United States military authorities. It was "for meritorious services while acting as Adjutant-General of the State of Ohio in organizing, equipping, and forwarding to the field, the troops known as the Ohio National Guards," that he received the successive appointments of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, Brevet Colonel, and Brevet Brigadier-General, to date from March 13, 1865. General Cox retained General Cowen in the same position.

In politics General Cowen was originally a Whig, having advocated the election of General Taylor in 1848, and having voted for General Scott in 1852.

Upon the dissolution of the Whig party he became a Republican. He was Secretary of the anti-Nebraska Convention which assembled in Columbus in 1854, and in 1856 was a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention which nominated General Fremont for President. He has since that time acted with the Republican party.

JOHN E. CUMMINS was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Ninety-Ninth Ohio August 9, 1862. He was afterward transferred to the Fiftieth Ohio, and was promoted to Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Fifth Ohio February 15, 1865. His brevet rank dates from November 4, 1865.

J. R. COCKERILL was commissioned Colonel of the Seventieth Ohio, to rank from October 2, 1861. He resigned April 13, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

ANDREW R. Z. DAWSON entered the Fifteenth Ohio Infantry as Captain September 11, 1861 (having served as First-Lieutenant in the same regiment in the three months' service). He was promoted to Major July 22, 1864, and was mustered out at the expiration of his term of service. On March 2, 1865, he was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Seventh Ohio, and was mustered out with his regiment in January, 1866. His brevet rank dates from November 21, 1865.

AZARIAH N. DOANE entered the Twelfth Ohio in the three months' service, and on the 12th of June, 1861, was promoted to Captain. He resigned October 18, 1861. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventy-Ninth Ohio August 19, 1862, and promoted to Colonel June 8, 1865, but was mustered out as Lieutenant-Colonel. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

FRANCIS DARR entered the Tenth Ohio as Second-Lieutenant June 3, 1861, and on the 3d of August following, he received the appointment of Commissary of Subsistence, with the rank of Captain. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel January 1, 1863, and afterward to Brevet Colonel. He served with General Rosecrans in West Virginia; then with General Buell in Kentucky, subsequently with Rosecrans again in Kentucky, and afterward on the Atlantic coast, always ranking as an efficient and very capable officer. His appointment as Brevet Brigadier-General was "for meritorious conduct in the Subsistence and Provost-Marshal-General's Departments," to date from March 13, 1865.

CHARLES G. EATON entered the Seventy-Second Ohio as Captain November 30, 1861; was promoted to Major April 6, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel November 29, 1862, and to Colonel April 9, 1864. He was mustered out with his regiment in September, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOHN EATON, Jr., entered the service August 15, 1861, as Chaplain of the Twenty-Seventh Ohio. He was appointed Colonel of the Sixty-Third United States Colored troops October 10, 1863. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. After the war he settled in Tennessee, became editor of a new Radical Republican journal called the Memphis Post, and rose to be one of the leaders

of the dominant Radical party of Tennessee. He was elected Superintendent of Public Education in 1866, on the State Radical ticket.

JOHN J. ELWELL was born in Warren, Trumbull County, Ohio, June 22, 1820. In the year 1846 he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine, and soon after removed to Orwell, Ashtabula County, Ohio, where he practiced for about nine years. In 1855 he was admitted to the bar, and removed to Cleveland, where he established "The Western Law Monthly." He also wrote a work on Medical Jurisprudence.

He was appointed Assistant-Quartermaster August 3, 1861, and began his duties at Cleveland, in equipping several cavalry regiments with horses. In the summer of 1862 he was appointed a Division-Quartermaster in the Department of the South. Immediately after the battle of Secessionville he was elevated to the post of Chief-Quartermaster of that department, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Besides attending to his regular duties in this department he acted at the battle of Secessionville as volunteer aid-de-camp to General Benham, and at the assault on Fort Wagner he aided in rallying the men.

In the spring of 1864, being reduced in health, he was transferred to Elmira, New York, where he had charge, as Quartermaster, of the great "draft rendezvous," and of the prison camp, and was, besides, connected with the Cavalry Bureau, in which connection he purchased and forwarded to Washington seventeen thousand horses.

In the early part of 1866 he resigned his commission, and returned to Cleveland. His rank as Brevet Brigadier-General dates from March, 1865.

J. M. FRIZELL organized the Ninety-Fourth Ohio, and was commissioned Colonel August 14, 1862. He resigned February 22, 1863. He had previously served as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eleventh Ohio from April 29, 1861, to December 21, 1861. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOSEPH S. FULLERTON, a native of Ross County, Ohio, and a graduate of Miami University, was a resident of St. Louis at the outbreak of the war. He was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General with the rank of Major March 11, 1863. He served on the staff of General O. O. Howard in the Atlanta campaign. His brevet rank was conferred "for gallant and meritorious conduct during the Atlanta campaign," to date from March 13, 1865. His last military service was in a tour of inspection of the Freedmen's Bureau, ordered by President Johnston, in which he assisted Major-General Steedman.

EDWARD P FYFFE was appointed Colonel of the Twenty-Sixth Ohio Regiment June 10, 1861. He was honorably discharged December 18, 1863, and afterward appointed in the Veteran Reserve Corps. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

HORATIO G. GIBSON was appointed Colonel of the Second Ohio Heavy Artillery August 15, 1863. He was mustered out with his regiment, August 23, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

WM. H. GIBSON was appointed Colonel of the Forty-Ninth Ohio August 31, 1861. He was mustered out on expiration of his term of service, September 5, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. His career was active and honorable, and he was highly esteemed by his superior officers. He entered the service under a cloud, having been Treasurer of the State of Ohio, and been ejected from his office by Governor Chase for a defalcation of nearly three-quarters of a million dollars. His fault was not in taking the money, but in concealing the fact that it had been taken, before his entry into office, by his predecessor and relative, Mr. Breslin. General sympathy was felt for him, and it was felt that his entry into the military service was a manly effort to wipe out the stigma which weakness rather than intentional guilt had placed upon him. His career did this, and gave him an honored name among the soldiers of the State.

SAMUEL A. GILBERT was appointed Colonel of the Forty-Fourth Ohio October 14, 1861. He resigned April 20, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOSIAH GIVEN entered the service June 3, 1861, as Captain of the Twenty-Fourth Ohio. He was transferred to the Eighteenth Ohio, and promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel August 17, 1861; was transferred to the Seventy-Fourth Ohio, and promoted to Colonel May 16, 1863. He resigned September 29, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

WILLIAM GIVEN was appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Second Ohio August 18, 1862, and was mustered out with his regiment, June 30, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JAMES H. GODMAN entered the service as Major of the Fourth Ohio April 26, 1861. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel January 9, 1862, and to Colonel November 29, 1862. He was honorably discharged (after receiving severe wounds) July 28, 1863. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. He was elected Auditor of Ohio on the Radical Republican ticket in 1863, and re-elected at the elections in 1865 and 1867. As a State official he fully sustained the high character which his conduct in the field had won him.

HENRY H. GIESY entered the Forty-Sixth Ohio as Captain, December 26, 1861, and was promoted to Major September 16, 1862. He was killed May 28, 1864, at Dallas, Georgia; and "for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Dallas," he was given the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel, and Brigadier-General, to date from May 28, 1864.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON was born in Scotland May 24, 1832. He emigrated to this country in 1838, and settled in Muskingum County, near Zanesville. He was educated at the Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, and subsequently studied law in the Cincinnati Law School, graduating in the class of 1859.

At the opening of the rebellion he was practicing law in Zanesville, but he

abandoned his profession and raised the first three years' company in that part of the State. He was assigned to the Thirty-Second Ohio Infantry, and served through the West Virginia and Shenandoah campaigns, but, fortunately, was at home on recruiting service when his regiment was surrendered at Harper's Ferry.

In December, 1862, Captain Hamilton was directed by Governor Tod to recruit the Ninth Ohio Cavalry, and of this regiment he was appointed Colonel. He served in the Atlanta campaign, on the march to the sea, and in the campaign of the Carolinas. His military services extend over a period of four years; one with infantry and three with cavalry. He was made Brevet Brigadier-General "for gallant and meritorious services rendered during the campaign ending in the surrender of the insurgent armies of Johnston and Lee."

ANDREW L. HARRIS was Captain in the three months' organization of the Twentieth Ohio. He was commissioned Captain in the Seventy-Fifth Ohio November 9, 1861; was promoted to Major January 12, 1863; to Colonel May 3, 1863; and was mustered out January 15, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JAMES H. HART was commissioned First-Lieutenant of the Seventy-First Ohio October 7, 1861; promoted to Captain ———; to Major April 6, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel April 2, 1864; and to Colonel November 29, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

RUSSELL HASTINGS was commissioned Second-Lieutenant in the Twenty-Third Ohio Infantry June 1, 1861; promoted to First-Lieutenant March 23, 1862; to Captain August 8, 1863; and to Lieutenant-Colonel March 8, 1865. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 14, 1865, and was given "for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Opequan, Virginia."

THOMAS T. HEATH was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Ohio Cavalry August 26, 1861; promoted to Colonel August 11, 1863; and mustered out with the regiment October 30, 1865. His brevet rank dates from December 15, 1864.

GEORGE W. HOGE was born in Belmont County, Ohio, on the 22d of February, 1832. During the early part of the war he was chief clerk to the Secretary of the State of Ohio, but in August, 1862, he gave up his position and accepted an appointment as First-Lieutenant in the One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Ohio Infantry. In June of the next year he was promoted to Captain. With his regiment he participated in the following battles: Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Monocacy, Winchester, Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. During the whole or a portion of six of these engagements Captain Hoge commanded the regiment. He was struck five times by the enemy's balls, and several times was mentioned favorably in official reports.

On the 17th of November, 1864, he was appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Third Ohio Infantry. He at once assumed command of the

regiment, and twelve days later was engaged at Spring Hill and Franklin. He was again engaged in the battle of Nashville, and after that was transferred to the East, joining General Sherman's army at Goldsboro', North Carolina. He was mustered out in July, 1865. His brevet rank bears date from March 13, 1865.

E. S. HOLLOWAY was commissioned First-Lieutenant in the Forty-First Ohio October 10, 1861; promoted to Captain September 8, 1862; to Major November 26, 1864; to Lieutenant-Colonel March 18, 1865, and to Colonel May 31, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

MARCELLUS J. W. HOLTON was commissioned First-Lieutenant in the Fifty-Ninth Ohio September 27, 1861; was promoted to Captain May 9, 1864; mustered out October 29, 1864. He entered the One Hundred and Ninety-Fifth Ohio as Lieutenant-Colonel March 16, 1865, and was afterward appointed Brevet Colonel. His rank as Brevet Brigadier-General dates from March 13, 1865.

HORACE N. HOWLAND was commissioned Captain in the Third Ohio Cavalry August 15, 1861; promoted to Major January 5, 1863; to Lieutenant-Colonel November 23, 1863, and to Colonel April 8, 1865. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

LEWIS C. HUNT was commissioned Captain in the Sixty-Seventh Ohio Regiment September 1, 1862; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel March 18, 1865, and was mustered out September 1, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

SAMUEL H. HURST was commissioned Captain in the Seventy-Third Ohio Infantry November 1, 1861; was promoted to Major June 21, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel February 17, 1864, and to Colonel July 13, 1864. He was mustered out with his regiment July 20, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

R. P. HUTCHINS was commissioned Captain of the Ninety-Fourth Ohio July 22, 1862; was promoted to Major February 22, 1863, and to Lieutenant-Colonel October 8, 1863. He was mustered out with his regiment June 6, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

WALTER F. HERRICK was commissioned Major of the Forty-Third Ohio January 21, 1862; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel October 12, 1862, and afterward to Brevet Colonel. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOHN S. JONES entered the service April 16, 1861, as First-Lieutenant of the Fourth Ohio Infantry in the three months' service. When the regiment was reorganized for the three years' service, he went into the new organization, and was promoted to Captain June 25, 1862. He was mustered out with the regiment in 1864. In September of the same year he was appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Seventy-Fourth Ohio, a regiment organized for one year's service. He was mustered out with the regiment June 28, 1865. His brevet rank dates from June 27, 1865.

THEODORE JONES was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Thirtieth Ohio Infantry August 2, 1861; was promoted to Colonel November 29, 1862, in which rank he was mustered out with his regiment, August 13, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

WELLS S. JONES entered the service as Captain in the Fifty-Third Ohio Infantry October 4, 1861, and was promoted to Colonel April 18, 1862. He was mustered out with his regiment August 11, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOHN H. KELLY was appointed Major of the One Hundred and Fourteenth Ohio, August 22, 1862; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel February 6, 1863, and to Colonel September 20, 1863, in which rank he was mustered out with his regiment in July, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services during the campaign of Mobile and for faithful services during the war."

R. P KENNEDY was at college in Connecticut at the commencement of the rebellion. He hastened to his home in Ohio and joined the Twenty-Third Ohio as Second-Lieutenant, June 1, 1861. On February 9, 1862, he was promoted to First-Lieutenant, and served as Assistant Adjutant-General on General Scammon's staff at the battles of Cub Run, South Mountain, and Antietam. On October 7, 1862, he was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of United States volunteers, with the rank of Captain, and assigned to duty on General Crook's staff. He served in this capacity during the campaign of the Army of the Cumberland, from immediately after the battle of Stone River until after the battle of Mission Ridge, in November, 1863.

Captain Kennedy served on General Kenner Garrard's staff through the Atlanta Campaign, and at the close of it was ordered by General Grant to the Department of West Virginia, and was made Adjutant-General of that department.

On November 17, 1864, he was promoted to Major and Assistant Adjutant-General of volunteers, and Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. He served in this capacity on the staff of General Crook, commanding the department, until March, 1865, when, for gallant services, he was made Colonel of the One Hundred and Ninety-Sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He was mustered out September 10, 1865, after which he began the practice of law at Washington, Fayette County, Ohio. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

ROBERT L. KIMBERLY was commissioned Second-Lieutenant in the Forty-First Ohio Infantry; was promoted to First-Lieutenant January 21, 1862; to Captain, March 17, 1862; to Major, November 20, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel, January 1, 1865; to Colonel of the One Hundred and Ninety-First Ohio, March 9, 1865. His brevet rank dates March 13, 1865.

HENRY D. KINGSBURY entered the three months' service April 27, 1861, as First-Lieutenant in the Fourteenth Ohio Infantry. When the regiment was reorganized for the three years' service he was promoted to Captain, August 17, 1861; to Major, July 17, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel, December 21, 1862; mus-

BR. BRIG. GEN. E. BASSETT LANGDON
BR. BRIG. GEN. H. B. BANNING
BR. BRIG. GEN. C. H. GROSVENOR
BR. BRIG. GEN. W. H. BALDWIN
BR. BRIG. GEN. STEPHEN J. MCGROARTY
BR. BRIG. GEN. DURBIN WARD
BR. BRIG. GEN. A. HICKENLOOPER
BR. BRIG. GEN. GEO. W. NEFF

tered out November 7, 1864. He was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Ninth Regiment March 7, 1865. Brevet rank dates from March 10, 1862.

JOHN Q. LANE was appointed Colonel of the Ninety-Seventh Ohio, September 2, 1862, and was mustered out with the regiment June 12, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

E. BASSETT LANGDON was born February 27, 1827, near Linwood, a station on the Little Miami Railroad, about three miles from the corporation line of Cincinnati. His father, Rev. Oliver Langdon, died in September of the following year. Bassett Langdon spent his boyhood on the farm where he was born, but he displayed such a fondness for intellectual pursuits that his mother often said of him: "Bassett was never intended for a farmer." He attended the public school in the neighborhood for a short time, and then was sent to Woodward College, in Cincinnati, where he passed three years. After this he entered Miami University, where he remained two years, but did not graduate. He then returned to the farm, and, notwithstanding his mother's prediction, he remained in charge of it until he was twenty-five years of age, when he was placed on the Democratic ticket for member of the Legislature, and was elected. He was twice re-elected to the same office, and afterward he served one term as Senator from Hamilton County During the leisure hours of his legislative career, he pursued the study of the law, and at its close was prepared by Hon. William S. Groesbeck for admission to the bar. He entered upon the practice of his profession, in which he was engaged at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion.

Upon the organization of the First Ohio Infantry for the three-years' service, he was commissioned its Major. In this capacity he served in all the movements of the regiment until after the evacuation of Corinth, in 1862, when, at the urgent request of General A. M. McCook, he accepted the position of Inspector-General on McCook's staff. After the battles of Perryville and Stone River, upon the promotion of Colonel Parrott to the command of a brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Langdon (he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel June 2, 1862) returned to the command of his regiment. He retained this command through the battles of Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, and Lookout Mountain. He was mustered out with his regiment, and was afterward brevetted Brigadier-General "for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Pittsburg Landing, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Mission Ridge," to date from March 13, 1865. After the war he received the appointment of Assessor of Internal Revenue in the First District of Ohio. His nomination was opposed, and it was not until the third effort that it was confirmed by the Senate. This opposition embittered the last days of his life. He held the office at the time of his death, May 30, 1867.

This is a brief record of his life of forty years. Of his character no word of reproach was ever spoken. It is related of him that no act of unkindness or of disobedience ever pained the heart of his widowed mother. That he possessed a tender and thoughtful regard for the members of his household, and that he was actuated by the highest motives in entering the service of his coun-

try, may be seen, by this extract from a private letter written to his sister, but sent to his brother, with directions to give it to her only in case he was killed in the war. It is dated at Camp Wood, near Munfordsville, Kentucky, December 18, 1861: "But the realities of war are around me, and I am not insensible to its dangers, and have thought over the whole subject again and again. If I felt sure that death would be the only portion I should reap from this war, I should not the less be satisfied, and even glad that I had taken up arms in defense of my country in the hour of her extreme need. I could not feel that I had performed my duty to that country, which, in peaceful times, has honored and trusted me, nor to the parents who gave me birth—to you who live now, nor to those who are to come after all of us shall have passed the dread trial that comes but once, but must come to all, if I had done otherwise than I have in this matter." As a soldier General Langdon was conspicuous for his bravery. At Pittsburg Landing his commanding form made him a mark for the enemy's sharp-shooters. One of their balls tore his hat from his head and knocked him from his horse. At Perryville and at Stone River, while acting as a staff-officer for General McCook, his horse was shot under him, and he was specially mentioned for gallant conduct by both Rosecrans and McCook. Elsewhere in this work is recorded the story of his gallant conduct at Mission Ridge; where, notwithstanding he received an almost mortal wound, he still kept with his men, and was among the first within the enemy's works. From this wound he never fully recovered. The shock to his system induced an affection of the heart. His death, though not unexpected, was sudden. On the morning of May 30, 1867, he rose early; his breakfast was brought to him by his devoted sisters, but it was not touched. Near dinner-time one of them brought him some mulled wine as a reviving drink. On rising up to receive it his head fell forward, and when it was lifted by his sister's hand life had passed away. To the number of brave men who yielded their lives at Mission Ridge was added one more, in the person of E. Bassett Langdon, who as truly died for his country as if he had fallen in that historic charge.

JOHN C. LEE was residing at Tiffin, Ohio, at the beginning of the rebellion, engaged in successful practice of the law. On the 25th of November, 1861, he was commissioned Colonel of the Fifty-Fifth Ohio Infantry, and soon after was ordered to West Virginia. He served for a short time as president of a court-martial convened by order of General Rosecrans at Charleston, and then joined his regiment at Romney. Being the senior officer he was placed in command of the district of the South Potomac by order of General Schenck. He marched under command of Schenck to the relief of Milroy at McDowell, in May, 1862. He also participated in the Shenandoah campaign which culminated in the battle of Cross Keys. He was in the battles of Freeman's Ford, White Sulphur Springs, Warrenton, Bristow's Station, New Baltimore, New Market, Thoroughfare Gap, Gainesville, Chantilly, and the Second Bull Run, in all which he received the special commendation of his superior officers. At Chancellorsville, in 1863, he was on the right when the enemy made such a furious assault on the Eleventh Corps, and by his determined efforts, aided by Orland Smith of the

Seventy-Third Ohio and McGroarty of the Sixty-First, did much to stay the tide of Rebel success. On account of severe illness in his family General Lee unwillingly tendered his resignation, which was received May 18, 1863. When the National Guard was called out he was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-Fourth Ohio, which did service around the fortifications of Washington. He was mustered out August 27, 1864, and brevetted Brigadier-General March, 1865. He was placed by the Executive Committee on the Republican ticket for Lieutenant-Governor, on the declination by Hon. Samuel Galloway of the nomination of the convention to that office, and he was elected in October, 1867.

FREDERICK W LISTER was commissioned Major of the Thirty-First Ohio September 28, 1861; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel February 28, 1862; to Colonel of the Fortieth United States Colored Troops April 29, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

CHARLES F. MANDERSON entered the Nineteenth Ohio Three Months' Regiment May 30, 1861. He was commissioned Captain in the three years' organization of the same regiment September 1, 1861; was promoted to Major April 7, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel January 19, 1863, and to Colonel March 15, 1863. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

WILLIAM H. MARTIN was a conductor on the Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton Railroad. He organized a company and was commissioned Captain in the Ninety-Third Ohio; was promoted to Major February 2, 1863, and to Lieutenant-Colonel March 1, 1863. He was honorably discharged on account of wounds, December 2, 1863. His brevet rank dates from June 8, 1865.

EDWIN C. MASON served as Captain in the Second Ohio Three Months' Regiment. He was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Seventy-Sixth Ohio September 21, 1864, with which he served until mustered out June 18, 1865. His brevet rank dates from June 3, 1865.

O. C. MAXWELL was commissioned Captain in the Second Ohio Infantry August 31, 1861; was promoted to Major December 24, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel December 31, 1862. He was honorably discharged on account of wounds February 1, 1864. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Ninety-Fourth Ohio March 14, 1865; was promoted to Colonel October 22, 1865, and was mustered out with the regiment October 24, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. He afterward received a lucrative appointment from President Johnson in the Internal Revenue service. He resides at Lebanon.

JAMES MCCLEARY entered the Forty-First Ohio as Second-Lieutenant, August 20, 1861; was promoted to First-Lieutenant, January 9, 1862; to Captain, September 16, 1862, and to Major, November 23, 1865. He received the appointment of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, to date from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Pittsburg Landing and Stone River, Tennessee," and of Brevet Colonel from the same date, "for gallant and

distinguished services in the battles of Stone River, Chickamauga, and Mission Ridge, East Tennessee, and for marked faithfulness during the war." His rank as Brevet Brigadier-General dates from the same time, "for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Pittsburg Landing, Stone River, Chickamauga, and Mission Ridge, East Tennessee, and for faithful services during the war."

HENRY K. MCCONNELL was commissioned Captain in the Seventy-First Ohio, November 13, 1861, and was promoted to Colonel, May 30, 1863. He was mustered out with his regiment in January, 1866. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

ANSON G. MCCOOK was born at Steubenville, Ohio, October 10, 1835. He is a nephew of the lamented General Robert L. McCook, and of the other brothers, George W and Alexander M. McCook. He received his education in the common schools of Jefferson County; and, at the age of fourteen, he was forced to rely upon his own efforts for a living. In 1854 he crossed the plains to California, and remained there until 1860, when he returned to Ohio.

Upon the call for troops, in the spring of 1861, he raised the first company in Eastern Ohio, and was mustered into the three-months' service as Captain in the Second Ohio Infantry. He thus served through the campaign with the first troops in the field from Ohio, and was present at the first battle of Bull Run. When the regiment was reorganized for the three-years' service he was commissioned as Major, and was promoted successively to Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel. He served with the Army of the Cumberland, and was engaged always with credit, and sometimes with distinction, at Stone River, Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, and in the numerous hard-fought battles of the Atlanta campaign. He was mustered out with the regiment, October 10, 1864.

In March, 1865, the Governor of Ohio tendered him the Colonelcy of the One Hundred and Ninety-Fourth Ohio Infantry. He accepted the position, and took the regiment to the Valley of Virginia, where it performed valuable guard-duty until the close of the war. In the summer of 1865 Colonel McCook was made Brevet Brigadier-General "for meritorious services," in the language of the order announcing the promotion, to date from March 13, 1865. In November of the same year he was discharged, to accept the office of Assessor of Internal Revenue for the Seventeenth Ohio District.

J. E. MCGOWAN served as Second-Lieutenant in the Twenty-First Ohio Three Months' Regiment, from the 27th of April, 1861. He entered the One Hundred and Eleventh Ohio, August 6, 1862, as Captain. He was mustered out, March 24, 1864, and was appointed Colonel of the First United States Heavy Artillery (colored troops). His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

STEPHEN J. MCGROARTY was a member of the bar of Hamilton County. He was commissioned Captain of the Tenth Ohio Three Months' Regiment, April 18, 1861; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixty-First Regiment, April 23, 1862; to Colonel, September 23, 1862; transferred to the Eighty-Second Ohio, March, 1865, when the Sixty-First and Eighty-Second were consol-

idated. He lost an arm in the service. His brevet rank dates from May 1, 1865. He was a conspicuously gallant and efficient officer; and, by reason of his birth, had great influence in securing the support of the war by the masses of Irish citizens in Cincinnati.

EDWARD S. MEYER was commissioned Captain of the One Hundred and Seventh Ohio, November 11, 1862, and was promoted to Major, November 3, 1864. He resigned, January 1, 1865. He afterward entered the Fifth Regiment of the First Army Corps, in which he received the appointments of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet Colonel. His brevet rank as Brigadier-General dates from March 13, 1865.

GRANVILLE MOODY was a noted minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of fervid patriotism, and with a gift of inspiring enthusiasm among those with whom he came in contact. He was commissioned Colonel of the Seventy-Fourth Ohio, December 10, 1861; and, after having command of Camp Chase for a time, took the field with his regiment. He won the title of "fighting parson" by his gallantry at Stone River. He resigned, May 16, 1863. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. More particular mention of some of his services may be found in other parts of this work.

JOHN C. MOORE served as Captain in the Eighty-Fifth Ohio, a three months' regiment, partially organized in June, 1862. On the 24th of September, 1862, he was commissioned Captain in the Eighty-Eighth Ohio, from which he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighteenth United States Colored Troops. He was afterward promoted to Colonel. His brevet rank dates from November 21, 1865.

AUGUST MOOR, an officer of German birth and Cincinnati residence, was commissioned Colonel of the Twenty-Eighth Ohio, June 10, 1861. He was mustered out with his regiment, July 23, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallantry at the battles of Droop Mountain and Piedmont, Virginia."

MARSHALL F. MOORE was appointed Colonel of the Sixty-Ninth Ohio, December 31, 1862, and was honorably discharged, November 7, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services during the war, and especially at the battle of Jonesboro', Georgia."

SAMUEL R. MOTT was commissioned Captain in the Fifty-Seventh Ohio, October 20, 1861; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, April 16, 1863, and Colonel, August 10, 1865. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

REUBEN DELAVAN MUSSEY is the son of R. D. Mussey, the well-known surgeon who in his day stood at the head of his profession in America. He was born May 30, 1833, at Hanover, New Hampshire. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1854, after which he became a teacher for a short time. He went to Cincinnati in 1856, and was connected with the Cincinnati Gazette. He

returned to New England in the autumn of the same year and became connected with the Boston Courier and Bee. In the spring of 1858 he again took a position on the Cincinnati Gazette. During the political campaign of 1860 he took an active part as a public speaker, and was also commandant of the "Wide Awake" organization in Cincinnati. In the spring of 1861, being on a visit to Washington City, he aided in the organization of the "Clay Guards" for the defense of the Capital after the fall of Sumter and until the arrival of troops from New York. He at once received an appointment as Captain in the Nineteenth United States Infantry, and was ordered on recruiting duty until October, 1861, when he went into the field in Kentucky with companies A and B of his regiment. He served in the Department of the Ohio until November, 1862, when he was ordered on recruiting duty in Cleveland. In the following spring he rejoined the army at Murfreesboro', and was appointed Commissary of Musters of the Twenty-First Army Corps. In September, 1863, he was sent from Chattanooga to Nashville to assist in the organization of negro troops; first as mustering officer under Major George L. Stearns, and afterward as the officer in charge of the whole matter of the organization of colored troops in East and Middle Tennessee, which command he retained until March 1, 1865. In June, 1864, he was appointed Colonel of the One Hundredth Regiment of colored troops, which was the first regiment of that class openly enlisted in Kentucky. During his command he organized about ten thousand troops. During his stay at Nashville he wrote the following letter to the Mayor of that city, in response to an invitation to take part in a Fourth of July celebration. His troops were not invited, but the commanders of white troops were requested to parade with their commands.

"HEAD-QUARTERS COMMANDING ORGANIZATION U. S. COLORED TROOPS,
"Nashville, July 3, 1864.

"MR. W. S. CHEATHAM, *Chairman Committee, etc.:*

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge an invitation for 'the pleasure of my company at the celebration of our National anniversary on the ensuing Fourth of July at Fort Gillene, on Jefferson Street extended.'

"The invitation was dated June 30th. I answer it at this late moment because I have been disposed to give you all possible opportunity to invite also the troops with whose organization I have been connected, and who to-day form the largest portion numerically of the forces at Nashville. Your committee has seen fit to omit them from its invitation to parade. With that omitted portion you know I am connected; the title by which you addressed me comes from my connection with them. As these troops are orderly, present a good appearance, and are, considering their opportunities, well drilled, your conduct in omitting them and inviting me, who am nothing but by virtue of my connection with them, either is studiedly insulting or betrays a lamentably limited experience of honorable sensibilities. I can not, sir, accept any invitation to a military display where other Colonels march their troops, while mine are excluded.

"The Declaration of Independence, whose formal adoption makes the Fourth of July sacred, affirms as an axiom, that *all men are created equal*, and until you, sir, and your committee learn this fundamental truth, till you can invite all the defenders of their country to participate in your celebration, be they black or be they white, your 'celebrations of our National anniversary' are mocking farces, insults to the illustrious dead, and blasphemy to Him who hath made 'of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.' I do not think my presence would be 'pleasurable' to you; I know yours would not be to me, so long as you make distinctions between the defenders of their country, which are alike discreditable to your humanity, your patriotism, and your Christianity; distinctions which show that you do not know the letter

nor comprehend the spirit of the document whose ratification you propose to celebrate; or, that knowing and comprehending both letter and spirit, you designedly ignore the one and violate the other. I am, sir, your obedient servant, R. D. MUSSEY,
"Colonel 100th U. S. Colored Inf't., Comd'g Org. U. S. C. T."

At the time of the assassination of President Lincoln he was in Washington, making arrangements with the Secretary of War for the relief of the wants of the freedmen in Tennessee. At the request of Mr. Johnson he remained as his confidential secretary until the following November, when he resigned, partly to settle some unfinished military business in Tennessee, and partly because of dissatisfaction with the tendencies of Mr. Johnson's policy. In December of the same year he resigned his position in the army, at which time he was holding the rank of Captain and Brevet Colonel United States army, and Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General of volunteers. He afterward settled in Washington, and went into the practice of the law. General Mussey is said by Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas to have been the first regular officer who asked permission to raise negro troops. He submitted to the War Department, in the winter of 1862–63, a plan therefor, the essential feature of which—raising them, not as State, but as United States troops—was adopted by the Government.

GEORGE W NEFF was born in Cincinnati January 5, 1833. He was the youngest son of George W Neff, who settled in Cincinnati in 1824. He received his education in the old Cincinnati and Woodward colleges, and, after the death of his father in 1850, he became a partner with his brother in business. He was one of the original members of the "Rover Guards," a much-admired military company, which was among the first to volunteer under the call of the President. In April, 1861, after a few days' service as commandant of Camp Harrison, near Cincinnati, he organized the Second Kentucky Infantry (composed almost exclusively of Ohio troops), and was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel. With this regiment he served in West Virginia but a few days, until he was captured at the battle of Scarry Creek July 17, 1861. From this captivity he was not released until in August of the following year, having, in the meantime, suffered terrible hardships in bad treatment and starvation at Richmond, Charleston, South Carolina (where Colonels Neff, Wilcox, Corcoran, Woodruff, and Major Potter, were thrust into cells in the county jail, four feet square, as hostages for the pirates captured by our navy); Columbia, Richmond again, Salisbury, North Carolina; and Belle Isle. Soon after being exchanged, and while at home in Cincinnati on leave of absence, Kirby Smith's raid was made, and Colonel Neff volunteered his services to General Wallace and served on his staff. He was afterward assigned to the command of Camp Dennison, where he had the opportunity of defending the place against John Morgan. He was commissioned Colonel of the Eighty-Eighth Ohio Infantry July 29, 1863, and was mustered out with his regiment July 3, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

A. B. NETTLETON entered the Second Ohio Cavalry as Captain May 10,

1862; was promoted to Major June 25, 1863; to Lieutenant-Colonel November 4, 1864, and to Colonel April 22, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

EDWARD FOLLENSBEE NOYES was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, October 3, 1832. His parents having both died in his infancy, at the age of thirteen years he was apprenticed by his guardian as a printer-boy in the office of the Morning Star, a religious newspaper published at Dover, New Hampshire. In this position he remained four and a half years, and then began preparing for college, at Kingston Academy, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. He entered Dartmouth College in 1853, and four years after he graduated, ranking fourth in a class numbering fifty-seven. He immediately removed to Cincinnati, and studied law with M. E. Curwen, Esq., graduating in the Cincinnati Law School in 1858. The same year he began the practice of law, and was in the successful prosecution of his profession at the breaking out of the rebellion. On the 8th of July, 1861, his law office was changed to recruiting head-quarters, and in less than one month a full regiment was raised and ready for the field. Of this regiment (the Thirty-Ninth Ohio Infantry) he was commissioned Major, to rank from July 27, 1861. In this rank he continued with the command during all its marches in Missouri, and under General Pope during the advance upon and final capture of New Madrid and Island No 10. Still under Pope's command, he took part in all the skirmishes and engagements of General Halleck's left wing in front of Corinth, and on the heights of Farmington. Upon the resignation of Colonel Groesbeck, and the promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel July 8, 1862, and in this rank took part under General Rosecrans in the battle of Iuka September 19, 1862, and in the bloody engagements at Corinth October 3d and 4th. On the 1st of October, 1862, he was commissioned Colonel, *vice* Gilbert resigned, and in December following he commanded the regiment in the battle of Parker's Cross Roads, where the Rebel forces under General Forrest were defeated with great loss. From this time until the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, he commanded his regiment in its various movements and its garrison-duty at Corinth, Memphis, and its bridge building on the railroad in Middle Tennessee.

While engaged in this latter duty at Prospect, Tennessee, the subject of veteran re-enlistment began to engage the attention of the troops. Colonel Noyes, with a quick perception of its necessity, threw the whole weight of his influence into the work of re-enlisting his regiment. He was so earnest in the matter, and so industriously advocated it that he fully aroused the spirit of his excellent regiment, and as a result the Thirty-Ninth Ohio gave to the country a much larger number of veterans than any other Ohio regiment. His zeal had its effect also on other officers in the command, and was doubtless instrumental in rendering the veteran movement so popular in General Dodge's district. In the Atlanta campaign he took part until July 4, 1864, being in the engagements at Resaca, May 9th, 14th, 15th, and 16th; at Dallas, and at Kenesaw Mountain. On the 4th of July, while in command of an assault on the enemy's works

near Ruff's Mills, on Nicojack Creek, he received a wound which resulted in the loss of a leg. This compelled him to relinquish for the first time his active connection with his command. After having partially recovered from two amputations, and while yet on crutches, he reported for duty to General Hooker, and was by him assigned to the command of Camp Dennison, where he remained until April 22, 1865, when he resigned to accept the position of attorney (city solicitor) for the city of Cincinnati, an office to which he had been elected while absent in the army. In October, 1866, he was elected Probate Judge of Hamilton County on the Republican ticket. Colonel Noyes was with his regiment on every march, and in every battle and skirmish in which the command was engaged from the time of entering the service, in July, 1861, until he lost a leg in battle, July 4, 1864. That he had the love and respect of his men is evident from the fact already stated that he induced so many of them to re-enlist. He enjoyed the confidence of his superior officers, as is shown by the warm recommendations he received for promotion from Generals John Pope, W S. Rosecrans, D. S. Stanley, G. M. Dodge, and W T. Sherman. The latter says: "I was close by when Colonel Noyes was shot. We were pressing Johnston's army back from Marietta when he made a stand at Smyrna camp ground, and I ordered his position to be attacked. It was done successfully at some loss, and Colonel Noyes lost his leg. He fully merits this honorable title." Colonel Noyes was a strict disciplinarian, and it was said of him that he in some way managed to have a greater number of men "present for duty" than any other equal regiment in the command. Yet he was impartial and uniformly kind to all who were disposed to do their duty While he insisted upon being implicitly obeyed by his subordinates, he was always ready to obey without questioning the commands of his superiors, and he had the satisfaction of knowing, when the war was over, that his regiment never turned their backs to the enemy in any battle or skirmish from first to last.

Having been recommended for promotion to the full rank of Brigadier-General before he was wounded, he received, after he was disabled for active service, a commission as Brevet Brigadier-General, to date from March 13, 1865.

JOHN O'DOWD entered the Tenth Ohio as Captain April 19, 1861. He remained in the regiment until July 13, 1862, when he resigned. In October, 1864, he aided in organizing the One Hundred and Eighty-First Ohio, and was appointed Colonel October 15, 1864. He was honorably discharged May 27, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant conduct in the defense of Murfreesboro', Tennessee, at the attack of General Hood's forces during the siege of Nashville, and for highly meritorious services during the war."

AUGUSTUS C. PARRY was of English parentage, but was born at Trenton, New Jersey, in 1828. He removed with his parents to Cincinnati when quite young, and soon after was left an orphan. He was apprenticed by his guardian, Dr. Emmert, to learn the trade of a tinner, and afterward established himself in that business, in which he was engaged when the war began. He entered the service April 16, 1861, as Major of the Second Ohio Infantry, and was at once

ordered to Washington City. At the battle of Bull Run he was placed in command of his regiment early in the action, and on the retreat of the army he repelled the attacks of the enemy's cavalry. On the 30th of July, 1861, he returned to Ohio, and on reaching Cincinnati in command of his troops, received such a welcome as the overflowing patriotism of the people prompted. It was estimated that one hundred thousand people took part in the reception exercises. On August 23, 1861, he was commissioned Major of the Forty-Seventh Ohio Infantry, and before the close of the month he again entered the field in West Virginia, joining the command of General Rosecrans. He participated in the battle of Carnifex Ferry, and afterward, in the fall and winter of 1861–62, was engaged in a number of minor engagements and reconnoissances in the vicinity of Cotton and Sewall Mountains. In August, 1862, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. In September following he was sent to dislodge the enemy from Cotton Mountain, and to relieve the garrison at Fayette C. H., which was successfully done. The troops at Fayette C. H. were enabled to join the main body in the retreat down the Kanawha. During this retreat Colonel Parry had charge of the rear-guard nearly all the time, and successfully checked the advance of the enemy until the stores were all secured or burned. At Charleston he maintained his position in the front line for six hours against a superior force.

In January, 1863, he was promoted to Colonel. The regiment was then transferred to Vicksburg, where Colonel Parry's practical abilities were of much benefit to the command. At one time, having been called on by General Stuart for a plan of a bridge across a break in a levee, he submitted one, according to which he built a bridge in fourteen hours, on which the troops crossed. During the advance *via* Port Gibson to the rear of Vicksburg he was temporarily in command of a brigade in the absence of General Ewing. In the assaults on the works at Vicksburg on the 19th and 22d of May, Colonel Parry took a prominent part, being in the advance line. In the fall of 1863 he marched with his command to Chattanooga, where he took part in the battle of Mission Ridge and in the pursuit of Bragg. He also moved to Knoxville to the relief of the forces there, and subsequently returned to Larkinsville, Alabama, where the regiment went into winter-quarters. At this place Colonel Parry took command of the brigade, and subsequently was appointed temporarily to the command of the Second Division, Fifteenth Army Corps. He went with his regiment in the Atlanta Campaign, in 1864, through the battles of Resaca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain. At the latter place he was severely wounded, but recovered in time to go on the march to the sea. He was the first field officer who entered the enemy's works at the storming of Fort McAllister by General Hazen's division. He was brevetted Brigadier-General, to date from March 13, 1865.

In the fall of 1865 he was elected Treasurer of Hamilton County, on the Republican ticket, and had been engaged but a few days in the duties of his office, when he died, December, 1866, of consumption.

DON A. PARDEE was commissioned Major of the Forty-Second Ohio, September 5, 1861; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel March 14, 1862, and was mustered out October 26, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

OLIVER H. PAYNE was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Fourth Ohio January 1, 1863. He was wounded at the battle of Chickamauga, and resigned November 1, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOHN S. PEARCE was commissioned Major of the Ninety-Eighth Ohio, August 13, 1862; was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel October 7, 1862, and to Colonel November 5, 1863. He was mustered out with his regiment June 3, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

WILLIAM S. PIERSON was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Ohio, August 25, 1863. This regiment was engaged in guard-duty at Johnson's Island, Ohio. Colonel Pierson resigned July 15, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

ORLANDO M. POE, a native of Ohio, and then a young Lieutenant of Engineers, six years out of West Point, was the first regular officer from Ohio to offer his services to Governor Dennison. He was sent to make some examinations as to the defensibility of sundry exposed points along the Ohio River, and was then assigned to engineer duty on General McClellan's staff. After some West Virginia and Eastern service, he was sent to the Western armies in the same capacity, and by the close of the Atlanta Campaign he had risen to be the Chief Engineer to General Sherman. He was repeatedly offered a Brigadier-General's command, but he preferred his engineer's position, and remained in it to the end, maintaining a high place in the confidence of Sherman, the Engineer Corps, and the Government. He was made a Brevet Brigadier-General in the regular army, and a Brigadier-General of volunteers. He rose, by the close of the war, to be next to the ranking Captain of his corps, standing just below Godfrey M. Weitzel.

EUGENE POWELL was commissioned Major of the Sixty-Sixth Ohio, October 22, 1861, having previously served in the Fourth Ohio; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, May 24, 1862. He was discharged to accept the Colonelcy of the One Hundred and Ninety-Third Ohio, his commission being dated April 25, 1865. He was mustered out with his regiment August 4, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

R. W RATLIFF was commissioned Colonel of the Twelfth Ohio Cavalry November 24, 1863; was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services under Generals Burbridge and Stoneman in South-west Virginia."

W H. RAYNOR was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifty-Sixth Ohio, September 28, 1861; was promoted to Colonel April 2, 1863. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

AMERICUS V. RICE entered the service April 27, 1861, as Captain of the Twenty-First Ohio Infantry in the three-months' service, was mustered out August 12, 1861, by reason of expiration of term of service. September 2, 1861, commissioned Captain of the Fifty-Seventh Ohio Infantry, it having just began its organization. February 8, 1862, was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, and April 16, 1863, to Colonel of the regiment. His brevet rank dates from May 31, 1865.

ORLANDO C. RISDON was commissioned First-Lieutenant of the Forty-Second Ohio, October 7, 1861, but was afterward appointed Colonel of the Fifty-Third United States Colored Infantry. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, for "gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Rich Mountain, Middle Creek, Tazeville, Arkansas Post, Chickasaw, Port Gibson, Champion Hills, Big Black Bridge, and the siege of Vicksburg."

THOMAS W SANDERSON was appointed Major of the Tenth Ohio Cavalry, January 15, 1863; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel April 20, 1864, and to Colonel January 30, 1865, and was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

FRANKLIN SAWYER entered the Eighth Ohio Infantry as Captain, April 20, 1861; he was promoted to Major July 8, 1861; to Lieutenant-Colonel November 25, 1861, and was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

LIONEL A. SHELDON was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Ohio, September 6, 1861; was promoted to Colonel March 14, 1862, and mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

THOMAS C. H. SMITH entered the service August 23, 1861, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Ohio Cavalry. Was promoted to Colonel December 31, 1862. This promotion was revoked, as he had been appointed Brigadier-General by the President, November 29, 1862. He served on the staff of Major-General John Pope, sharing the varied fortunes of that officer till sometime after the close of the war, when he was mustered out of the service.

G. W SHURTLIFF entered the Seventh Ohio Three Months' Regiment as Captain, April 22, 1861, and resigned March 18, 1863. He was afterward appointed Colonel of the Fifth Regiment United States Colored Troops. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

PATRICK SLEVIN was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundredth Ohio, August 8, 1862; was promoted to Colonel, May 13, 1863, and was honorably discharged, November 30, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

BENJAMIN F. SMITH was appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Ohio, September 10, 1862, having previously served as Colonel of the First Ohio; was mustered out with his regiment, June 25, 1865. He was an officer of the regular army, and a fine disciplinarian.

WILLARD SLOCUM entered the Twenty-Third Ohio June 1, 1861, as Captain, and resigned July 17 following. He was appointed First-Lieutenant of the One Hundred and Twentieth Ohio August 25, 1862; promoted to Major February 18, 1863, and to Lieutenant-Colonel September 8, 1863. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

ORLAND SMITH was appointed Colonel of the Seventy-Third Ohio October 3, 1861. He resigned, February 17, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. He was, both before and since his military service, connected with the Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad.

ORLOW SMITH entered the service as a Captain of the Sixty-Fifth Ohio November 25, 1861; was promoted to Major September 23, 1863; to Lieutenant-Colonel October 10, 1865, and to Colonel November 24, 1865. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JOAB A. STAFFORD served in the First Ohio Infantry from the beginning of its organization as a three months' regiment, and was mustered out as Major in 1864. He was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Seventy-Eighth Ohio September 26, 1864. He was mustered out after the discharge of the regiment in June, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

ANSON STAGER served as additional aid-de-camp, reaching the rank of Colonel. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. He is the Superintendent of the Great Western Union Telegraph Company, and through the war was the superintendent of military telegraphs. His relations were necessarily of the most confidential nature with the President, the Secretary of War, and the General-in-Chief. His thorough knowledge of telegraphing, his earnestness, prudence, and devotion, made his services in this capacity invaluable; and his brevet rank is due to the high estimate placed upon them by the leading officers of the Administration. He was in the war from the very first, having accompanied General McClellan to the field in the first West Virginia campaign. He resides in Cleveland.

TIMOTHY R. STANLEY was Colonel of the Eighteenth Ohio in the three months' service, his commission bearing date May 29, 1861. He was re-commissioned Colonel of the same regiment in the three years' service, August 6, 1861. He was mustered out November 9, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. He is an influential politician of the Republican party in his district, and has represented it in the State Senate.

WILLIAM STEADMAN was commissioned Major of the Sixth Ohio Cavalry October 21, 1861; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel August 3, 1863; to Colonel January 1, 1864; mustered out October 6, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865. General Steadman is one of the Western Reserve Radicals, and has been repeatedly required by his fellow-citizens to serve them in the State Legislature.

WILLIAM STOUGH was commissioned Captain in the Ninth Ohio Cavalry; was promoted to Major September 8, 1864, and to Lieutenant-Colonel October 1, 1864. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services in the battle of Fayetteville, North Carolina."

SILAS A. STRICKLAND was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fiftieth Ohio August 17, 1862, and was promoted to Colonel October 16 following. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from May 27, 1865.

EDGAR SOWERS was commissioned Captain in the One Hundred and Eighteenth Ohio August 13, 1862; was promoted to Major October 12, 1864; to Lieutenant-Colonel January 6, 1865, and to Colonel June 20, 1865. He was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

PETER J SULLIVAN was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Eighth Ohio November 23, 1861, and was promoted to Colonel January 23, 1862. He resigned August 7, 1863. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

JACOB E. TAYLOR was commissioned Captain of the Thirtieth Ohio August 22, 1861; was promoted to Major of the Fortieth Ohio October 29, 1861; then to Lieutenant-Colonel; and, on February 5, 1863, to Colonel, and was mustered out October 7, 1864. On the 4th of March, 1865, he was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Eighth Ohio, with which he served till September, 1865, when he was mustered out. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

THOMAS T. TAYLOR was commissioned Captain of the Forty-Seventh Ohio August 28, 1861; was promoted to Major December 30, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel June 15, 1865, and to Colonel August 10, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

DAVID THOMPSON was commissioned Captain in the Eighty-Second Ohio November 14, 1861; was promoted to Major April 9. 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel August 29, 1862. He was afterward appointed Brevet Colonel, and was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank as Brigadier-General dates from March 13, 1865.

JOHN A. TURLEY, of Portsmouth, Ohio, was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twenty-Second Ohio April 23, 1861. He served with this regiment till the close of the three months' servie. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighty-First Ohio August 19, 1861, but resigned December 1st of the same year. He was appointed Colonel of the Ninety-First Ohio August 22, 1862, with which regiment he served until November 4, 1864, when he was discharged on account of wounds received in action near Lynchburg, June 17, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and faithful services at the battle of Cloyd's Mountain, Virginia."

LEWIS VON BLESSINGH served as Captain in the Fourteenth Ohio in the

three months' service. He was commissioned Captain in the Thirty-Seventh Ohio September 6, 1861; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel October 2, 1861, and was mustered out with his regiment. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

ALEXANDER VON SCHRAEDER was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventy-Fourth Ohio December 10, 1861. He was appointed Colonel May 16, 1863, but he declined promotion. He resigned April 8, 1865. He was appointed Major and Assistant Adjutant-General February 1, 1865, which position he held until after the close of the war. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battles of Stone River, Chickamauga, during the Atlanta campaign, and particularly for the battle of Jonesboro'" He was a German of military education, soldierly disposition, and noble birth. In this country, however, he had been reduced to great poverty, and had for some time before the outbreak of the war earned his livelihood as the conductor of a car on one of the street-railroads of Cincinnati. He died some time after the close of the war.

DURBIN WARD was born at Augusta, Kentucky, February 11, 1819. His father served in the war of 1812, and was under the flag which furnished the occasion for Key's poem, "The Star-Spangled Banner." His grandfather (his mother's father) also served in the same war, with the Kentucky troops who fought in the North-west. In 1823 his his father removed to Fayette County, Indiana, where Durbin received a limited common school education. He afterward spent two years at Miami University, supported by his own exertions, but left the institution without graduating. He then took up the study of the law at Lebanon, Ohio, first with Judge Smith, and afterward with Governor Corwin, with whom he formed a partnership in 1843. In 1845 he was elected Prosecuting-Attorney of Warren County, an office to which he was re-elected successively for six years. He was a member of the Legislature in 1851–52. In 1855 he gave up his ancient Whig faith, and united with the Democratic party. He was a bitter opponent of "Know-Nothingism." In 1856 he was defeated as a candidate for Congress, and in 1858 he was again defeated as a candidate for the office of Attorney-General of the State on the Democratic ticket. At the Charleston and Baltimore Conventions, of which he was a member, he was a firm adherent to Douglas, whose doctrine of popular sovereignty Mr. Ward supported in a pamphlet published in the fall of 1860.

Durbin Ward claims to have been the first volunteer in his district, having begun to raise a company before President Lincoln's proclamation, in the belief that war would ensue upon the attack on Fort Sumter. He served through the three months' service as a private in the Twelfth Ohio, though during a portion of the time he was detailed as a member of the staff of General Schleich. At the end of his three months' term he was appointed Major of the Seventeenth Ohio, with which, in October, 1861, he took the field in Southern Kentucky. He participated in the battles of Wild Cat, Mill Springs, Corinth, Perryville, Stone River, Hoover's Gap, Tullahoma, Chickamauga, and throughout the

Atlanta campaign, during which he commanded his regiment with his left arm in a sling, from the effect of the very severe wound he received at the battle of Chickamauga. Having accidentally injured this arm at the close of that campaign and fearing the effect upon it of Sherman's march to the sea, he resigned November 8, 1864. Nevertheless he remained at Nashville when Hood threatened it, and acted as volunteer aid on the staff of General Schofield. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in February, 1863, and to Colonel the following November. His brevet rank dates from October 18, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chickamauga."

After the war he opened an office in Washington City for the prosecution of claims. Being a supporter of the policy of President Johnson he took part in the National Union Convention at Philadelphia, and the Soldiers' Convention at Cleveland in 1866. He was placed in nomination for Congress in the Third Ohio District against General Schenck, but was defeated. On October 18, 1866, he received the appointment of District-Attorney for the Southern District of Ohio. He was married November 27th of the same year to Miss Elizabeth Probasco. Throughout his military career he was a bold, zealous, fighting officer, having the full confidence of his men. In political action he then sympathized with the Union party; and some of the most fervid and effective addresses from the army to the voters at home came from his pen. His belief in the intellectual inferiority of the negro race, and his hostility to negro suffrage, had much to do with his return to the Democratic party after the close of the war.

DARIUS B. WARNER was commissioned Major of the One Hundred and Thirteenth Ohio September 8, 1862; was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel April 29, 1863, and to Colonel February 23, 1865. He resigned June 6, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Kenesaw Mountain."

GEORGE E. WELLES was commissioned First-Lieutenant of the Sixty-Eighth Ohio October 29, 1861; was promoted to Major July 5, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel May 16, 1863, and to Colonel January 16, 1865. He was mustered out with the regiment July 10, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

HENRY R. WEST entered the service October 3, 1861, as Second-Lieutenant in the Sixty-Second Ohio Infantry. He was promoted to First-Lieutenant December 18, 1861; to Captain September 18, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel October 16, 1864; to Colonel April, 1865, and finally to Brevet Brigadier-General. He has participated in the following engagements: Winchester, March 23, 1862; Port Republic, Fort Wagner, Port Waltham Junction, Deep Run, Deep Bottom, New Market Road, Darbytown Road, and Petersburg. He received three wounds—one at Fort Wagner, one at Deep Run, and one at Rice's Station. He was mustered out of the service on the 15th of December, 1865.

HORATIO N. WHITBECK was commissioned Captain of the Sixty-Fifth Ohio November 2, 1861; was promoted to Major October 7, 1862; and to Lieuten-

ant-Colonel March 22, 1863. He resigned August 16, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

CARR B. WHITE was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twelfth Ohio June 28, 1861, and was promoted to Colonel September 10th following. He was mustered out July 11, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865, "for gallant and faithful services at the battle of Cloyd's Mountain, Virginia."

JAMES A. WILCOX was born at Columbus, September 23, 1828. He is the son of P. B. Wilcox, Esq., for many years a distinguished lawyer in Ohio. He graduated at Yale College and commenced the practice of law at Columbus in 1852. In September, 1862, he was appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Thirteenth Ohio Infantry In the following December he took the regiment to Kentucky, and for some time was engaged in guarding the bridges over Big Run and Sulphur Fork, on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. In February, 1863, the regiment moved to Nashville, and thence to Franklin, where it constituted a part of the reserve of the Army of the Cumberland. In April, 1863, Colonel Wilcox, on account of domestic affliction and impaired health, was compelled to resign and return home. In May, 1863, he was appointed Provost-Marshal of the Seventh District of Ohio; in which capacity he served until September 3, 1864, when he was made, by the War Department, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal General, Chief Mustering Officer, and Superintendent of Recruiting for Ohio, and, when General Cox took his seat as Governor of the State, he was assigned to the command of the District of Ohio. On the 19th of October, 1865, Colonel Wilcox was brevetted Brigadier-General "for meritorious services in the recruitment of the armies of the United States."

AQUILA WILEY was a Captain in the Sixteenth Ohio in the three months' service; was commissioned Captain of the Forty-First Ohio September 19, 1861; he was promoted to Major March 1, 1862; to Lieutenant-Colonel November 20, 1862, and to Colonel November 29 following. He was honorably discharged June 7, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865 "for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Mission Ridge, Stone River, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga, and faithful services during the war."

WILLIAM T. WILSON was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifteenth Ohio August 6, 1861, and resigned August 11, 1862. On the 26th of September, 1862, he was appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Third Ohio, with which regiment he served until it was mustered out June 12, 1865. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

OLIVER WOOD served during the three months' service as First-Lieutenant in the Twenty-Second Ohio; entered the same regiment in the three years' service as Captain August 21, 1861; was promoted to Major May 9, 1862, and to Colonel September 22, 1862. After the expiration of the term of service of the regiment he served as Colonel of the Fourth United States Veteran Volunteers. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

THOMAS L. YOUNG was born on the 14th of December, 1832, near Belfast, in north of Ireland. He came to this country when very young, received a common school education, and was graduated at the law school of the Cincinnati College. When not quite sixteen years of age he entered the United States regular army during the last year of the Mexican War. During his ten years service in the army—five years of which time he was Orderly Sergeant of company "A," Third Regiment of Artillery, commanded most of that period by Captain and Brevet Major John F. Reynolds (afterward Major-General commanding the First and Second Corps, and killed at Gettysburg)—he was connected with an exploring expedition through the Western Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, Utah, Oregon, Nevada, and Arizona, and served several years on the frontiers among the Indians. Becoming tired of the aimless life of a soldier in time of peace, he returned to Pennsylvania and engaged in mercantile pursuits until 1859, when he removed to Cincinnati, and was soon afterward appointed Assistant Superintendent of the House of Refuge Reform School, which position he held until the breaking out of the late rebellion.

Mr. Young claims to have been the first volunteer from Hamilton County, as on the 18th of March, 1861, twenty-five days before the Rebels fired on Fort Sumter, foreseeing the inevitable result of the state of feeling between the people of the North and the leaders of the South, he wrote a letter volunteering his military services as an assistant to help organize the volunteer forces, to Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, to whom he was personally known; and to which letter he received the following reply, in the handwriting of the old chieftain:

"HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"WASHINGTON, March 22, 1861.

"DEAR SIR: I have received your friendly patriotic note of the 18th inst. I appreciate the sentiments of your communication which are worthy of a faithful old soldier, but I sincerely trust that no occasion may arise to require your military services. Peace is the interest of all our countrymen, and it is my prayer that peace may be preserved.

"I remain your friend and fellow-citizen,

"THOMAS L. YOUNG, ESQ., Cincinnati, Ohio. WINFIELD SCOTT."

On the 18th of April Mr. Young assisted in the organization of a volunteer company of Home-Guards, and drilled it, but as a company it never went into service. In August, 1861, he received the appointment of Captain in Fremont's Body-Guard, and served in it until about the 1st of January, 1862, when the organization was disbanded by General Halleck. Returning from Missouri, incensed at the Administration for removing General Fremont in whose honesty of purpose and military genius Mr. Young had at that time great confidence, he became the editor of a Democratic paper at Sidney, Ohio, and while he opposed many of the acts of the Administration, and condemned the weak-kneed policy then pursued toward the Rebels, he never swerved nor faltered in advocating a vigorous prosecution of the war. He had been identified with the Democratic party from the time he was old enough to have political opinions until the fall of 1862, when he considered that the Democracy ignored their principles, and took a stand against the country, he then united with the Union party.

In August, 1862, he again volunteered and was appointed Captain to recruit

a company for the One Hundred and Eighteenth Regiment, and in the organization of the regiment he was its first Major. While holding this rank he was detached to act as provost-marshal at several points in Kentucky, where his name was held in fear and detestation by the Rebels and their sympathizers. In February, 1863, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. The Colonel of his regiment being in command of a brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Young commanded the regiment through the whole campaign in East Tennessee. In April, 1864, his Colonel having resigned, he was commissioned Colonel and served as such until the 14th of September following, when he was honorably discharged for disability caused by disease contracted during the Atlanta campaign.

At the battle of Resaca Colonel Young led the first charge on the center of the enemy s works, where his regiment was repulsed with great slaughter, losing one hundred and sixteen men out of two hundred and seventy in a few minutes. For this and other acts of gallantry the President, on the 13th of March, 1865, brevetted him Brigadier-General of volunteers. After the close of the war he was elected from Hamilton County to the State Legislature, where he took an important part especially in military legislation. In October, 1867, he was elected Recorder of Hamilton County

LEWIS ZAHM was commissioned Colonel of the Third Ohio Cavalry August 6, 1861, and was honorably discharged January 5, 1863. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

GEORGE M. ZEIGLER was commissioned Second-Lieutenant of the Forty-Seventh Ohio Infantry August 28, 1861; was promoted to First-Lieutenant December 6, 1861; to Captain December 28, 1862; and to Colonel of Fifty-Second Regiment United States Colored Troops December 22, 1864. His brevet rank dates from March 13, 1865.

OUR HEROIC DEAD.

COLONEL MINOR MILLIKIN.

THUS far references to personal knowledge by the author of his subjects has been in the main avoided; but I can not bring myself to write impersonally of Minor Millikin. He was my long-time friend—his death was the cruellest personal bereavement which the war brought to me. If I write of him, therefore, with a disproportionate warmth, I must beg that the excuse be therein found.

Colonel Millikin was the eldest son of Major John M. Millikin, formerly a lawyer of Hamilton, and long known as the President of the State Board of Agriculture, and one of the foremost among that body of retired professional men of wealth and culture who adorn the vocation of Ohio farmers. Minor was born on the 9th of July, 1834. His early education was acquired in the high schools of Hamilton, and under the watchful eyes of his parents. In 1860 he was sent to Hanover College, Indiana, where he passed through the course of study of the Freshman and Sophomore classes. In 1852 he went to Miami University, and there completed his collegiate education.

He ranked foremost among all the students then in that honored old institution. He was not known as a remarkable scholar, nor was he ever popular. But there was about him an individuality so intense and so striking that wherever he was placed he was the center of attention. Nothing could exceed his personal independence, his uniform regard for the rights and feelings of others, his peremptory requirement that under all circumstances, in all places, from all persons a similar regard should be extended to his own. Professor or President might infringe upon them, but never without an instant and indignant protest, which proceeded upon the simple basis that he was a gentleman, and no college official could be more. Colleges not yet being perfection, it was quite natural that all this should involve him in difficulties. He was repeatedly brought before the Faculty, and more than once threatened with suspension or worse, but he never failed to maintain his position and carry his points. He was known as the athlete of the institution—the best jumper, foot-ball player, boxer, fencer, rider. He was the most nervous and original writer, and alto-

OUR HEROIC DEAD

gether the most striking debater in his society. Withal he was a ladies' man, but after an independent fashion of his own that brought down upon him the wrath of the respectable Doctor of Divinity at the head of the Female College. Students of Miami, of those days, still recall with amusement the revenge of the young Senior. He was the "honor orator" of his society at the winter exhibition then about to be given. The President of the Female College was in attendance with large numbers of his fair pupils. Thereupon the orator abandoned his announced speech, took prevailing systems of female education for his subject, and made perfectly courteous, but all the more delicious, fun of the good doctor's methods for an hour before his pupils. To these traits of Young Millikin's college life it should be added that he was an unaffectedly devout Christian; and that in the delicate refinement of his language and habits, and even in the faultless elegance of his toilet, he was more like a lady than the muscular champion of his class.

He was graduated with high, though not distinguished, standing in 1854. He went immediately to the Harvard Law School. Here he came to be best known by his prominence in the exciting discussions of the slavery questions of the time in the Law School Moot Congress. An attempt was made by the Southern students to adopt the bullying tone then prevalent at Washington, and to break up the debates. Two young men led the firm and successful opposition to this attempt. One was Geo. W. Smalley (son-in-law to Wendell Phillips), the other, Minor Millikin.

The next year he returned to Cincinnati and entered the law office of his father's friend, Thomas Corwin. A year later he married Miss Mollyneaux, of Oxford, to whom he had been engaged while at college, and started to Europe on a bridal tour, which was prolonged for a twelvemonth.

On his return he purchased the Hamilton Intelligencer, the Republican organ of his native county, and for the next two years edited it. He had never intended to practice his profession, but he improved the opportunities of leisure now afforded him to review and extend his studies. Then, disposing of his newspaper, he retired to his farm, near that of his father, in the vicinity of Hamilton, and was engaged in improving it, and building, when the war broke out. He was a young husband and a father; he was comparatively wealthy; was engaged in the pursuits most to his taste; was less exposed to the allurements which the chances for advancement in the army offered than the most. But from the day on which the war was begun he gave himself up to it.

His tastes and his superb horsemanship naturally inclined him to the cavalry service. There was great difficulty at first in getting cavalry companies accepted, and recruiting was consequently discouraged. But he enlisted himself as a private, and soon had the nucleus of a company. The Government could not be induced to furnish horses in time, and, to get the company off for the West Virginia campaign, he advanced the funds to purchase twenty-four out of his own pocket. His recruits were united to Captain Burdsall's Cincinnati company, and Millikin presently became sergeant, and then Lieutenant. He returned from the three months' campaign in West Virginia with the confidence

of his men, and the indorsement of his commanders as the best of the cavalry officers on duty in that department. Thus recommended he was soon appointed a Major in the first regiment ot Ohio cavalry raised for the three years' service.

Here Major Millikin's old habits of personal independence and frank expression of opinions, coupled with his unconcealed distaste of the coarse habits of some of his associates, bred troubles from which he escaped only a little before his death. Of the way in which these troubles arose, this unique letter to his Colonel may afford a suggestion:

"COLONEL O. P. RANSOM—*Dear Sir:* It is with extreme reluctance I bring myself to write this letter. In the beginning I beg you to believe that nothing but the strong sense of duty, too long smothered by a desire to avoid even a suspicion of fault-finding or disaffection, now moves me to its compositon. At last thoroughly convinced of the necessity of my acting on the convictions I have for weeks entertained, I shall no longer try to avoid any pain these convictions may bring.

"Your habits, Colonel Ransom, your intemperate excesses, are of such a character as entirely to negative my faith in, and respect for your other good qualities. Since in command of this regiment they have oftener than twice or thrice brought all your ability into contempt, all your nobleness into humiliation, all your dignity into ridicule. Even while commandant of this post, you, my Colonel, have been so beneath and unlike yourself as to share alike the sneers of your inferiors and the blushes of your friends. For while your enemy has had no absolute rule over you, it has incapacitated you from advance and crippled all your energies. The genuine admiration which your many brilliant and attractive qualities have drawn from the officers under you (amounting in my own case to something like affection), has been by your unfortunate conduct first checked and latterly changed into misgivings and distrust. Even the privates make you an excuse for conduct you would be the first to condemn, while officers of other regiments and citizens make such comments, suggest such sneers, and often ask such questions as your subalterns dare not answer with truth, or pass unnoticed with self-respect. Over all, I have the terrible reflection (gathered from your easy yielding to temptation in camp, which I know will be a hundred-fold increased in the field), that when my reliance on your invariable self-command ought to be greatest, my mistrust of my superior officer will be most painful and pernicious.

"Under the circumstances I do not consider it my duty to serve under you. I believe it would be unjust to you, unjust to my own character, unjust to those who love my life, unjust to the many lives under us, unjust to the great cause for which we fight. Either my Colonel or my Colonel's habits must be changed. I have only, then, to say that on any recurrence of your unfortunate habit I, with other officers of the regiment, will prefer charges against you in such a manner as will be effectual.

"I do not fear, Colonel Ransom, that you will find any touch of unkindness or disrespect in this. You are too generous for that. Though far your junior in years, I have seen too much of life to be very self-righteous—far too much, dear sir, to feel any otherwise than charitable and forgiving toward your misfortune. God has been too good to me that I should put in a single shade of conceit or severity toward my fellows. Besides you have all my past conduct since with you as the best interpreter of my present words. Neither will you suspect me of any selfish or sinister designs. I was put here without solicitation, without even knowing of my promotion, until it was made, and I certainly have nothing to gain or lose by anything which may happen you.

"Your conduct toward me has always been of the kindest. I recognize in you the bearing of a genuine gentleman. I have not one single objection to make here to your management of the regiment as Colonel, and if I have, I have too much respect for strict discipline even to allow it expression. You must always have seen in me, sir, a strong desire to please you. I am glad to say here that I shall always be proud to deserve your good opinion—both as an officer and a man. I hope the uniform pleasant relations between us will always continue, and I particularly hope our military relations will remain unchanged, when I consider the utter incompetency of your Lieutenant. But, Colonel, in this matter all other considerations are merged in one—the defect is fatal; my duty imperative.

"With many misgivings, but with a firm faith in my own honesty and your magnanimity, I subscribe myself, very faithfully your friend, MINOR MILLIKIN."

If more manly and touching words were addressed by any subordinate to his superior during the war, I have failed to see them.

After a time the Colonel of the regiment resigned. Minor Millikin, the junior Major of the regiment, was promoted to the vacant Colonelcy. The promotion was based upon his acknowledged merits, but it wrought him great harm. One of the officers over whose heads he was thus lifted was brother to the Governor of the State, another had such influential friends as presently to secure a Brigadier-General's commission, all were older than himself. Dissatisfaction of course arose, all manner of complaints were made, officers threatened to resign by wholesale, and finally the charge was made that Colonel Millikin was too young and too ignorant of cavalry tactics to lead Ohio's first cavaly regiment. The result was that he was ordered before a board of regular officers for examination. Some delays ensued, but when at last the examination was held, he passed it triumphantly, and received the warmest compliments of the examiners.

While the matter was pending, Colonel Millikin served on the staff of General George H. Thomas, who was, throughout, his warm personal friend. When at last his regiment was returned to him he found it much demoralized by bickerings among the officers, and the general uncertainty as to its control. What he did with it may be elsewhere read.

But he was not long to lead the disciplined organization he had created. In the battle of Stone River he was sent to repel attacks of Rebel cavalry on the rear of the army. Seeking to protect a valuable train he ordered a charge, and himself lead it. The force of the enemy at that point was superior, and he presently found himself, with a small part of his regiment, cut off. He refused to surrender, and encouraged his men to cut their way out. A hand-to-hand encounter followed. Colonel Millikin's fine swordsmanship enabled him to protect himself with his saber. After a contest for some minutes with several assailants, one of them, enraged at his obstinate resistance, shot him with a revolver, while he was engaged in parrying the strokes of another. The regiment charged again a few minutes later and recovered the body, but not before it had been stripped of sword, watch, and purse.

Let me show something more of the character of the young hero thus cruelly cut off, by this sad fragment that was found among his papers. Some of its phrases would seem to indicate that he intended it for circulation among the men of his command:

THE SOLDIER'S CREED.

"I have enlisted in the service of my country for the term of three years, and have sworn faithfully to discharge my duty, uphold the Constitution, and obey the officers over me.

"Let me see what motives I must have had when I did this thing. It was not pleasant to leave my friends and my home, and, relinquishing my liberty and pleasures, bind myself to hardships and obedience for three years by a solemn oath. Why did I do it?

"1. I did it because I loved my country. I thought she was surrounded by traitors and struck by cowardly plunderers. I thought that, having been a good Government to me and my

fathers before me, I owed it to her to defend her from all harm; so when I heard of the insults offered her, I rose up as if some one had struck my mother, and as a lover of my country agreed to fight for her.

"2. Though I am no great reader I have heard the taunts and insults sent us working-men from the proud aristocrats of the South. My blood has grown hot when I heard them say labor was the business of slaves and 'mudsills;' that they were a noble-blooded and we a mean-spirited people; that they had ruled the country by their better pluck, and if we did not submit they would whip us by their better courage. So I thought the time had come to show these insolent fellows that Northern institutions had the best men, and I enlisted to flog them into good manners and obedience to their betters.

"3. I said, too, that this war would disturb the whole country and all its business. The South meant 'rule or ruin.' It has Jeff. Davis and the Southern notion of Government; we our old Constitution and our old liberties. I could n't see any peace or quiet until we had whipped them, and so I enlisted to bring back peace in the quickest way.

"I had other reasons but these were the main ones. I enlisted and gave up home and comfort and took to the tent and its hardships. I have suffered a great deal—been abused sometimes—had my patience tried severely—been blamed wrongly by my officers—stood the carelessness and dishonesty of some of my comrades, and had all the trials of a volunteer soldier; but I never gave up, nor rebelled, nor grumbled, nor lost my temper, and I'll tell you why:

"1. I considered I had enlisted in a holy cause with good motives, and that I was doing my duty. I believe men who are doing their duty in the face of difficulties are watched over by God.

"2. I felt that I was a servant of the Government, and that as such I was too proud to quarrel and complain.

"3. I know if with such motives and such a cause I could not be faithful, that I could never think of myself as much of a man afterward.

"And so I drew up a set of resolutions like this:

"1. As my health and strength had been devoted to the Government, I would take as good care of them as possible—that I would be cleanly in my person and temperate in all my habits. I felt that to enlist for the Government and then by carelessness or drunkenness make myself unfit for service, would be too mean an act for me.

"2. As the character I have assumed is a noble one, I will not disgrace it by childish quarreling, by loud and foolish talking, by profane swearing, and indecent language. It struck me that these were the accomplishments of the ignorant and depraved *on the other side*, and I, for one, did not think them becoming a Union soldier.

"3. As my usefulness in a great measure depends on my discipline, I am determined to keep my arms in good order—to keep my clothing mended and brushed, to attend all the drills, and do my best to master all my duties as a soldier, and make myself perfectly acquainted with all the evolutions and exercises, and thus feel always ready to fight—it seems to me stupid for a man to apprentice himself to as serious a trade as war, and then try by lying and deception to avoid learning anything."

This was his own creed. How well he lived up to it let that best type of an American soldier, George H. Thomas, tell. After Colonel Millikin's death General Thomas addressed a letter to the bereaved father, in which are these words: "It affords me the most sincere pleasure to express to you and to Mrs. Millikin my utmost confidence in him, both as a friend, and as a brave, accomplished, and loyal officer—one on whose judgment and discretion I placed the greatest reliance. By his judicious, forbearing, and yet firm course of conduct, he was enabled to overcome all prejudice against him in his regiment, and his death is sincerely regretted by all. While mourning his loss, you have the consolation of knowing that he fell a Christian and patriot, gallantly defending the honor of his country."

I must not prolong this sketch. And yet I can not feel that I have done justice to the memory of my dead friend, without adding the conviction that by no single blow during the war did the Country lose, among her younger officers, one braver, more devoted, more unselfish, more cultured, purer in character, or loftier in honorable ambition. No one on the sad lists of the Nation's slain seems more nearly to resemble him than Theodore Winthrop. Like that lamented officer he was in some respects of too sensitive and peculiar an organization for the rough ways of common life. But in the fire of our great struggle his true character shone out; and in the halo from Stone River that now surrounds the name, none, even of his enemies, fail to do tender justice to his worth, or to cherish as a sacred possession the memory of Minor Millikin.

COLONEL LORIN ANDREWS.

LORIN ANDREWS was one of the earliest and costliest offerings of Ohio to the war. He was not permitted to develop fully his military ability, but there was no reason to doubt, from his known character, and his zeal in the distinguished positions he had filled, that as a soldier he would have reached as high a rank as he had already won in civil life.

He was born in Ashland County, Ohio, April 1, 1819. His early life was passed on his father's farm, and in obtaining a good common school education. He afterward took a collegiate course, and spent some time in common school teaching. He became an efficient and intelligent laborer in the cause of common schools in Ohio, and was prominent as a leader of the movement for inaugurating many of the present excellent features of our common school system. He was the agent and "missionary" of the Ohio Teachers' Association in 1851–52. In 1853 he was its choice for State School Commissioner, and in 1854 he was its President.

At the height of his reputation and influence in the cause of general education, he was chosen to the Presidency of Kenyon College. Bishop McIlvaine, in his funeral sermon, said of this appointment: "The condition of the college demanded just the qualities for which he was so distinguished—the talent for administration, a very sound judgment, a prompt and firm decision, united with a special drawing of heart toward young men in the course of their education.

All the highest expectations of his administration were more than fulfilled."

Of his entrance into the military service, the Bishop says: "When the first

call of the President of the United States for quotas of volunteer troops from the several States was made, he was the first man in Ohio, whose name Governor Dennison received. He did it for an example. . . . He sought no military distinction. He led to the camp a company of his neighbors, expecting only to be allowed to lead them in the war. But his talents and character were appreciated, and he was placed in command of the regiment—the order and discipline of which soon became conspicuous, as also did his devotedness to the interests and comfort of his men."

He was commissioned Colonel of the three months' organization of the Fourth Ohio Infantry. When, in June, the organization was changed to a three years' regiment, he was retained in the same command.

His faithfulness in whatever position he was placed, united with his ability to master whatever he chose to learn, made him very soon an able and efficient commander and disciplinarian. He went with his command to Western Virginia, where he soon fell a victim to the exposure incident to camp life. In the beginning of his sickness he could not be prevailed on to leave the camp, saying, "My place is with my men;" but as he grew worse, he was at last removed to Gambier, Ohio, where, amid the scenes of his labors in the best years of his life and among his weeping friends, he breathed his last, September 18, 1861.

COLONEL FRED C. JONES.

FRED C. JONES was born at Parrott's Grove, Green County, Pennsylvania, December 16, 1834. He was of Welch and German descent, and his maternal grandfather was a soldier in the Revolution. In 1846 his father removed to Cincinnati, and the son entered the public schools. In 1848 he was admitted to the Central High School, and in 1851 he was transferred to the Woodward. Fred Jones was always an acknowledged leader among the boys in the debating club, in the school-room, and on the play-ground. During his school days a military epidemic seized Old Woodward. All other games were neglected, and the entire grounds were covered with incipient soldiers, marching and counter-marching. Fred Jones was elected Captain of a company. The one company increased to four, and Captain Jones was chosen Colonel of the battalion. Ten years later, and the play-ground was exchanged for the battle-field, and the boy-battalion furnished three Colonels, eight Captains, and twelve Lieutenants to the National army.

After graduating, Fred Jones went to Illinois, whither his father had removed some time previous. During the summer he was occupied on the farm, and during the winter in teaching school. In 1855 he returned to Cincinnati, and was employed by Thomas Spooner, Esq., in the county clerk's office. Here his duties familiarized him with law forms, and brought him into contact with some of the most prominent lawyers of the city and State. His evenings were spent in select reading, and he attended a course of lectures in the law school. After performing faithfully the duties of an office clerk for several years, he entered the law office of Messrs. King & Thompson, where he continued his studies until admitted to the bar. He was soon elected by a large majority to the office of prosecuting attorney of the police court.

At the opening of the war nothing but the fairest prospects in civil life lay before Fred Jones; but "the call of the country was to him as the voice of God." In a letter to his parents dated April 28th, 1861, he said, "I feel a great desire to go to this fight, because I think it the duty of every man, without the cares of a family, to serve his country wherever and whenever she may need his services." The only struggle seemed to be between patriotism and filial affection, for a few weeks later he writes, "I am gratified that my proceedings so far have met with the approval of yourself and mother. I am willing to leave the enjoyments of this place for the service of my country, when assured that I go with the permission of my father and mother. I have learned from your early instruction that he is wholly unworthy of home and friends who would

not defend and protect them. My country is my home, and her people are my friends." He was appointed Aid to General Bates, with the rank of Captain, and was very serviceable in the organization of raw troops at Camp Dennison. After several months General Bates resigned and Captain Jones resumed the practice of law. A few days after, while he was busy at court, he received a dispatch containing his appointment as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Thirty-First Ohio Infantry, with orders to report immediately to Colonel Walker, and one hour later he was leading his new regiment toward the enemy.

In March, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel Jones was transferred to the Twenty-Fourth Ohio Infantry, and such was the attachment of the officers of the old brigade and division for him that they, headed by Generals Schœpf and Thomas, united in a petition to have him returned to his former regiment, but the exigencies of the service compelled him to remain with the Twenty-Fourth. He was frequently engaged in skirmishes, but his first great battle was Pittsburg Landing. The regiment was in the advance brigade of General Buell's army, and was about ten miles from the field when the battle began. It hastened forward, and arrived in time to assist in checking the enemy on the first day. On the next day the Twenty-Fourth, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, received the attack of an entire brigade, and finally drove it back. Lieutenant-Colonel Jones was commended for coolness and bravery, and soon after he was promoted to Colonel for gallantry on the field of battle.

In October, 1862, while at Wild Cat, Kentucky, the command of the Tenth brigade devolved upon Colonel Jones. The march from Wild Cat to Nashville was almost one continuous skirmish, and for his able leadership Colonel Jones received the thanks of his superior officer, and of every field-officer in the brigade. On the first day of the battle of Stone River the Twenty-Fourth was on the front and left of the line. In the afternoon, when the enemy assaulted the left fiercely, Colonel Jones ordered the regiment to lie down and hold fire. When the enemy was within point-blank range the regiment raised at the command of the Colonel, poured in a deadly volley, and rushed forward in a charge. In this charge, almost an entire Rebel regiment was captured, and Colonel Jones was killed. The fatal ball struck him in the right side, and passed entirely through the body. He was borne to the rear, two of the bearers being shot while in discharge of the task, and some of the best surgeons in the division were soon in attendance. He received the intelligence that his wound was mortal with apparently no surprise, replying, "I know it; I am dying now. Pay no attention to me, but look after my wounded men." Ten hours after receiving his wound he died. His body was brought to Cincinnati, and was buried at Spring Grove with military and civic honors. Thousands of sad hearts joined in the mournful pageant, and his deeds and virtues were embalmed in the memory of a host of friends.

COLONEL WILLIAM G. JONES.

WILLIAM G JONES was born in Cincinnati, February 23, 1837 He was the son of John D. Jones, and the maternal grandson of Colonel John Johnston, who was widely known as an Indian Agent and an enthusiastic pioneer.

In 1855 he entered West Point, and upon graduating he was appointed Brevet Second-Lieutenant in the Eighth United States Infantry. He was at once ordered to Arizona, where he arrived in December, 1860. In February, 1861, General Twiggs surrendered the troops under his command to the State authorities in Texas. Lieutenant Jones was stationed at Fort Bliss, Texas, and he moved with the troops to the coast, ostensibly for the purpose of embarking for the North; but upon arriving at Adam s Hill, near San Antonio, they were compelled to surrender to Earl Van Dorn.

During his prison-life Lieutenant Jones received many favors from Charles Anderson, late Acting Governor of Ohio, but at that time a resident of San Antonio. He was exchanged in February, 1862, and he immediately hastened to Washington, and declining a leave, joined the Army of the Potomac in the first advance upon Richmond. He served on the staff of Brigadier-General Andrew Porter, Provost-Marshal General of the Army, and shared in all the excitements and privations of the Peninsular campaign. On the 24th of June, 1862, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the First California, or Seventy-First Pennsylvania Infantry; and with his regiment he participated in the battles of Fair Oaks, Peach Orchard, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, and Malvern Hills. After this he resigned and accepted the position of Aid-de-Camp on the staff of Major-General Sumner; and in that capacity he served through the battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg. Upon the death of the General he was appointed Colonel of the Thirty-Sixth Ohio Infantry, and was thus transferred to Tennessee. His ambition now seemed satisfied; for he had always expressed a desire to command a regiment from his native State.

In June, 1863, he moved upon the campaign which closed with the battle of Chickamauga. The Thirty-Sixth Ohio formed part of Turchin's brigade of the Fourteenth Corps, commanded by General Thomas. At twelve o'clock, September 19th, Colonel Jones wrote in his pocket-diary: "Off to the left; merciful Father have mercy on me and my regiment, and protect us from injury and death!" At five P M. he received the fatal wound, and expired at eleven o'clock that night on the battle-field. His remains fell into the hands of the Rebels, but in December, 1863, the body was exhumed, conveyed to Cincin-

nati, and laid finally to rest in Spring Grove Cemetery. The officers on duty in Cincinnati, and the Seventh Ohio National Guard, commanded by Colonel Harris, formed the escort at the funeral. "The brave die in battle," is the sadly appropriate epitaph to mark the graves of such self-sacrificing patriots.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BARTON S. KYLE.

BARTON S. KYLE was born in Miami County, Ohio, April 7, 1825. He was the son of Elder Samuel Kyle, who was favorably known for twenty-five or thirty years as a minister of the Gospel in Ohio and Indiana.

Barton S. Kyle obtained a good English education, and at an early age studied law. Having acquired a competent knowledge of his profession, he was appointed chief clerk in the auditor's office, where he remained some six years; and in 1848, under the Taylor-Fillmore administration, he was appointed Deputy United States Marshal for Miami County. He also held various important positions in the Masonic Fraternity, and in 1849 he was appointed by the Grand Lodge of Ohio to visit and to lecture before the various lodges in the State. In 1856 he was a member of the National Convention which met at Philadelphia, and during the Presidential campaign he was untiring in his support of John C. Fremont. He was President of the Union School Board in Troy, and his zeal and energy made that school one of the best in the State.

The Seventy-First Ohio Infantry owes its existence mainly to the patriotic exertions of Barton S. Kyle. He organized the regiment in August, 1861, but feeling himself inexperienced in military affairs, he declined the Colonelcy and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. He reported with the regiment at Paducah in February, 1862, and soon after he moved up to Pittsburg Landing. Here he was appointed president of a court martial, which position he held at the time of his death. On Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle accompanied his regiment in the battle of Pittsburg Landing. The regiment made an obstinate resistance, but was forced back by overwhelming numbers from one position to another. While Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle was at the post of duty encouraging the men, he received a bullet in his right breast, and fell mortally wounded. He was conveyed to a hospital boat, where, after about five hours, he died as calmly as though falling asleep. A writer who was on the field of battle, and who was well acquainted with the man and the circumstances of his death, said: "Ohio lost no truer, braver man that day than Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle."

COLONEL JOHN H. PATRICK.

JOHN HALLIDAY PATRICK was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, March 11th, 1820. He learned and followed the trade of a tailor, and in 1848 emigrated to this country, arriving in Cincinnati on the 19th of June. Having a liking for military tactics, he became a member of a volunteer organization called the Highland Guards.

At the first call for men upon the opening of the war, the Guards reorganized for the field. John H. Patrick was chosen Captain, and the company was the first to occupy Camp Harrison. The Guards were attached to several different regiments, but finally was ordered to Camp Dennison, and incorporated with the Fifth Ohio Infantry. The regiment went to the field in West Virginia, and in July, 1861, Captain Patrick was made Lieutenant-Colonel, and in September, 1862, Colonel. He led the regiment at Cedar Mountain, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg, and upon being transferred to the West, he had the honor of opening the battle of Lookout Mountain.

In the Atlanta campaign, Colonel Patrick, with his regiment, was actively engaged until May 25, 1864, when, at Dallas, while charging a masked battery, he was struck in the bowels by a canister shot, and a half an hour after he expired.

During the war he was the recipient of many marks of regard, both from his regiment and from friends at home. At one time, while on a visit to Cincinnati, he was tendered a banquet at the Burnet House, which he accepted. It was largely attended, and during the festivities he was presented with a beautiful gold medal, on which was engraved, among other things, the following list of battles: "Winchester, Port Republic, Cedar Mountain, Antietam, Dumfries, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Lookout Mountain." Colonel Patrick's manly deeds will long live in the grateful recollections of his soldiers and his fellow-citizens.

COLONEL JOHN T. TOLAND.

JOHN T TOLAND was a native of Ireland, but he came to this country at an early age. He struggled for a time with poverty and obscurity, laboring on a farm for days' wages. By the aid of friends, as well as by the force of his own character, he eventually succeeded in establishing himself in the business of selling dental goods in Cincinnati, in which he was engaged when the war broke out. In connection with A. S. Piatt he assisted in organizing and equipping the Thirty-Fourth Ohio regiment, sometimes called "Piatt Zouaves." He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel August 2, 1861, and Colonel, May 14, 1862.

His regiment went into Western Virginia, where it performed a series of raids and marches. In September, 1862, at Fayetteville, Virginia, while on the skirmish line, Colonel Toland had three horses shot under him, but was himself uninjured. From this time it is said he had a feeling that he bore a charmed life which Rebel bullets could not reach. After the retreat from the Kanawha Valley Colonel Toland was assigned to the command of a brigade in General Q. A. Gillmore's division, and took an active part in the movements which resulted in driving the Rebels from the Valley, leading the advance.

But the spell which this brave man fancied would protect his life was soon broken. In July, 1863, he was placed in command of a mounted brigade, including his own regiment, and was directed to attempt the destruction of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. By forced marches he reached the railroad at Wytheville, Virginia, on the afternoon of the 18th of July. With his usual bravery he pushed into the town with his regiment, determined to drive the enemy out. Taking advantage of shelter in houses, the Rebels were enabled to pour a murderous fire into the National troops. Colonel Toland was at the head of his command on horseback, as he always was on such occasions, and presented a fair mark to the concealed sharp-shooters. One of these, after several efforts, succeeded in sending a bullet with fatal certainty. Colonel Toland fell forward on the neck of his horse, but was caught by the tender hands of his faithful orderly. As he was lifted to the ground he could only gasp—"My horse and my sword to my mother!" So, with the word on his lips which is the synonym of all gentleness, fell one, who, in his military career, had shown himself to be a man without fear. "A man of strong, fierce will," writes one of his officers about him, "he did the best he knew for his regiment, though not well versed in much pertaining to military matters, save the feature of hard fighting." During the first year of his service the men of his regiment hated him. Finally they almost forgot his violent temper in their admiration of his bravery. He was a member of the Roman Catholic Church.

COLONEL GEORGE P. WEBSTER.

GEORGE PENNY WEBSTER was born near Middletown, Butler County, Ohio, December 24, 1824, and was the son of John Webster, Esq. His early education was such as the common schools at that time afforded. At the age of sixteen he went to Hamilton, and for two years was deputy clerk in the office of the clerk of court. At that time he commenced the study of law with Thomas Milliken, Esq. He was a diligent student, and in the early part of 1846 he was admitted to the Butler County bar.

At the breaking out of the Mexican war he enlisted as a private in Captain, recently Brevet Brigadier-General, Ferd. Van Derveer's company of the First Ohio Infantry. He was promoted to Sergeant-Major, and served with credit throughout the war, being wounded in the right shoulder at the storming of Monterey in September, 1846.

Upon the declaration of peace he returned to Ohio, married a daughter of John McAdams, of Warrenton, Jefferson County, Ohio, and a year later removed to Steubenville and commenced the practice of law. Two years after he was elected clerk of the court. He held the office for six years, when he resumed the practice of his profession in partnership with Martin Andrews, and quickly rose to rank among the foremost lawyers of the city. Though a strong Democrat, yet when the rebellion opened he was the first man in the city to take a stand for the Government, and when the call for seventy-five thousand men was issued, he was instrumental in raising and forwarding two companies. Under the three years' call he offered his services to Governor Dennison, and was appointed Major of the Twenty-Fifth Ohio Infantry. He joined the regiment at Camp Chase, and shortly afterward was sent into West Virginia. In May, 1862, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, and in July was offered the Colonelcy of the Ninety-Eighth Ohio. He accepted it, and came home to organize the regiment. While in Virginia he commanded four expeditions, all of which were successful, and fought in five battles, gaining the name of "the fighting Major."

The Ninety-Eighth left Steubenville for Covington, Kentucky, August 23d. From there it marched to Lexington, and thence to Louisville. Here Colonel Webster was placed in command of the Thirty-Fourth Brigade, Jackson's division, McCook's corps. In the battle of Perryville he fell from his horse mortally wounded, and died on the field of battle. A man of high social position, and of rare and genial qualities, his place was not easily filled.

His personal appearance was imposing. He was six feet two inches high, and weighed two hundred pounds.

COLONEL LEANDER STEM.

LEANDER STEM was born in Carroll County, Maryland, in August, 1825. He emigrated to Tiffin, Ohio, with his father in 1829, and continued to reside there until his decease. At an early age he was sent to a University in Maryland, and after completing his collegiate course, he commenced the study of law under the direction of an elder brother. In due time he entered upon the practice of his profession, and was regarded as a rising member of the bar.

At the opening of the rebellion he accompanied a body of the first volunteers to Columbus, intending to enter the service, but he was suddenly summoned to the bedside of a dying daughter, and it was not until the summer of 1862 that he entered the field. He was appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and First Ohio Infantry, and the regiment was mustered into the service August 30, 1862. On the 1st of September it was ordered to the defense of Cincinnati against Kirby Smith. When the Rebel army withdrew the regiment went to Louisville and was assigned to the Thirty-First Brigade, Ninth Division, Twenty-First Army Corps.

The battle of Perryville soon followed, in which Colonel Stem, by courage and coolness under fire, won for himself and his regiment the admiration of the division commander, General Mitchel. His friends entertained the highest anticipations of his success; but he seemed to have premonitions of a different sort; and, on the evening before the advance of the army on Murfreesboro', in conversation with one of his most intimate friends he said: "I am a doomed man; and will not survive my first regular engagement."

On the afternoon of December 26th, an engagement occurred at Knob Gap, in which Colonel Stem with his regiment charged and captured a Rebel battery and several prisoners. The army closed around Murfreesboro', and on the evening of the 30th the One Hundred and First was engaged in a demonstration against the enemy, in order to develop his position. During this movement the Colonel took out his pipe, lighted it, and commenced to smoke, when a shell came crashing through the timber, exploded near him, and covered him with dirt. He never moved a muscle, but smoked on, apparently as unconcerned as if sitting in his office. The next morning the battle of Stone River began in earnest, and almost immediately it was evident that the right of the Union line would be forced back. When Colonel Stem's regiment began to waver under a severe cross-fire, he called out, "Stand by the flag now, for the good old State of Ohio!" and instantly fell, mortally wounded.

He was captured and conveyed to Murfreesboro', where he died on the morning of January 5th, 1863, just as the advance of the Union army entered the place. The intelligence of his death created a profound regret among a wide circle of friends. He was buried with military and Masonic honors, and the funeral will long be remembered as the most sorrowful event in the history of that community. The regiment, upon being mustered out of service appropriated a handsome sum for the erection of a monument, which now stands over the Colonel's grave, bearing touching inscriptions of love and admiration.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JONAS D. ELLIOTT.

JONAS D ELLIOTT was born in Milton, Wayne County, Ohio, July 2, 1840. When about ten years of age he was sent to Canaan Academy, where he remained two or three years, and then went to Hayesville, Ashland County, Ohio, and fitted himself for college. He was engaged for some time in teaching at Memphis, Missouri, but the death of his father left him dependent upon his own resources, and he returned to Ohio and commenced the study of law

On the 23d of July, 1862, he was commissioned a Captain in the One Hundred and Second Ohio Infantry; and just before leaving for the field he was married to a daughter of Zenas Crane. He went into camp at Mansfield, Ohio, but was soon ordered into Kentucky. He was promoted to Major in May, 1863, and a year later was made Lieutenant-Colonel.

In the summer of 1864 he commanded the left wing of the regiment at Dodsonville, Alabama, while the right wing was at Bellefonte under Colonel Given. In September the entire regiment was sent in pursuit of Wheeler; but it was soon ordered into camp at Decatur. On the evening of the 23d of September, all the available men at that place were ordered to re-enforce the garrison at Athens against an anticipated attack by General Forrest. Lieutenant-Colonel Elliott was placed in command of three hundred men—all that could be spared—and when within three miles of Athens he was met by General Forrest with a greatly superior force. His little band fought and drove back many times its own number, and would have entered the fort had it not been surrendered before their arrival. When within a quarter of a mile of it the guns were turned upon Colonel Elliott, and he was met by a fresh brigade of Rebels under General Warren. His ammunition was gone and he was completely surrounded. At this juncture General Warren commanded his orderly to shoot that officer, pointing to Colonel Elliott; and a moment later he fell, mortally wounded in the head. He lingered for nineteen days, but the ball could not be extracted. Most of the time he was wildly delirious, talking almost constantly of wife and

home; but during his lucid intervals he gave good evidence that he was conscious of his approaching death, and that he was "sustained and soothed by an unfaltering trust." He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, having made a profession of his faith in February, 1862. Colonel Elliott died on the 13th of October, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was buried in the cemetery at Athens, Alabama.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES W. SHANE.

JAMES W. SHANE was born in Jefferson County, Ohio, January 18th, 1830. By teaching and studying at the same time he became a thorough scholar, and when twenty-four years old was admitted to the bar. He was diligent in his profession, was a safe counsellor and an able advocate; and for several years was prosecuting attorney of the county

When the war first opened, he was prevented by private reasons from entering the army, but in July, 1862, he recruited a company and was assigned to the Ninety-Eighth Ohio Infantry. He first saw service in Kentucky, being present on the retreat from Lexington to Louisville, and in the battle of Perryville. In this battle he was conspicuous for his intrepid bravery, and was soon after promoted to Major, and in June, 1863, to Lieutenant-Colonel; and from that time until his death he was almost constantly in command of the regiment.

While on a brief leave of absence in May, 1864, he heard that the great campaign under Sherman had commenced, and at once hastened to the field. The campaign was almost a continuous action; and in every danger Lieutenant-Colonel Shane bore his full share. On the 27th of June he fell, mortally wounded, in an assault on the enemy's works at Kenesaw, living only forty minutes. When told that death was inevitable, he exclaimed, "My poor wife! were it not for her—but, O Lord, thy will, not mine, be done." He said to those around him, "Turn my face to the foe, boys;" and then to the Surgeon, "Doctor, write to *her*, and tell her I die happy and will meet her in heaven." Thus the spirit parted, bearing aspirations for home and country with it to the Throne of the Great Infinite.

Among the many beautiful traits in Lieutenant-Colonel Shane's character was his consistent Christian deportment. He united with the Presbyterian Church in May, 1855, and from that day until the hour of his death, religion with him was a matter of earnest duty There are many who can testify that throughout his entire army career, he wore the "breastplate of righteousness" and carried the "shield of faith."

COLONEL JOSEPH L. KIRBY SMITH.

JOSEPH L KIRBY SMITH was of New England origin. His grandfather, Joseph L. Smith, was a lawyer in Litchfield, Connecticut, who was a Major in 1812, and served during the Canada war, being promoted to Colonel, He was afterward United States Judge in Florida Territory, where he died. His son, Ephraim K. Smith, the father of Joseph L. Kirby Smith, was a Captain in the United States army, and was killed at the battle of Molino del Ray, in Mexico. Another son, Edmund K. Smith, was the Kirby Smith of the Confederate army

The subject of this sketch was born in 1836. He entered the military school at West Point by appointment from New York. In 1857 he graduated with the highest honors, and was appointed Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers. In 1860 he accompanied the Utah expedition as Aid-de-Camp to General Patterson. Upon the organization of the Forty-Third Ohio Regiment, application was made for a trained commander, and he was appointed its Colonel.

He went with the regiment to the field. At Island No. 10, the first military operations of any importance in which his regiment was engaged, his engineering abilities proved to be of great service. He was afterward with Pope's army during the advance on Corinth, and was engaged in the advance through Mississippi, which was interrupted by the surrender at Holly Springs.

In October, 1862, his regiment being a part of General Stanley's division under Rosecrans, he participated in the battle of Corinth. During the first day of the battle, October 3d, this division was not engaged, but on the second day the Ohio Brigade of that division was placed in support of Battery Robinett, the point where one of the most determined assaults of the Rebels was made. The Forty-Third Ohio was in the hottest of this attack, and in its height the beloved Smith was mortally wounded. He died eight days after, October 12, 1862.

General Stanley in his report of the battle says of him: "Soon in the battle of the 4th Colonel J. L. K. Smith fell with a mortal wound. I have not words to describe the qualities of this model soldier, or to express the loss we have sustained in his death. The best testimony I can give to his memory is—the spectacle witnessed by myself in the very moment of battle, of stern, brave men weeping as children as the word passed: 'Kirby Smith is killed.' By his side fell his constant companion and Adjutant, accomplished young Heyl."

The name Kirby which seemed to be prized by the family, came from the wife of the grandfather, whose maiden name was Kirby. Her father was the author of the once famous Kirby Reports of Connecticut.

COLONEL AUGUSTUS H. COLEMAN.*

THIS officer was born in Troy, Miami County, Ohio, on the 29th of October, 1829. He was the son of Dr. Asa Coleman, an early settler and prominent citizen of that county. His elementary education was acquired in the schools of Troy In June, 1847, he entered the Military Academy at West Point as a Cadet. At the close of his course he returned to Troy and engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Upon the breaking out of the rebellion he enlisted as a private soldier, and recruited a company (company D, Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry) of over one hundred men within forty-eight hours. With these he proceeded to Columbus on Monday, April 26, 1861. He was unanimously chosen Captain of the company, and on the organization of the Eleventh regiment was chosen Major of it. In January, 1862, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel, *vice* Frizell, resigned, and on the arrest of Colonel De Villiers, was made Colonel of the regiment.

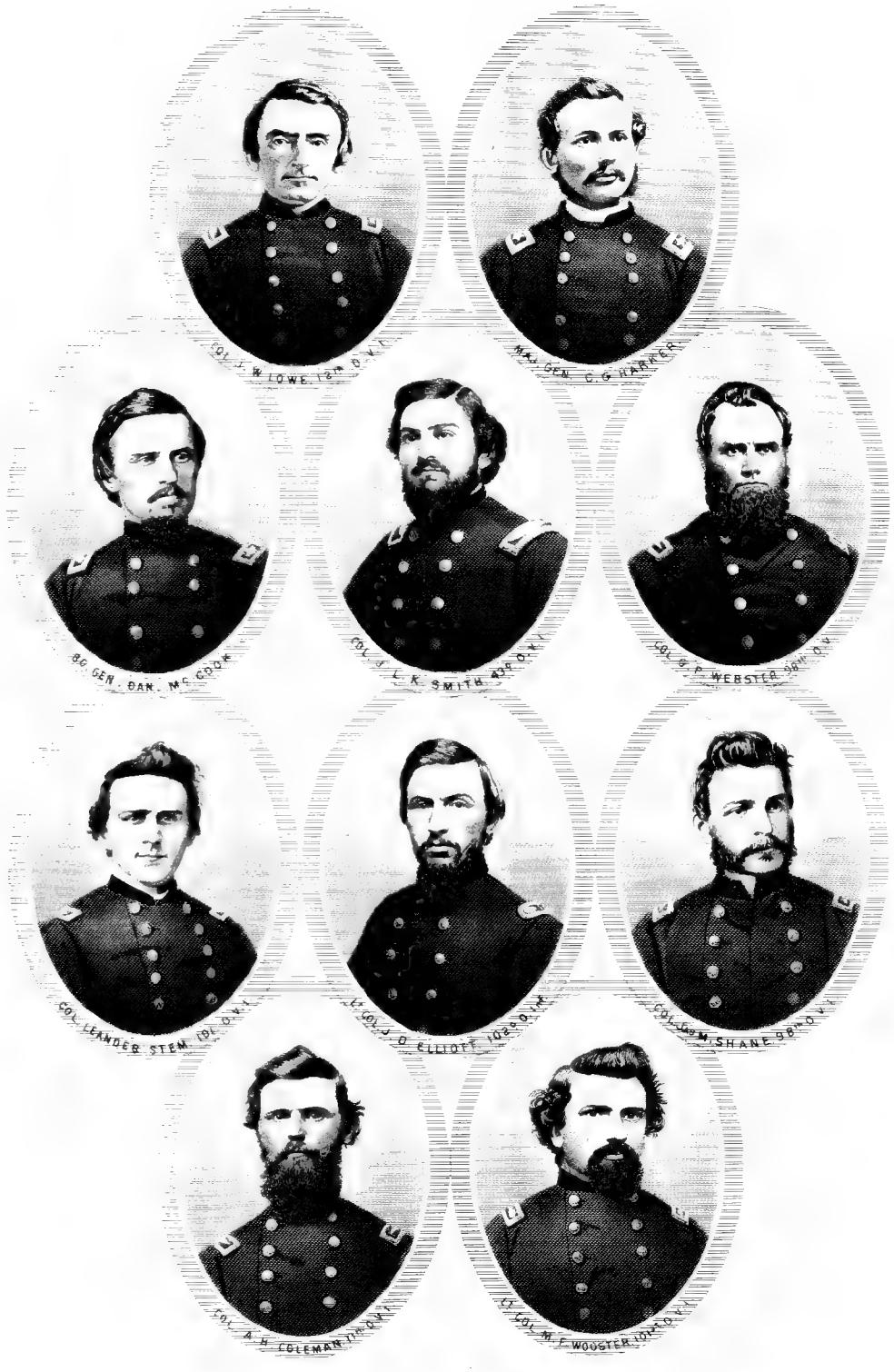
Colonel Coleman was an efficient drill-master, and he brought his regiment up to a high standard of drill and discipline. Always cool, self-possessed, and thoroughly understanding the minutiæ of battalion drill, he maneuvered bodies of men with great ease. It was frequently remarked of him that he could maneuver a regiment in less space than most officers required for company drill. He was sometimes thought too rigid in discipline, but all his measures proved of benefit to the men, and were by them duly appreciated. In times of danger Colonel Coleman was especially vigilant, and took every precaution against surprise, always visiting his picket-lines in person, and remaining near the most exposed point.

At South Mountain he displayed the ability of a successful commander. In actions prior to this he had acted well and gallantly, but was not in positions where his services were so marked as in that of South Mountain.

He was in the first charge on the bridge across Antietam Creek, and while in the charging column fell, pierced by a Rebel bullet, which passed through his arm into his side. Although in great pain he was in possession of his mental faculties during the few hours he lived. His last words were inquiries as to the fate of his men.

* The facts for this sketch are gleaned from a History of the Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry, compiled by Horton and Tiverbaugh, members of that regiment.

OUR HEROIC DEAD



COLONEL JOHN W. LOWE.

JOHN WILLIAMSON LOWE was born at New Brunswick, New Jersey, November 15, 1809. He removed with his parents to Rahway, New Jersey, in 1817, and there he began to earn his daily bread by working in Cohen's woolen factory. In 1820 he removed to New York, where he found employment in the Bible House, and learned the trade of a printer. In the meantime his father died, and upon him devolved the care of his stepmother and five children. With patience and self-denial this trust was faithfully executed. When about fourteen years old he joined the New York Cadets, and during the remainder of his life military tactics became one of his chief studies. In 1833 he settled at Batavia, Clermont County, Ohio. Here he made the acquaintance of Judge Fishback, and under his tutelage commenced the study of law, at the same time working at his trade in order to sustain himself. In due time he was admitted to the bar, and soon after he married Judge Fishback's daughter.

In politics he was a strong Whig, and though seldom a candidate for office, he was always a prominent party orator. He opposed the Mexican war until he saw that opposition was useless; and then, contrary to his personal feelings and the interests of his family, he accepted the command of a company, joined the Second Ohio, and served with it until it was disbanded in 1848. He returned from Mexico with a shattered constitution. Disease, chronic and incurable, had taken hold of his system, and he was ever after unable to endure extreme bodily fatigue. One of the most beautiful traits of his character was his sympathy with suffering; and there are many who will remember that when the Asiatic cholera first appeared in Batavia, in 1849, John Lowe and his wife seemed utterly regardless of themselves. Wherever suffering and death were most terrific, there were they, administering to the dying, burying the dead, and consoling the bereaved.

In 1854 he removed to Dayton, and a year later to Xenia, where he continued to reside and practice his profession up to the breaking out of the rebellion. He was chosen Captain of the first company raised in Greene County, and on the 19th of April, 1861, he reported with it at Columbus. The company was assigned to the Twelfth Ohio, and John W Lowe was elected Colonel of the regiment. In June Colonel Lowe re-organized his regiment for the three years' service, and soon after he joined General Cox's brigade on the Kanawha. On the 17th of July Colonel Lowe was ordered by General Cox to take his own regiment, a detachment of the Twenty-First Ohio, two pieces of artillery, and a few cavalry, and to explore the country about the mouth of Scary Creek, to

ascertain the enemy's position, and, if possible, to carry it. The enemy was found, strongly posted, on the brow of a precipitous hill on the opposite bank of Scarey Creek. Preparations were at once made for the attack. The troops forded the creek, advanced boldly, and without doubt would soon have been within the enemy's works, but at the critical moment the Rebels received re-enforcements, which were at once thrown into action. Colonel Lowe's entire command was now engaged, and had exhausted its ammunition. The prospect of success was hopeless, and accordingly he withdrew his forces in good order, bringing off all the wounded. The enemy's force was originally fifteen hundred strong, and the re-enforcements raised it to at least two thousand. He was at first censured for the withdrawal, in some quarters; but on a fuller knowledge of the facts his course was justified.

In the latter part of August the Twelfth Ohio joined General Rosecrans, then at Clarksburg. As soon as a sufficient force was collected to open communications with General Cox, by way of Gauley Bridge, the march southward began. The Colonel's health was delicate, but his will was indomitable; and though cautioned and advised to retire from the service, the hardships of which he was no longer able to endure, he still felt that his place was at the head of his regiment. He looked forward to the battle in which he fell as the probable end of his military career; for, in a letter to his wife only four days before, he says: "I find myself hoping, and it is now about my only hope, that I will soon be at home, a wounded soldier, to receive your care for a little time, and then to lay me down to my long rest. Wait a little longer, dearest, a week, a day may relieve our suspense and bring my fate upon me. God rules over all things, and disposes of us as He thinks best."

On the 18th of September the Twelfth Ohio was ordered up to the support of the Tenth in the battle of Carnifex Cerry. The underbrush was thick, and in order to handle his men satisfactorily, Colonel Lowe dismounted and advanced on foot at the head of his regiment. Soon he was in front of a Rebel battery in the thickest of the fight, and a moment later, as he cheered his men forward, a rifle ball pierced his forehead, and he fell dead, the first field-officer from Ohio killed in battle in the War for the Union.

His corpse was tenderly cared for by the Chaplain of his regiment, carefully forwarded to his late home, and followed to its final resting-place by a great and tearful congregation of stricken mourners.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MOSES F. WOOSTER.

MOSES FAIRCHILD WOOSTER was born in Alfred, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, September 3d, 1825. He removed to Ohio in 1832, and finally settled at Norwalk, Huron County, in 1848, and engaged in the drug trade.

Upon the breaking out of the war he was one of two Second-Lieutenants in the Norwalk Light Guards, and when the company was called into service it was decided by lot who should be retained. Lieutenant Wooster lost; but he immediately commenced raising another company, of which he was made First-Lieutenant. The company was assigned to the Twenty-Fourth Ohio, and he become Adjutant. He was engaged at Cheat Mountain, Greenbrier, Pittsburg Landing, and Corinth; and was made a Captain for gallantry Upon the organization of the One Hundred and First Ohio Infantry he was made Major of that regiment, and soon after he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. He was engaged at Perryville, and was conspicuous for his bravery and the ability with which he handled his men. He fell, mortally wounded, on the 31st of December, 1862, while actively and courageously doing all in his power to stem the tide of defeat at Stone River. He died on the 1st of January, 1863.

STAFF OFFICERS, ETC.

WE have already given names, rank, and leading features in the history of officers born in or appointed from Ohio, who rose to the grade of Brevet Brigadier General, or above it. The regimental rosters, in the succeeding volume, give the official history of Ohio officers below that grade. There is another class, however, that can not be presented in either of these connections—the class employed as Aides, Adjutant-Generals, Paymasters, Quartermasters, etc., in various phases of the work loosely known as Staff duty. Of these, such a list as the Regular and Volunteer Registers of the army exhibit, is presented below. As they were all appointed from Ohio, it is only thought needful to give the State of their birth:

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERALS.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Major Lucius V. Bierce	May 5, 1863	Connecticut	Mustered out November 11, 1865.
" John A. Campbell	Oct. 27, 1862	Ohio	Brevet Colonel and Brigadier-General.
" C. S. Charlot	Aug. 3, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out July 10, 1866; Brevet Lt. Colonel.
" James W. Forsyth	July 4, "	Ohio	Commission vacated to accept Brigadier-General.
" William R. Price	Aug. 5, "	Ohio	Brevet Colonel and Brigadier-General.
" John W. Steele	Oct. 27, "	Vermont	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" Gates P. Thruston	April 9, 1863	Ohio	Must'd out Dec. 19, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col. & Brig.Gen.
" Alex. Von Schraeder	Feb. 1, 1865	Germany	Lt. Col. Seventy-Fourth Ohio; Bvt. Brig. Gen.
Captain Wm. P. Anderson	Sept. 15, 1862	Ohio	Resigned March 18, 1864. [1866. Bvt. Col.
" Gustave M. Bascom	Aug. 20, 1861	Ohio	Prom. to Maj. July 10, 1862; mustered out July 1,
" Marcus P. Bestow	Dec. 23, 1862	Ohio	Promoted to Major June 26, 1865; Brevet Colonel.
" James L. Bottsford	Oct. 27, "	Ohio	Resigned February 25, 1865.
" Henry M. Cist	April 20, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out January 4, 1866; Bvt. Brig. General.
" Wm. H. Clapp	May 15, 1863	Ohio	Mustered out December 5, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Ezra W. Clarke, jr.	Feb. 29, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out October 30, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Calvert W. Cowan	June 30, "	Virginia	
" Theodore Cox	July 29, "	New York	Mustered out November 22, 1865; Brevet Colonel.
" Murray Davis	Aug. 17, "	Ohio	Promoted to Major February 15, 1865; Bvt. Col.
" Edward C. Denig	Dec. 23, 1862		Resigned December 12, 1864.
" Charles W. Dietrich	Oct. 17, "	Ohio	
" John C. Douglass	June 23, 1863	Ohio	Mustered out September 19, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Archie C. Fisk	" 23, "	New York	
" John Green	March 11, "	Ohio	
" James A. Grover	" 11, "	Ohio	Resigned June 7, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Jasper K. Herbert	Nov. 28, 1862	Ohio	Resigned February 14, 1866.
" Daniel Hebard	Feb. 3, "	Connecticut	Died at New York City August 7, 1862.
" Noel L. Jeffries	March 26, "	Pennsylvania	App. Col. V. R. Corps. Brevet Brigadier-General.
" Charles O. Joline	April 14, "	New York	Resigned November 6, 1862.
" Andrew C. Kemper	Sept. 1, "	Ohio	Resigned July 25, 1865.
" John M. Kendrick	Feb. 19, "	Ohio	Resigned September 30, 1862. [Brig. Gen.
" Robert P. Kennedy	Oct. 7, "	Ohio	Prom. Maj. Nov. 11, '65. Res'd April 8, '65; Bvt.
" Gordon Lofland	April 23, 1863	Ohio	Mustered out Sept. 19, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Charles Kingsbury	Sept. 19, 1861	Massachusetts	Res'd March 2, '65. [esaw Mt. & bat. Peachtree C'k.
" Eddy D. Mason	" 30, 1862	New York	Bvt.Col." for special gallantry in the charge on Ken-
" Leopold Markbreit		Austria	Staff of Gen. Averill; long a prisoner in Libby.
" Oscar Miner	Dec. 23, 1862	Pennsylvania	
" Seth B. Moe	Aug. 26, "	Ohio	Promoted Major June 30, 1864.
" James H. Odlin	June 9, "	Ohio	Resigned November 23, 1864.
" Charles A. Partridge	March 11, 1863	Massachusetts	serve l previously in Forty-Eighth Ohio Infantry.
" Donn Piatt	June 28, 1861	Ohio	Promote l Major May 11, 1862. Resigned July 2, '64.
" Wm. L. Porter	March 13, 1865	Indiana	Brevet Major.
" Elliott S. Quay	May 21, 1862	Pennsylvania	
" Henry C. Ranney	Oct. 10, "	Ohio	
" Wm. A. Sutherland	March 18, 1864	Ohio	
" David G. Swaim	May 16, 1862	Ohio	Prom. Maj. Feb. 7, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col. and Col.
" John G. Telford	Feb. 29, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out July 10, 1866.
" Henry Thrall	Aug. 20, 1861	Ohio	
" Wm. C. Turner	July 15, 1862	Virginia	Resigned December 21, 1862.
" James B. Walker	Sept. 29, 1863	Ohio	Honorably discharged April 14, 1865.
" Dennis H. Williams	Dec. 17, 1864		
" James S. Wilson	June 1, 1863	Ohio	Mustered out June 15, 1865; Brevet Major.

ADDITIONAL AIDS-DE-CAMP.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
;onel Henry J. Hunt	Sept. 23, 1861	Ohio	Com. vacated by app. as Brig. Gen. Sept. 15, 1862.
" Thomas M. Key	Aug. 19, "	Kentucky	McClellan's staff. Discharged March 31, 1863, under act of August 5, 1861.
" James B. McPherson	May 1, 1862	Ohio	Com. vacated by app. to Brig. Gen. Aug. 27, 1862.
" Christopher A. Morgan	June 30, "	Ohio	Died at St. Louis, Missouri, January 20, 1866.
" Wm. F. Reynolds	March 31, "	Ohio	Mustered out May 31, 1866.
" Anson Stager	Feb. 26, "	New York	Brevet Brigadier-General.
Lt. Col. John B. Frothingham	July 16, "	Massachusetts	Brevet Colonel.
Major Richard M. Corwine	March 31, "	Kentucky	Fremont's staff.
" Thomas T. Eckert	April 7, "	Ohio	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, Col., and Brig. Gen.
Captain Flamen Ball, jr.	June 9, "	Ohio	Resigned July 2, 1865.
" Andrew S. Burt	April 3, "	Ohio	Brevet Major.
" George A. Custer	June 5, "	Ohio	Discharged March 31, 1863. Since Maj. Gen. Vols.
" James P. Drouillard	May 23, "	Ohio	Resigned February 1, 1865.
" T. E. Greenwood	" 16, "	Ohio	
" John E. Jewett	" 19, "	Ohio	
" Isaac H. Marrow	March 18, "	Indiana	
" John H. Piatt	July 11, "	Connecticut	Brevet Major.
" Henry S. Spear	April 26, "	Pennsylvania	Resigned August 4, 1862.

AIDS-DE-CAMP APPOINTED UNDER ACT OF JULY 17, 1862.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Major Caleb Bates	March 11, 1863	Ohio	Resigned November 22, 1865.
" Wm. M. Este	" 11, "	Ohio	Resigned April 1, 1865.
" James F. Meline	June 30, 1862	New York	Served on staff of Major-General Pope.
Captain Wm. L. Avery	Nov. 6, 1863	Ohio	
" Lewis M. Dayton	March 11, "	Ohio	Com. vacated by app. of Maj. and A. A. G., Gen. Sherman's staff, Jan. 12, 1865; Brevet Lieut. Col. Staff of General Sherman.
" Frank J. Jones	March 11, 1863	Ohio	Resigned April 28, 1864.
" Wells W. Leggett	Aug. 16, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out July 11, 1865.
" James C. McCoy	March 11, 1863	Ohio	
" Lester L. Taylor	Aug. 10, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out January 12, 1866.
" Robert S. Thoms	July 4, "	Ohio	Resigned January 5, 1865.
" Dickinson P. Thruston	March 11, 1863	Ohio	Resigned May 1, 1865.
" Lewis Weitzel	Dec. 27, 1864	Ohio	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" James H. Wright	Nov. 17, 1863	Canada	Mustered out June 20, 1865.

HOSPITAL CHAPLAINS.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
S. M. Beatty	April 17, 1863	Indiana	Mustered out July 12, 1865.
Nathaniel Callender	July 14, 1862		Mustered out November 20, 1865.
Washington M. Grimes	Feb, 29, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out June 24, 1865.
Robert McCune	June 23, 1862	Pennsylvania	Mustered out August 21, 1865.
Zachariah Ragan	Dec. 9, "		Mustered out November 20, 1865.
David W. Tolford	July 29, "		Mustered out August 4, 1865.
John F. Wright	June 6, "	North Carolina	Mustered out August 4, 1865.

JUDGE ADVOCATES.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Major John A. Bingham			Mustered out August 3, 1864.
" Henry L. Burnett	Aug. 10, 1863	Ohio	Must'd out Dec. 1, 1865; Bvt. Col. and Brig. Gen.
" Theophilus Gaines	Nov. 1, 1862		Mustered out May 31, 1866.
" James C. McElroy	Sept. 26, 1864	Ohio	Mustered out March 1, 1866; Bvt. Lt. Colonel.
" Ralston Skinner	Nov. 19, 1862	New York	Resigned March 20, 1865.

SIGNAL CORPS.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Captain Samuel Bachtell	March 3, 1863	Ohio	Mustered out June 20, 1866; Brevet Major.
1st Lieut. John D. Holopeter	" 3, "	Ohio	Mustered out May 1, 1866; Brevet Captain.
2d Lieut. John Q. Adams	" 3, "	New York	Mustered out September 1, 1865.
" Samuel J. Brent	" 3, "	Ohio	Mustered out August 24, 1865.
" Julien R. Fitch	" 3, "	Ohio	Mustered out November 25, 1865; Brevet Captain.
" T. B. Kelly	" 3, "	Ohio	Mustered out Septemcer 1, 1865.
" John S. Spear	" 3, "	Ohio	Mustered out August 12, 1865.
" Alfred K. Taylor	" 3, "	New York	Mustered out May 1, 1866.

ADDITIONAL PAYMASTERS.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Major Richard P. L. Baber	Sept. 12, 1861	Virginia	Honorably mustered out Nov. 15,'65; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" Chambers Baird	Aug. 17, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 1, 1866.
" Orville W. Ballard	Nov. 26, 1862	New York	Honorably mustered out July 20, 1866.
" Dwight Bannister	June 1, 1861	Ohio	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. [Feb. 2, 1866.
" Anson L. Brewer	Feb. 19, 1863		Drowned by explosion of steamboat W. R. Carter,
" Jacob A. Camp	June 1, 1861	New York	Honorably mustered out November 8, 1865.
" Thomas L. Carnahan	Feb. 19, 1863		Honorably mustered out July 2, 1866.
" George F. Carpenter	" 19, "		Honorably mustered out November 1, 1865.
" John L. Cocke	June 30, 1862		Resigned June 14, 1865.
" Isaac N. Cook	" 1, 1861	Ohio	
" John Coon	" 1, "	New York	Resigned March 29, 1865. [General.
" B. Rush Cowen	" 1, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Jan. 18, 1865; Brevet. Brig.
" John H. Dolman	Aug. 14, 1863	New York	Honorably mustered out July 20,'66; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" Warren C. Emmerson	Feb. 23, 1864	New Hampshire	
" Frank E. Foster	Nov. 26, 1862		
" George E. Glenn	" 24, "	Ohio	
" John P. Gould	" 24, "		
" Michael S. Gunckel	Feb. 23, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out December 1, 1865.
" George W. Hank	Sept. 19, 1863	Ohio	Resigned February 23, 1865.
" John S. Herrick	July 25, "	New York	Honorably mustered out Nov. 15, '65; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" Mark Hollingshead	Feb. 23, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out April 30, 1866.
" Calvin Holmes	Nov. 26, 1862	New York	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" Horace A. Hutchins	June 1, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Nov. 1, '65; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" Uriel H. Hutchins	Nov. 26, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 20,'66; Brevet Colonel.
" Wm. H. Johnston	Sept. 5, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 20,'66; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" Wm. Jones	Feb. 23, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out December 1, 1865.
" Wilson L. Kennon	" 19, 1863		Honorably mustered out Dec. 19,'65; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" John W. King	" 23, 1864	Ohio	
" Coates Kinney	June 1, 1861	New York	Honorably mustered out Nov. 15,'65; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" James P. Lupton	Feb. 23, 1864	New York	Honorably mustered out April 30, 1866; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Howard Matthews	June 1, 1861	Pennsylvania	Discharged December 17, 1862.
" Benton McConnell	Feb. 19, 1863	New York	Honorably mustered out November 1, 1865.
" Malcom McDowell	June 1, 1861	Ohio	Resigned February 25, 1865.
" Eugene H. Osborn	Nov. 26, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out April 30, 1866.
" Joseph Poole	Sept. 8, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Dec. 15, '65; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" J. F. Price	Feb. 19, 1863		Honorably mustered out Nov. 15,'65; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" Henry B. Reese	June 1, 1861	Ohio	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" Dudley W. Rhodes	April 21, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out November 15, 1865.
" Andrew D. Rogers	Nov. 26, 1862	Pennsylvania	
" Albert P. Shreve	Feb. 23, 1864	Indiana	
" Edward Spear, jr	Oct. 21, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out December 1, 1865.
" W. P. Stoms	March 11, 1863		Honorably mustered out Dec. 1, 1865; Bvt. Lieut. Col.
" David Taylor	June 1, 1861	Ohio	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" Edmund A. Truax	Nov. 26, 1862	Canada	Honorably mustered out November 1, 1865.
" Oliver J. Turney	Aug. 14, 1863	Ohio	
" George B. Way	June 1, 1861	Maryland	
" Ezra Webb	" 30, 1862	New York	Discharged December 17, 1862.
" Lispenard S. Webb	Feb. 27, 1863		
" Harlan P. Walcott	March 13, "		Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" Henry L. Williams	June 30, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out November 15, 1865.

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTERS.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Captain George S. Atkinson	Aug. 3, 1864	Ohio	Resigned March 25, 1865.
" James H. Ball	" 16, "	Ohio	Resigned January 9, 1865.
" C. B. Beach			
" C. E. Bliven	Oct. 23, 1864	New York	Honorably mustered out May 31, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Samuel N. Bonsall	Nov. 26, 1862	Ohio	Died at Gallatin, Tenn., July 19, 1865.
" Theodore C. Bowles	April 14, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out March 25, '66; Bvt. Major.
" Edward B. Boyd		Ohio	Honorably mustered out June 5, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Roesiff Brinkerhoff	Nov. 4, 1861	New York	Brevet Brigadier-General.
" Henry L. Brown	May 6, 1862		Appointment cancelled May 6, 1862.
" Raymond Burr	July 14, "	New York	Brevet Colonel March 13, 1865.

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTERS—Continued.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Captain Hiram S. Chamberlain	May 18, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out October 26, 1865.
" Edward D. Chapman	Aug. 3, 1861	Connecticut	Honorably mustered out March 30, '66; Bvt. Major
" G. H. Clemens	Feb. 29, 1864	Connecticut	Honorably mustered out January 1, 1866.
" Joseph C. Clements	Nov. 13, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Feb. 8, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Alden H. Comstock	Sept. 8, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out May 31, 1866; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Alexander Conn	April 27, 1863	Pennsylvania	Honorably mustered out July 13, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Robert T. Coverdale	Sept. 19, 1864	England	Honorably mustered out March 13, 1866.
" Thomas J. Cox	June 11, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Aug. 1, 1866; Bvt. Colonel.
" John R. Craig	Nov. 25, "	Indiana	Honorably mustered out Oct. 7, 1865; Brevet Major.
" David H. Daugler	" 3, "	Pennsylvania	
" D. W. H. Day	April 7, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Feb. 2, 1866; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" John P. Drennan	Feb. 29, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out November 22, 1865.
" S. H. Dunan	" 27, 1863	Pennsylvania	Resigned February 20, 1865.
" Thompson T. Eckert	July 17, 1862		[Bvt. Brig. Gen.
" John J. Elwell	Aug. 3, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out March 13, 1866; Bvt. Col.,
" Franklin Ernst	June 9, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 19, 1865.
" Thomas D. Fitch	March 24, "	Vermont	Honorably mustered out Oct. 23, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Wm. G. Fuller	Oct. 27, 1863	Massachusetts	Honorably mustered out Aug. 25, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Robert S. Gardner	June 18, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out March 13, 1866; Bvt. Major.
" A. M. Garoutte	" 30, 1864		
" Wm. Gaster	April 14, 1863	Pennsylvania	Dismissed August 31, 1864.
" Emanuel Giesy	Dec. 5, "	Ohio	Resigned July 6, 1865.
" Charles Goodman	May 12, "	Connecticut	Honorably mustered out October 19, 1865.
" C. N. Goulding	Sept. 14, 1861	New York	Resigned September 16, 1864.
" Emanuel Hode	Feb. 29, 1863	Pennsylvania	Honorably mustered out December 13, 1865.
" Jesse Healy	Nov. 25, 1862	New York	Honorably mustered out July 28, 1865.
" Grove L. Heaton	Feb. 29, 1864	New York	Honorably mustered out Jan. 27, 1866; Bvt. Major.
" George B. Hibbard	Nov. 11, 1862	Pennsylvania	Honorably mustered out Jan. 8, 1866; Brevet Major.
" L. H. Holabird	Feb. 19, 1863	New York	Resigned March 15, 1865.
" Wm. Holden	June 11, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out April 20, 1866.
" Wm. Hooper	May 12, "		Appointment cancelled.
" Woodbury S. How	Feb. 23, 1864	Maine	Honorably mustered out June 10, 1866; Bvt. Major.
" Wm. A. Hunter	" 19, 1863	Ohio	Cashiered May 1, 1865.
" Francis W. Hurtt	Oct. 31, 1861	Ohio	Dismissed June 17, 1864.
" George W. Johnes	July 18, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Sept. 20, 1865; Bvt. Major.
" Henry N. Johnson	Aug. 26, 1864	Ohio	Resigned January 14, 1865.
" Augustus R. Keller	July 30, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out August 4, 1865.
" Thomas J. Kerr	Aug. 5, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Feb. 8, 1866; Brevet Col.
" Alonzo Kingsbury	April 7, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out June 26, 1865.
" Ezra B. Kirk	Dec. 5, 1863	Ohio	Brevet Lieut. Col. August 19, 1865.
" John G. Klinck	Aug. 3, 1861	New York	Honorably mustered out July 28, 1865.
" Robert S. Lacey	June 30, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 1, 1866.
" Henry B. Lacey	Sept. 16, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Dec. 6, 1865; Bvt. Major.
" John V. Lewis	Nov. 26, 1862	Ohio	Resigned March 25, 1865.
" M. D. W. Loomis	Aug. 5, 1861	Massachusetts	Died at Fairfax C. H., Virginia, October 24, 1862.
" Fielding Lowry	June 28, "	Ohio	Resigned June 30, 1865.
" John A. Lynch	Nov. 26, 1862		Honorably mustered out September 20, 1865.
" Stafford S. Lynch	Oct. 27, 1863	New York	Honorably mustered out May 31, 1866; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" David W. McClung	Feb. 19, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Nov. 8, 1865; Bvt. Major.
" Reuben A. McCormick	" 29, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out March 13, 1865.
" E. W. Mitchel	June 9, 1862		Resigned December 6, 1862.
" John Morris	May 23, 1863	New York	[M., U. S. A.
" Charles W. Moulton	June 25, 1861	Ohio	Com. vacated March 13, '63, to accept app't. of A. Q.
" Lorenzo D. Myers	" 9, 1862	Pennsylvania	Resigned December 2, 1864.
" Reese M. Newport	Nov. 26, "	Pennsylvania	Resigned Feb. 7, 1866; Bvt. Col., Bvt. Brig. Gen.
" Elias Nigh	Aug. 5, 1861	Ohio	Com. vacated March 13, '63, app't. A. Q. M., U. S. A.
" Thomas Palmer	July 8, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out April 30, 1866.
" Simon Perkins, jr.	Feb. 3, 1862	Ohio	Resigned July 12, 1864.
" H. W. Persing	July 3, 1863	New York	Honorably mustered out March 13, 1866.
" Abner J. Phelps	March 20, "	New York	Honorably mustered out September 20, 1865.
" Ralph Plumb	Oct. 31, 1861	New York	Honorably mustered out Nov. 11, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Hansone Rasin	June 17, 1863	Missouri	Honorably mustered out Oct. 23, 1865; Bvt. Major.
" E. C. Reichenbach	Jan. 1, "	Switzerland	Honorably mustered out July 13, 1866; Bvt. Major.
" James M. Reno	Sept. 19, 1864	Pennsylvania	Honorably mustered out September 20, 1865.
" Warren Russell	Nov. 26, 1862		Discharged March 12, 1864.
" A. W. Semple	Feb. 19, 1863	Pennsylvania	Resigned April 11, 1864.
" Holly Skinner	Dec. 5, "	New York	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" Charles K. Smith, jr.	May 12, 1862	Ohio	Brevet Major.
" Horatio M. Smith	Dec. 5, 1863	Massachusetts	Honorably mustered out March 13, 1866; Bvt. Major
" Bazil L. Spangler	July 8, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out June 28, 1865.
" Anson Stager	Nov. 11, 1861	New York	App't. Colonel and Aid-de-Camp; Bvt. Brig. Gen.
" Joseph B. Stubbs	" 6, 1862	Pennsylvania	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" D. W. Swigart	Oct. 31, 1861	Pennsylvania	Resigned October 28, 1864.
" Theodore Voges	April 23, 1863		
" Randall P. Wade	July 17, 1862		Resigned February 1, 1864.
" Octavius Waters	Feb. 19, 1863		
" Ralph C. Webster	Sept. 30, 1861	Ohio	Brevet Lieut. Col. [conduct at battle of Shiloh."
" Henry B. Whetsel	Dec. 5, 1863		Hon. must'd. out May 13, '66; Bvt. Maj. "for gallant
" Leonard Whitney	Nov. 26, 1862		Honorably mustered out May 31, 1866.
" Isaac P. Williams	" 26, "		Honorably mustered out June 6, 1865.
" Charles T. Wing	Oct. 31, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Jan. 27, 1866; Bvt. Colonel.
" Joseph K. Wing	May 12, 1862	Vermont	Honorably mustered out Aug. 10, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" George W. Woodbridge	" 12, "		Appointment cancelled.

COMMISSARIES OF SUBSISTENCE.

NAME.	COM. ISSUED.	BORN.	REMARKS.
Captain Charles Allen	Feb. 19, 1863	Ohio	
" George W. Baker	Nov. 20, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Jan. 18, 1866; Bvt. Major.
" James Barnaby	" 26, "	Pennsylvania	Died at Salem, Ohio, March 4, 1864.
" Augustus V. Barringer	Aug. 5, 1861	New York	Resigned May 19, 1865.
" Joseph C. Brand	Sept. 7, 1864	Kentucky	Honorably mustered out June 26, 1865; Bvt. Major.
" E. V. Brookfield	April 20, "	New York	Honorably mustered out Oct. 9, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Leonard P. Bureau	May 18, "	Louisiana	Honorably mustered out Jan. 10, 1866; Bvt. Major.
" Thomas A. P. Champlin	April 14, 1862	Connecticut	Resigned October 22, 1864.
" Edward S. Convers	July 16, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Oct. 9, 1865; Bvt. Major.
" John W. Cornyn	April 22, 1863	Ohio	Hon. must'd out July 14, '65; Bvt. Maj. [Brig. Gen.
" Francis Darr	Aug. 3, 1861	Ohio	Prom. Lt. Col. Jan. 1,'63; resign'd. July 31,'64; Bvt.
" William Darst	March 6, 1862		Discharged February 14, 1863.
" James W. Delay	Oct. 24, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 11, 1865; Brevet Major.
" William H. Douglas	Aug. 6, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out June 24, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Francis Erhman	Sept. 25, 1862	Pennsylvania	Honorably mustered out July 15, 1865; Brevet Major.
" George Evans	June 11, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 15, 1865; Brevet Major.
" James R. Fitch	Nov. 26, "	New York	Honorably mustered out Jan. 18, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Charles S. Garfield	July 28, 1863	New York	Honorably mustered out Jan. 27, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Samuel C. Glover	June 7, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Jan. 18, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Wm. M. Green	Aug. 17, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Nov. 27, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Joseph T. Haskell	Feb. 19, 1863	Ohio	Brevet Colonel November 26, 1866.
" Henry F. Hawkes	Nov. 21, 1862	Massachusetts	Honorably mustered out Dec. 8, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Jacob Heaton	Aug. 17, 1861	Illinois	Resigned May 26, 1864.
" Samuel D. Henderson	Feb. 19, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Aug. 22, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Myron C. Hills	Oct. 3, 1864	New York	Resigned April 11, 1865.
" Eli F. Jennings	June 30, "	Massachusetts	Resigned April 11, 1865.
" Charles C. Kellogg	Feb. 19, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Aug. 10, 1865; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Dennis Kenney, jr.	Nov. 26, 1862	New York	Honorably mustered out July 11, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Oscar B. Kerlin	April 17, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out May 31, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Matthew M. Laughlin	Nov. 26, 1862	Maryland	Honorably mustered out May 31, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Charles H. Leiby	Feb. 19, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Jan. 4, 1866; Brevet Major.
" W. L. Mallery	Sept. 9, 1861	Illinois	Resigned Nov. 11, 1864.
" Hugh L. McKee	May 4, 1863	Ohio	Resigned June 29, 1865.
" W. H. McLyman	Oct. 6, 1862	New York	Honorably mustered out Aug. 22, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Robert McQuilkin	May 28, 1864	Ohio	Resigned June 3, 1865.
" Aaron H. Meredith	June 11, 1862	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Oct. 9, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Phineas R. Miner	" 30, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Oct. 9, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Wm. H. Nash	Nov. 26, 1862	Ohio	App t. Com. of Subsistence U. S. A., Nov. 17, 1865.
" John M. Palmer	Feb. 19, "	New York	Discharged March 28, 1863.
" Samuel S. Patterson	May 18, 1864	New York	Honorably mustered out October 18, 1865.
" James R. Paul	Oct. 31, 1861	Ohio	Prom. Lt. Col. Jan. 1, 1863; resigned Jan. 19, 1865.
" John B. Pearce	June 2, 1863	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 14, 1865; Brevet Major.
" J. C. Ramsey	May 12, 1862	Ohio	Resigned November 15, 1864.
" Edward P. Ransom	Sept. 25, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Jan. 31, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Joseph Rudolph	May 28, 1864	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Jan. 18, 1866; Brevet Major.
" William D. Shepherd	" 18, "	New Brunswick	Honorably mustered out Oct. 9, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Joseph J. Slocum	Feb. 19, 1862	New York	Honorably mustered out July 7, 1866; Brevet Major.
" Lyman Y. Stewart	Sept. 10, "	Connecticut	Honorably mustered out June 16, 1865; Bvt. Major.
" A. E. Strickle	May 2, "	Ohio	Died at Cincinnati July 9, 1863.
" Wm. H. Stewart	Nov. 26, "	Ohio	
" James Sullivan	July 21, "	Ohio	Resigned May 10, 1865.
" Jesse Thornton	March 6, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out July 8, 1865; Brevet Major
" Richard B. Treat	Aug. 26, "	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Sept. 23, 1865; Brevet Major.
" W. M. Voglison	Oct. 6, "	New York	Honorably mustered out Feb. 21, 1866; Bvt. Lt. Col.
" Archibald C. Voris	July 16, "	Ohio	Resigned May 11, 1865; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.
" Stephen H. Webb	Aug. 5, 1861	New York	Honorably discharged September 6, 1864.
" Wm. D. Wesson	July 16, 1862		Resigned December 15, 1864.
" Aaron M. Wilcox	April 20, 1861	Ohio	Honorably mustered out Oct. 9, 1865; Brevet Major.
" Joshua G. Willis	May 23, 1862	New York	Resigned October 10, 1862.
" Gilbert E. Winters	March 11, 1863	Vermont	Honorably mustered out Aug. 18, 1865; Brevet Major.

GOVERNOR TOD.

SECY. S. P. CHASE.

GOV. DENNISON.

GOVERNOR BROUGH.

LT. GOV. ANDERSON.

SENATOR WADE.

SECRETARY STANTON.

SENATOR SHERMAN.

In National and State Councils.

THE WAR GOVERNORS, ETC.

EX-GOVERNOR WILLIAM DENNISON.

WILLIAM DENNISON, the first of the War Governors of Ohio, was born at Cincinnati on the 23d of November, 1815. On his mother's side he is of New England ancestry. His father, a native of New Jersey, was long and widely known in the Miami Valley as a successful business man.

In the year 1835 Mr. Dennison was graduated at Miami University. At college he took from his teachers commendations for respectable scholarship, and for special excellence in political science, history, and belle-lettres. He pursued the study of the law at Cincinnati, in the office of one of the gifted men of Ohio, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, father of George H. Pendleton. In 1840 he was admitted to the bar, and soon afterward was married, his bride being the eldest daughter of William Neil, of Columbus, whose name is indissolubly and honorably connected with mail contracts and stage transportation, when railroads were unknown in the Valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. About the time of his marriage Mr. Dennison removed to Columbus, where he practiced his profession assiduously until 1848, when the Whigs of the Senatorial district composed of the counties of Franklin and Delaware elected him to the Ohio Senate. He entered public life at a hotly-contested period of Ohio politics. Between the Whigs and Democrats the lines were closely drawn, and a third party (the Free Soil) made the result of both local and general elections very doubtful. So closely were the Senators and Representatives divided that the General Assembly, which met in December of that year, was unorganized for more than two weeks, during which period, in both branches, there was a struggle for mastery; and so heated was the contest that scenes of violence were feared, in which it was expected that excited partisans, who thronged the lobbies, would take part. In the contest for Speaker of the Senate Mr. Dennison was made the representative of his fellow Whigs, but they could not control quite votes enough to elect him. This mark of regard gave him prominence, however, as a member of the Senate, and his position was maintained

with skill and tact, that secured for him personal and political consideration, and contributed largely, in after years, to designate him as a man worthy of public trusts. His record as a Senator associates him with the repeal of the law denying black or mulatto persons the privilege of residence, and forbidding them to testify in courts, which, from 1804 to 1849, disgraced Ohio statute-books; with a demand for the application of the Ordinance of 1787 to all Territories of the United States, and for the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. In opposition to the aggressive demand of pro-slavery politicians, Mr. Dennison early took a decided stand. His first public speech, delivered in the year 1844, was against the slavery-extension scheme involved in the proposal to take Texas into the Union.

At the close of his Senatorial term, in the spring of 1850, he resumed the practice of his profession, declining all political offices. In 1852, however, he was one of the Senatorial Electors in Ohio, and cast his vote in the electoral college for General Scott. About this time Mr. Dennison accepted the Presidency of the Exchange Bank of Columbus, and began to turn his attention to the railroad enterprises then attracting capital and business energy in all parts of Ohio. He was chosen President of the Columbus and Xenia Railroad, and has since been actively engaged as director with the chief railway lines centering at Columbus.

In February, 1856, Mr. Dennison was a delegate to the Pittsburg convention, at which the Republican party was inaugurated; was a member of the Committee on Resolutions, which prepared the platform of principles; and, in June of the same year, was the acting chairman of the Ohio delegation at the Philadelphia Convention, and took an influential part in the committee and convention proceedings which resulted in the nomination of John C. Fremont for the Presidency.

In 1859 Mr. Dennison was nominated by acclamation as the Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio. His opponent, the candidate of the Democratic party, Rufus P Ranney, was a man of high character, who had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1852, and who had served with distinction as one of the Supreme Judges of the State. The candidates debated the issues of the campaign at a series of mass meetings held in different parts of the State. Earnest interest was manifested on both sides concerning these debates, and it was generally considered that Mr Dennison's success contributed largely to the liberal majority by which he was elected. In his inaugural the new Governor affirmed that Ohio was unmistakably opposed to the extension of slavery, and bade his constituents bear him witness that the object of these aggressions was permanent pro-slavery dominion in the Government or a dissolution of the Union; peaceably, if convenient; if not, forcibly, if possible, for the establishment of a slaveholding confederacy. The first event of note in which the Governor took part was on the occasion of an official visit from the Legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee to the State capital, in January, 1860, upon an invitation from the General Assembly of Ohio. Happening at a time when the National House of Representatives was unable to organ-

ize, and when discussions of danger to the Union were upon every tongue, the event was regarded as one of much significance.

Governor Dennison's first message was delivered to the Fifty-Fourth General Assembly January 7, 1861. It reported an abstract of the census returns of 1860, with suggestions respecting legislation required by developments of mining, manufacturing, and agricultural resources; gave a comprehensive review of the State finances, recommended a continuance of the State banking system, and strongly urged an effective military system. Discussing at considerable length questions pertaining to a dismemberment of the Union then agitated, the Governor declared the judgment of Ohio in 1860 to be precisely what it was in 1832, when its Legislature resolved: "That the Federal Union exists in a solemn compact, entered into by the voluntary consent of the people of the United States, and of each and every State, and that, therefore, no State can claim the right to secede from, or violate that compact; and however grievous may be the supposed or real burdens of a State, the only legitimate remedy is in the wise and faithful exercise of the elective franchise, and a solemn responsibility of the public agents." In accordance with this judgment he concluded his message with an emphatic declaration that, loyal as Ohio has always been to the Constitution, she would maintain her loyalty come what might. These are the common sentiments and common words of patriots, but at the time, and under the circumstances in which they were uttered on behalf of the State of Ohio, they possessed peculiar force and weight.

Of the war administration of Governor Dennison we have already spoken at length. It only remains to say that he continued to give time and labor freely to the Union cause through the war; that he was made President of the great anti-Vallandigham State Convention, and of the National Convention at Baltimore that re-nominated Mr. Lincoln; that, when Mr. Montgomery Blair retired from the Postmaster-Generalship in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, Governor Dennison was chosen to succeed him; that he was retained by Mr. Johnson, and that he resigned his portfolio when the new President began to assail the Union party. Since then Governor Dennison has resumed his residence at Columbus, and devoted himself to his private business, in which he has accumulated a handsome fortune.

EX-GOVERNOR DAVID TOD.

HON. DAVID TOD, the second of the War Governors, was born at Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio, on the 21st of February, 1805. His father, the Hon. George Tod, settled in Ohio in 1800, having left his native State, Connecticut, with many other of the early pioneers who settled the Western Reserve. Ohio was then a Territory, and the same year of his coming into it Mr Tod was called upon by Governor St. Clair to act as Secretary of the Territory. In 1802, when Ohio was admitted into the Union, he was elected Judge of the Supreme Court, holding that office for seven years in succession; he was afterward re-elected to the same position, but on the breaking out of the second war with Great Britain, resigned his seat on the bench, and tendering his services to the Government, was commissioned a Major, and afterward promoted to the Colonelcy of the Nineteenth Regiment of the army. During the struggle Colonel Tod won laurels by his coolness, bravery, courage, and heroism, especially at Sackett's Harbor and Fort Meigs. After the war, resigning his commission, he returned to Trumbull County, where, after a short time, he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, having for his circuit the whole northern part of Ohio. Judge Tod remained upon the bench for fourteen years, retiring in 1829, and for the remainder of his life pursuing his profession of the law, dying, universally regretted, at the age of sixty-seven, in 1841. At the death of his father, in 1841, David Tod was practicing law, having been admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-two, in 1827, and having opened an office at Warren, where he followed his profession for fifteen years. As a lawyer none were more successful. Commencing life without a penny, under even what would be embarrassing circumstances to a majority of young men, he overcame every obstacle and won fortune by the talents and industry he brought to the practice of his profession. As a criminal lawyer he won reputation through the West.

From his youth he had a strong love of politics, was an ardent admirer of Jackson, and in consequence of the Democratic party, for whose success he cast his first vote. In 1838 he was elected to the State Senate over his Whig competitor. In 1840, having previously become personally acquainted with General Jackson and Martin Van Buren, he took the stump for the latter, and won a reputation as a speaker which at once gave him prominence among the orators of the State.

Such was his popularity with his own party that in 1844 he was brought out as their candidate for Governor, receiving a unanimous nomination, and in that struggle his opponent's (Bartley's) majority was only about one thousand, while Clay's the following month, over Polk, was six thousand. About this time he retired from his profession to his farm at Brier Hill, and for the next three years devoted himself to agricultural pursuits.

In 1847 President Polk, unsolicited, tendered him the appointment of Minister to the Court of Brazil. From 1847 to the summer of 1852, a period of nearly five years, Mr. Tod represented the United States Government, negotiating several treaties; among the rest, Government claims of over thirty years previous standing. On his return, and during the Presidential canvass, he did effective service in the campaign which secured the election of Mr. Pierce. He also participated in the canvass of 1856, but sought no office from either.

In 1860, being a delegate to the Charleston Convention, and a strong Douglas man, he was chosen first Vice-President of that body, and when at Baltimore nearly the entire Southern wing of the party withdrew, followed by Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, the President of the Convention, Mr. Tod became the presiding officer.

The executive and business talents of Mr. Tod were conspicuously evidenced as the President of the Cleveland and Mahoning Railroad, the construction of which he was one of the first to advocate, and with whose success he became identified. To Mr. Tod, more than any other man, belongs the honor of inaugurating the steps which led to the development of the vast coal mines of the Mahoning Valley.

Before and after the meeting of the Peace Congress at Washington, in February, Mr. Tod warmly advocated the peace measures, and the exhausting of every honorable means, rather than the Southern Fire-eaters should inaugurate civil war. But from the moment the flag was shot down at Sumter, he threw off all party trammels, and was among the first public men in the State who took the stump advocating the vigorous prosecution of the war till every Rebel was cut off or surrendered. From that moment, with voice and material aid, he contributed his support to the National Government. Besides subscribing immediately one thousand dollars to the war fund of his township, he furnished company B, Captain Hollingsworth, Nineteenth Regiment, Youngstown, with their first uniforms.

The circumstances of the Governor's nomination to succeed Governor Dennison, and of his administration, have already been given.* Since the close of his term of service he has devoted himself to his business interests. He resides on his farm, known as "Brier Hill," in Mahoning County, which formerly belonged to his father, and which he repurchased, after he began to accumulate property, from those who had come into possession of it. With a brief description of this place, as given by a correspondent of the Ohio State Journal, we may close this sketch:

* Part I.

"The home farm—or 'Brier Hill Farm,' as it is called—contains about six hundred acres of well-improved, highly-cultivated land. Everything about the farm is in perfect order. The barns, stables, out-houses, sheds, and fences are all in the right place, and indicate the clear head and practical good sense of the proprietor. The house is just as the Governor describes it: 'Additions with a house to them.' The original structure is no longer to be seen. In the midst of a large park, filled with native forest trees, evergreens, shrubbery, and flowers, all in perfect order, stands the mansion, which has grown into ample dimensions, as time, an increasing family, enlarged business, and the demands of taste and comfort required. Between the house and the railroad stands a noble old forest, covered with a rich foliage, just tinged with autumnal colors. Two avenues have been cut through, to give a view of three of the Governor's iron foundries, whose smoke and flames indicate at a glance to the proprietor their working condition."

EX-GOVERNOR JOHN BROUGH.

JOHN BROUGH was born at Marietta on the 17th of September, 1811. His father, John Brough, an Englishman by birth, came to this country in 1806, in the same ship with Blennerhassett, with whom he afterward remained on the most friendly relations until his unfortunate connection with the Burr conspiracy. Mr. Brough's mother was a native of Pennsylvania, and was a woman of great force of character, and it was from her that John inherited the strong mental characteristics for which he was so remarkable. He was the oldest of three sons, but second in a family of five children. He received a good common school education, but his father died in 1822, leaving him, as well as the other members of the family, to depend upon their own exertions for support. John went into the printing office of Royal Prentiss, of Marietta, setting type a few months. He then entered the Ohio University, at Athens, where he pursued a scientific course, with the addition of Latin. While here he worked nights and mornings at his trade, and attended to his studies during the day. During this time he is said to have put up as much type every week as a hand constantly employed, and kept at the head of every department of study in the college. He studied law in the same manner. He was fleet of foot and the best ball player at college.

In 1832 he went to Parkersburg, Virginia, where for several months he edited the Gazette of that place. He then removed to Marietta, where he published and edited the Washington County Republican, a Democratic paper. In 1833 he removed to Lancaster, and purchased the Ohio Eagle, which he continued to edit with marked ability until 1838, spending almost every winter in Columbus, during which time he acted as Clerk to the Upper House of the General Assembly. It was during this time that he began to exhibit capacity for financial affairs, and he was taken into the confidence of the old leaders of both political parties. He saw through the corruption of the Auditor's office,

and the tendency of the dominant party toward repudiation, securing the information which enabled him to denounce the whole system so effectually when a member of the House of Representatives in 1838–39.

This bold course made him State Auditor in 1839, although fiercely opposed and threatened by Medary and Allen. The best and purest members of the Legislature of the Whig party voted for John Brough, and he was elected. Ever afterward Medary and Allen were his bitter and uncompromising enemies. Brough continued to act as Auditor for six years, in that time perfectly revolutionizing the manner of doing business in that office, and building up an enviable reputation for executive ability and probity of character. The annual reports of Auditor Brough are among the most interesting historical papers of the State. They disclose the confusion and irresponsibility of the business transactions of the departments, and the mismanagement, if not corruption, of the finances. Soon after taking possession of his office, Brough set to work to correct the general system of plunder, practiced in several counties of the State by dishonest and inefficient officials, which was encouraged by the system of special legislation then in vogue. He soon had three hundred thousand acres of canal lands, which had been dodging taxation, replaced on the duplicate, and recommended to the Legislature that the owners be required to pay the taxes for the years they had eluded the officers of the law. He recommended the resurvey of the Virginia military lands, showing that in a single instance in one county, that a resurvey of a warrant of five thousand acres had produced nearly fifteen thousand acres. He showed that in the counties of Highland and Fayette alone, not less than fifty thousand acres of land were not upon the duplicates, which of right should be there. He denounced the loose character of legislation upon the subject of school and ministerial leased lands. The whole body of laws relating to our financial operations had become involved in such confuson, and the frequent patching of the system had given it so many forms, that a correct administration of the public finances was a matter of impossibility. There were no less than three financial departments: The Canal Fund Commissioners, the Board of Public Works, and the State officers, and all acting in independence of each other.

From all the information and records of the Auditor's office, it was not possible to arrive with accuracy at the indebtedness of the State, and the disbursement of the most important and extensive portion of its funds. The Fund Commissioners were authorized to loan money; they did so, and reported the fact and gross amount to the Auditor; but those funds, instead of passing through the Auditor's office into the public treasury, were deposited in the banks and agencies; and in place of being disbursed upon the drafts of the Auditor, passing through his books, where a perfect system of accountability could be kept up, they were paid out on the checks of the Fund Commissioners, and no trace of them, save the fact of their loan, as reported by the Commissioners, was to be found upon the fiscal records of the State. Again, while this branch was thus independent of the fiscal officers of the State, the Board of Public Works was independent of both. Their requisitions for public funds

were made upon the Fund Commissioners; the amounts were furnished and placed in the banks, subject to the unrestricted checks of the Acting Commissioners. The vouchers for their expenditures were returned to themselves, in their aggregate capacity of a Board; and the accounts of one member were audited and settled by his colleagues, when he in turn became a judge in settling theirs; the Auditor having nothing to do but record these settlements as final! This, to the citizens of Ohio participating in political affairs twenty-eight years ago, is nothing new, but to the younger class it will show how slowly a safe system of finances is formed; and comparing the recommendations of the Auditor then with the admirable financial system we now have, they will understand better what the people of Ohio owe to John Brough.

He earnestly devoted his energies to reform; and, by unremittingly pressing his theories, from year to year, upon the General Assembly, and laying them before the people, he effected it. The management of the finances was changed; a system of accountability between the departments of government was adopted; new revenue laws were passed and put into operation, and the county officers held to a rigid accountability for their execution, so that, even as early as 1841, one million and twenty thousand acres of land were added to the taxable list; inefficiency in the discharge of public duties, corruption and defalcation on the part of subordinates, which had been frequent before, were prevented or corrected; economy in the administration of government and expenditures for public improvements was observed; those political mountebanks, whilom freest in squandering the public revenue, who broached the policy of repudiating the public debt, were defeated and politically buried; the State was relieved from financial embarrassments and her credit gradually restored.

The heavy amount of the public debt, and its rapidly-increasing character, was a source of great anxiety to Mr. Brough, and he addressed himself to the task of reducing it and adopting the means for its final redemption. He discussed in public the financial question in all its bearings. He referred to the theory of an English statesman, that a "national debt was a national blessing," for the reason that the interest and identity which it created between its citizens, the wealthy and powerful, and the government, was the safest guarantee against the revolution that involved encroachment or destruction. Mr. Brough held that "the remark will hold directly an inverse position when applied to the form of government which we enjoy, and is enforced in that position by the very reversed circumstances that surround our public debt." Subsequently, in a communication to the General Assembly, he reaffirmed this doctrine, and protested against any resort, on the part of the State of Ohio, to "doubtful expedients" to meet her increasing indebtedness. He held that "the faith of the State, where it has been legally and honestly pledged, should be preserved inviolate;" but, to do this in the future, "the sovereign authority should set rigid bounds to the debt, which, under the pledge of that faith, is so rapidly accumulating." Taxation and retrenchment was his theory There was great inequality in the taxation of lands, town, and chattel property, which led to a

misunderstanding, confusion, and wrong. Mr. Brough urged a remedy—the appraisement of all taxable property at its real cash value. It was true that this would swell the duplicate to a very large amount, but the larger the aggregate of taxable property the smaller the *rate* of taxation.

While Mr. Brough was still Auditor of State he bought the Phœnix, in Cincinnati, of Moses Dawson, changed its name to the Enquirer, and put his brother Charles Brough as editor. After the close of his official term he practiced law in Cincinnati, and also wrote editorials for his paper. There is some evidence that Mr. Brough had an ambition to represent the State in the United States Senate, for which position his broad and comprehensive views of public policy and his great ability as a speaker admirably fitted him; but in 1848, becoming disgusted with the proslavery inclinations of some of the leaders of the Democratic party, he resolved to have nothing more to do with politics, save as an elector, and sold one-half of the Enquirer to H. H. Robinson.

President Polk had offered him the Secretaryship of the Treasury, without consultation with the part of the Democratic leaders to whom Mr. Brough's course as Auditor had been distasteful. His financial turn of mind made the offer peculiarly grateful, but it was subsequently withdrawn without explanation. Afterward he was tendered, in succession, several important diplomatic positions, but he refused all; and, abandoning all political aspirations, embarked in railroad business. He was made President of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad Company, making Madison his place of residence. He continued as President of this road until 1853, and was remarkably successful in its management; so much so that it may be said that he thereby laid the foundation of the present railroad system which centers at Indianapolis. In July, 1853, he became connected with the Bellefontaine line. This active business life suited him, and it was with apparent reluctance that, after fifteen years of retirement, he obeyed the call of the people of his native State to become their standard-bearer against treason, in 1863.

Of his ensuing career, and of his death in the midst of his labors, previous chapters of this work have spoken in detail.

Brough was a statesman. His views of public policy were broad and catholic, and his course was governed by what seemed to be the best interests of the people, without regard to party expediency or personal advancement. He was honest and incorruptible, rigidly just and plain, even to bluntness. He had not a particle of dissimulation. People thought him ill-natured, rude, and hard-hearted. He was not; he was simply a plain, honest, straightforward man, devoted to business. He had not the *suaviter in modo*. This was, perhaps, unfortunate for himself, but the public interests suffered nothing thereby He was, moreover, a kind-hearted man, easily affected by the sufferings of others, and ready to relieve suffering when he found the genuine article. He, perhaps, mistrusted more than some men, but when he was convinced he did not measure his gifts. He was a good judge of character. He looked a man through and through at first sight. Hence no one hated a rogue more than he; and, on the

other hand, no one had a warmer appreciation of a man of good principles. He was a devoted friend.

As a public speaker Brough has had few superiors. His style was clear, fluent, and logical, while at times he was impassioned and eloquent. When the famous joint campaign was being made between Corwin and Shannon, for Governor, the Democratic leaders found it expedient to withdraw Shannon and substitute Brough, in order that they might not utterly fail in the canvass. Corwin and Brough were warm friends, and none of Brough's partisans ever had a higher admiration for his genius than had Corwin.

In 1832 Mr. Brough married Miss Achsah P. Pruden, of Athens, Ohio. She died September 8, 1838, in the twenty-fifth year of her age. In 1843 he married, at Lewiston, Pennsylvania, Miss Caroline A. Nelson, of Columbus, Ohio, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. Both of the sons have died. So soon as Governor Brough became aware of the dangerous nature of his disease he made his will, and talked freely to his wife, children, and friends. He sought full preparation for death. Though not a member of a church, nor during the last ten years of his life, an active attendant at any place of worship, he stated very calmly, yet with deep feeling, that he was, and always had been, a firm believer in the doctrines of Christianity; that he had full faith and hope in Jesus Christ, and through Him hoped for eternal life. He remarked that he had never been a demonstrative man, but his faith had, nevertheless, been firmly and deeply grounded.

SECRETARY EDWIN M. STANTON.

ONE of the most distinguished and popular of war ministers was William Pitt. Yet when a historian of England, not unfriendly to Mr. Pitt's party (Lord Macaulay), came to pass judgment upon him, he pronounced him superlatively extravagant and incompetent. It is possible that when future historians apply their microscopes to the management of our War Department during the trying years of the long struggle, they may echo the first part, at least, of this censure. But they can no more separate the name of Edwin M. Stanton from the great triumphs won under his management than they can obliterate the fame of the younger Pitt.

To give a satisfactory life of Mr. Stanton would be to write with great fullness of detail the inner history of the conduct of the war by our Government, and of the efforts at re-organization that followed the peace. The occasion is not convenient, nor, even if all the facts could properly be made accessible, has the time come for that. We must rest satisfied, therefore, with a few bare facts and dates.

Mr. Stanton is of Quaker descent. His ancestors migrated from Rhode Island to North Carolina about the middle of the eighteenth century. His grandparents were Benjamin and Abigail Stanton, who resided near Beaufort, in North Carolina. The maiden name of the latter was Abigail Macy, and she was a descendant of that Thomas Macy, who was perhaps the earliest white settler of Nantucket, and whose flight thither, upon pursuit for giving shelter to a hunted-down Quaker, is the subject of one of Whittier's poems. Benjamin Stanton, the Secretary's grandfather, in his will expressed the "will and desire that all the poor black people that ever belonged to me be entirely free whenever the laws of the land will allow it; until which time my executors I leave as guardians to protect them and see that they be not deprived of their right or any way misused." In the year 1800 his widow, with a large family of children, removed to Ohio. One of her children was Dr. David Stanton, who married Lucy Norman, a native of Culpepper County, Virginia, daughter of Thomas Norman, Esq. Her father was a Virginia planter, who resided near Stevensburg, and was owner of the farm on which was fought, in 1862, the battle of Cedar Mountain. Dr. David Stanton was an eminent and highly respected physician in Steubenville, Ohio.

His eldest child was Edwin M. Stanton, who was born at Steubenville, Ohio, in December, 1815. At the age of thirteen he became a clerk in the bookstore

of James Turnbull, of Steubenville. After three years spent here, in the year 1831, he became a student of Kenyon College, where he remained until some time in the year 1833. After leaving college he was again employed as a clerk in the bookstore of James Turnbull, at Columbus. He subsequently studied law in the office of his guardian, Daniel L. Collier, Esq., at Steubenville, and at the age of twenty-one (in 1836) was admitted to the bar. He immediately commenced to practice his profession at Cadiz, Harrison County, Ohio, and was elected prosecuting attorney of the county. Shortly afterward, having acquired a large circuit practice, he removed to his native town of Steubenville, and in 1842 was elected by the General Assembly of Ohio reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court. He prepared and published volumes eleven, twelve, and thirteen of the Ohio State Reports. Though Mr. Stanton's attention was chiefly given to his profession, yet, even at this time, he took a somewhat active part in the politics of his county and State as a member of the Democratic party.

In 1847 he began to practice law in Pittsburg, as a partner of the Hon. Charles Shaler, and though still retaining an office at Steubenville, his attention was chiefly given to cases before the courts of Pennsylvania and the United States District, Circuit, and Supreme Courts. Among the important causes in which he was engaged were those known as the "Erie war" cases, in which he was counsel for the railroad company; and the Wheeling Bridge case, which he conducted as counsel for the State of Pennsylvania.

In the latter part of 1856 he removed to Washington City to attend to his practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, in which he had acquired a leading and lucrative practice. In 1858 he went to California as special counsel for the Government in certain land cases, involving public interests of great magnitude, and for his management of these cases he received fees almost unexampled.

In December, 1860, while engaged before the United States Circuit Court at Cincinnati, in a suit arising out of the conflicting interests of the Manney and McCormick reaping machine (it was at an earlier stage of this litigation, in 1859, and at the same place, that he first met Mr. Lincoln, who was of counsel on the same side), he was nominated to the office of Attorney-General by President Buchanan, whose old Cabinet was then falling to pieces around him. Mr. Stanton's attitude throughout the remainder of Mr. Buchanan's administration was that of determined opposition to the traitors in the Cabinet, and resolute maintenance of the National honor. At the expiration of Mr. Buchanan's term he resumed his profession, but did not relax his interest or efforts in behalf of the National cause. On the 20th of January, 1862, he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln Secretary of War. He continued a member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, enjoying the most cordial friendship and confidence of the President throughout the rest of his first term, and during his second term up to the time of Mr. Lincoln's assassination. On the 5th of August, 1867, Mr. Johnson requested his resignation, upon the alleged ground of public considerations of a high character, to which Secretary Stanton replied that "public considerations of a high character, which alone had induced him to remain at the head of this

Department, constrained him not to resign before the next meeting of Congress." On the 12th of August Mr. Johnson notified him of his suspension from the office of Secretary of War.

During his service as Secretary of War after Mr. Johnson's accession, Mr. Stanton supported the following measures passed by Congress against the President's opposition:

1. Freedmen's Bureau bill.
2. The Civil Rights bill.
3. The bill giving suffrage without regard to color in the District of Columbia.
4. The bill admitting Colorado as a State.
5. The several acts known as the Reconstruction Acts, providing for the establishment of governments in the Rebel States.

With this we must content ourselves. Mr. Stanton's relations to General McClellan and the peninsular campaign; his relations to the Rebel incursions in the Shenandoah Valley and the defense of the Capital; his relations to the changes of armies and commanders, the building up and pulling down of military reputations, the plans of campaigns, the recruiting of the army, the policy of the Government on the question of slavery, and a score of other matters almost equally important, would furnish the material for volumes.

He was, throughout Mr. Lincoln's administration, all-powerful. It was with reference to some strong-willed action of Mr. Stanton's, in opposition to his own wishes, that Mr. Lincoln, in reply to a personal appeal for aid, made the jocose remark, so often quoted, that he (Lincoln) had very little influence with this Administration. That the Secretary always used his power wisely or justly can not be affirmed. His expenditures were enormous, and occasionally ill-guarded. He was quick, decided, impatient of opposition, regardless of personal feelings, relentless in his purpose, almost vindictive, sometimes, in his punishments. His manners to officers of the army were often utterly indefensible. Yet it was mostly to men of high rank that he was rough or insulting; to the poor and defenseless he was often gentle and tender as a woman.

These things will long continue to exert great influence on the contemporary judgment of the displaced Secretary. But they can not greatly affect his permanent place in the history of the war. To call him the organizer of victory is to use a phrase that has become cant, and to award a compliment which he has himself expressly and conspicuously disclaimed. Yet it is the title to which his service and his success fairly point.

Mr. Stanton was credited to Pennsylvania in the record of Cabinet appointments, by reason of his having for a little time kept a law office at Pittsburg; but he has always regarded Steubenville, Ohio, as his home. He now resides in Washington. Before entering the Cabinet he had amassed a considerable fortune in the practice of his profession, in which he stood among the foremost lawyers at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. He has for a year or two been afflicted with an asthma which seems to have become chronic, and threatens to impair his future activity

EX-SECRETARY SALMON P. CHASE.

THE testimony of a conspicuous Rebel leader that the rebellion was conquered by our Treasury Department rather than by our Generalship, has already been quoted. In a work devoted to the military aspect of the great struggle, we can not with propriety enter at any satisfactory length into an account of the troubles and labors with which the financial system, that carried the Nation through, was built up. Yet Ohio may be indulged, even here, in the pardonable pride of an allusion to the fact that in this phase of the contest, as well as in the others, she "led throughout the war." To take a bankrupt treasury, sustain the credit of the Government, feed, equip, arm, pay, and transport an army of a million men, and pay all the expenses of a war on such a scale for four years—this was the work accomplished by Salmon P Chase. He has many and high titles to the Nation's gratitude; he was recognized as one of its most illustrious Statesmen before this task came upon him; he has been called, since he finished it, to the most exalted office in the Government; but, in all the round of his worthily-won honors, there is none more substantial and enduring.

Unlike many of those of whom, in these later pages, we have spoken, Mr. Chase's career is a part of the history of the Nation—known and read of all men. It may, therefore, be here the more briefly dismissed.

He was born in Cornish, New Hampshire, on the 13th of January, 1808. His father, Ithaman Chase, was a type of the old-fashioned New Englanders, and his ancestors were from Cornish, England. His mother was of Scotch descent. Ithaman Chase was a prosperous farmer, who, during the operation of the "non-intercourse act," had invested his means in a glass factory, which for a time proved quite lucrative. The close of the war with Great Britain, however, ruined the business and impoverished him. Not long afterward he died suddenly of apoplexy, and the family were left in straitened circumstances. The future Cabinet Minister and Chief Justice was sent to school for a little time at Windsor, Vermont; then—an opportunity offering for him to go West with an elder brother and Henry R. Schoolcraft, who were starting to join General Cass's expedition to the Upper Mississippi—he was sent, at the age of twelve, to his uncle, the venerable Bishop Chase, of the diocese of Ohio (Protestant Episcopal Church), to be educated. He remained at Cleveland for some weeks, awaiting a chance to be sent to his uncle at Worthington, and meantime earning money to pay his board bills by plying an improvised ferryboat in the shape of a canoe, across the Cuyahoga. At Worthington he labored on the

Bishop's farm, and attended the academy. Then, when the Bishop removed to Cincinnati to take charge of the college, the nephew accompanied him, and remained in his charge until, in 1823, he gave up the presidency of the Cincinnati College and started to Europe to secure funds for the establishment of Kenyon College. At the age of fifteen young Salmon was returned to his mother's family in New Hampshire. He attempted to teach school, and succeeded well enough till he was forced into whipping a boy bigger than himself, who was the son of one of the school directors. Then his engagement as a teacher was suddenly ended. He attended the academy at Royalton, Vermont, for a short time, and then, in 1824, entered the junior class at Dartmouth College. He was graduated, two years later, the eighth in his class.

After a few months' stay with his family the young graduate, with little enough money in his pocket, started to Washington to seek an opening as a teacher. His uncle, Dudley Chase, then a member of the United States Senate, from Vermont, helped him to references, but they brought no pupils, though he diligently advertised in the National Intelligencer his intention to teach a "select classical school." At last, in despair, he applied to his uncle, the Senator, to procure for him a place in the Treasury Department. The plain-spoken, wise old New Englander replied that he had once procured an appointment for a nephew, and it had ruined him. "If you want half a dollar to buy a spade and go out and dig for a living," he consolingly added, "I'll give it to you, but I will not help you to a place under the Government." Finally, when he seemed to have an excellent prospect for either starving or having to call on his uncle for the half dollar to buy a spade, he was asked suddenly to take charge of the school of a Mr. Plumby, who wished to give it up. Thenceforward his career was less difficult. He entered, after a time, the office of William Wirt, and under the instruction of that eminent advocate, studied law. In 1830 he removed once more to Cincinnati, to begin the practice of his profession.

Of his subsequent career as the opponent of the fugitive-slave law, the counsel of negroes in the courts of Cincinnati, the leader of the great anti-slavery movement in the West, and finally its representative as United States Senator and Governor of the State, we have in preceding pages* made brief mention. In 1861 he resigned his place in the United States Senate, to which he had just received a second election, to accept the place of Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln. He had been a prominent candidate for the presidency before the convention which finally nominated Mr. Lincoln, and in 1864 he was again, for a time, a candidate. Bowing, however, to the overwhelming public sentiment in favor of keeping Mr. Lincoln in office till the rebellion should be suppressed, he wrote a graceful letter of withdrawal from the contest.

He retired from the Cabinet in consequence of interference with his appointments of important fiscal agents—but not until he had successfully fought the financial battle, and left a perfected system on which his successors could work. Mr. Lincoln soon afterward appointed him Chief Justice of the

* Part I, Chapter II.

United States, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Chief Justice Taney. The first conspicuous public act he was called on to perform in this exalted place was to swear Mr. Lincoln into office, on the occasion of his second inauguration. A little later he had the sad task of swearing in Mr. Lincoln's successor.

Mr. Chase has long displayed, in the various high offices he has held, conspicuous executive ability, and it is well known that it is in this direction that his inclinations lead him. He has resided, since the outbreak of the war, in Washington, though his legal residence is still in Cincinnati. Before entering upon the duties of Secretary of the Treasury he was worth about a hundred thousand dollars, the fruits of his long and successful professional labors. He went out of office, after controlling the vast pecuniary business of the Nation for nearly four years, poorer than when he went in.

In person, Mr. Chase presents the most imposing appearance of any man in public life in the country. He is over six feet high, portly, with handsome features, and massive head. His manners are dignified and gracious, but not always cordial; he is incapable of the ordinary arts of the demagogue, and his great reputation is due entirely to his abilities and service—not at all to personal popularity.

U. S. SENATOR BENJAMIN F. WADE,

ONE of the Ohio Senators, stood at the head of the Committee on the Conduct of the War throughout its duration. In many ways his services have been of National importance; not the least of them will be reckoned to be the influence thus exerted upon the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the unflinching demand for its continuance to the end.

Benjamin F Wade was born in Feeding Hills Parish, Massachusetts, on the 27th of October, 1800. His parents were poor, and he received but a limited education; he had enough, however, to secure a district school, which he taught for a little. Not above work, he next supported himself as a farm hand, and afterward as a laborer on the excavations for the Erie Canal. About the age of twenty-one he removed to Ohio. He had now accumulated a little money The first use he made of it was to review his old studies, and then to enter the office of a lawyer in the Reserve. In 1828, after some further struggles with poverty and the hard times of the backwoods settlements, he was admitted to the bar.

Mr Wade soon took prominent rank among the lawyers of Ohio as a hard-working, plain-spoken practitioner, remarkable for "horse-sense," as the phrase of those days had it, and for a good deal of success in his cases. He settled in the town in which Joshua R. Giddings resided, and, after being for a time a fervid Whig, came to sympathize to a great extent with the political views of that champion of abolitionism. Before being admitted to the bar the people of Ashtabula County had made him a justice of the peace. After his admission they elected him prosecuting attorney He was next elected to the State Senate. Finally he was made President of a Judicial Circuit.

His reputation now extended through the State; and his standing in the dominant party was high. Through the hearty support mainly of the Reserve, he was pressed upon the Legislature in 1851 for election to the United States Senate and his canvass was finally successful. Here he soon became known for his indomitable pluck, the strength of his anti-slavery convictions, and his plain-spoken, and sometimes vehement defense of his views against the dominant Southern party. He kept up with the advance of the anti-slavery movement, and was always one of its conspicuous champions on the floor of the Senate, and before the people of the State. He has been successively re-elected at each expiration of his term of office up to the present. His term now expires in 1869, and as his party has lost the control of the Legislature, his long Senatorial career seems likely then to end.

Of the value of his services in the Committee on the Conduct of the War, many pages of this work bear ample evidence. His reports are the best repertory of material for the history of the times accessible, the best crucible in which to try reputations, the best mirror of the curious, changing phases of the struggle as they presented themselves to the Administration. But they can give no adequate idea of the energy with which he helped to inspire the Government, of the zeal, the courage, the faith, which he strove to infuse.

Mr. Wade is a forcible, direct speaker, little given to polish, and much given to hard-hitting. His manners are plain and hearty, his tastes are simple in spite of his long public service, and his industry is as marked as in the days of his digging on the Erie Canal. He is far from wealthy, but he has saved enough during his active life to provide for old age. He was elected President of the Senate, and consequently became acting Vice-President of the United States, shortly after Mr. Johnson's accession to the Presidency; and in the event of the impeachment of that officer, he would have become the President. He has often been spoken of as a probable nominee of the Republican party for this office. He resides at Ashtabula, where a correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial lately visited him, from whose letter about the old Radical chief we may extract these closing sentences:

"Mr. Wade lives in a plain white frame house, hid away among the trees and surrounded by ample grounds. Everything about him is like the man, plain, but substantial. In the lot near the house stands his office or 'den,' as the family familiarly term it, and here, for more than thirty years, when not in Congress, Mr. Wade has passed most of his time. Entering it with the Senator, we found two rooms, the floors lined from floor to ceiling with book-cases, filled with books. This library contains nothing but public documents, maps and charts, and is the most complete in the country, embracing all information concerning the Government, from its foundation to the present day. 'Nile's Register,' 'Madison's Notes,' 'Knox's Reports,' and many other books long since out of print, can be found there. A carpet, lounge, an old-fashioned arm chair, a few common chairs, a table, and some maps on the wall completed the furniture of the rooms, which seemed dreary and lonely enough in their isolated solitude. He is a self-made man, an original thinker, and perhaps the best informed man now in public life in this country. His parents were among the poorest people in Massachusetts, and he never had but seven days' schooling; yet, at the age of twenty-one, he had read a vast number of books, mastered the Euclid, and was well versed in philosophy and science. He read the Bible through in a single winter by the light of pine torches in his wood-chopping cabin. He read much and reflected on all he read. His grandfather on his mother's side was a minister, and had a small but well-selected library, and to this he was indebted in his early youth for much valuable information."

U. S. SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN.

JOHN SHERMAN, a leading member of the Finance Committee of the Senate through the whole war, and for some time its Chairman, the efficient ally of the Secretary of the Treasury in shaping the financial policy by which, rather than by fighting, the Nation at last triumphed, was born at Lancaster, Ohio, on the 10th of May, 1823. He was the eighth child of Judge Sherman, and was born some years after his distinguished brother, Lieutenant-General William Tecumseh Sherman.*

For some years after completing his education Mr. Sherman was engaged in the successful practice of law. He was elected a Representative to the Thirty-Fourth Congress by the Whig party of his district, and was assigned to the Committee on Naval Affairs. At the time of the Kansas excitement he was sent out to the disturbed Territory as a member of the Congressional Investigation Committee, and his conduct here was so handsome and manly as to bring him at once into prominence as one of the leading members of the House. He thus came to be chosen as the candidate of the Republican party for the Speakership. A recommendation which he had given to the "Helper Book" was made the pretext by Southern members for a violent opposition to his election, and a scene of turbulent excitement ensued, which lasted for some weeks. Mr. Sherman's explanation of his indorsement of the obnoxious book was not quite satisfactory to some of his supporters; but his bearing through the trying contest aroused general admiration. When it became necessary to withdraw him in order to secure an organization, he was at once indorsed by being appointed to the most important position in the House, the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means. Here he served industriously, and with credit, until his election, in the winter of 1860–61, to the United States Senatorship, made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Chase, on entering Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. This Senatorial contest was also protracted and exciting. Robert C. Schenck and Governor William Dennison were the other candidates, and for a long time the strength of the three seemed about equally balanced. The scale was finally turned by some members from the Reserve, who believed the contest to lie, finally, between Schenck and Sherman, and regarded Sherman as the more radical of the two. At the expiration of his term Mr. Sherman was re-elected, having, this time, a considerable majority over General Schenck.

* In the life of that officer may be found some further account of the family lineage.

Mr. Sherman's prominence in National affairs is mainly due to his labors on financial questions. He was soon recognized as the actual leader of the Senate on all this class of subjects, and his position was advanced to the nominal, as well as actual leadership, when Mr. Fessenden left the Senate to enter the Treasury Department as Mr. Chase's successor.

In general politics Mr. Sherman has followed rather than led in the Radical movement. His habits of mind are cautious and conservative, and he never commits himself rashly. He has generally, however, been in line with his party, and has always enjoyed a large share of its confidence.

He is in many respects almost the opposite of his brother, the General. He has much talent and no genius; he is cautious, correct, unexcitable, never likely to be carried away by an impulse, never liable to extravagancies of expression or demeanor. He is polite to all, though he has few intimate friends. In political management he has proved himself exceptionably skillful; and for his services in supporting the financial policy of the country through its darkest hours, he will always be held in honor. He has acquired a handsome fortune by his own exertions, and is likely to devote himself for many years to political matters.

JAY COOKE.

JAY COOKE, who, as financial agent of the Government furnished the money with which the army was paid, was born at Portland, Huron County, Ohio (now Sandusky), August 10, 1821. His parents were Eleutheros Cooke* and Martha Cooke, the latter of whom is still living. These were born in Middle Granville, New York. Eleutheros Cooke received a collegiate education, studied law and practiced for a few years in the region surrounding White Hall, and Saratoga; then in company with a few neighbors removed to Ohio in 1817. He was among the prominent lawyers of his day. He was prominent in the Masonic brotherhood, and was the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ohio. In political life, in which for years he actively participated in connection with the Whig party, he was repeatedly honored with stations of trust, elected for successive terms to the State Legislature, and in 1831 to Congress. There he assumed prominence; represented the House as prosecuting counsel in the exciting case of Stansberry *vs.* Samuel Huston, and was a leader in a great Congressional temperance movement.

During one of his legislative campaigns he found his beautiful Greek name Eleutheros—signifying peace—a serious disadvantage. Its orthography puzzled the unlettered Germans of Seneca County, and the election was decided by judges of adverse political faith against Mr. Cooke, by the rejection of a thousand ballots which were deposited for him in good faith, but in which his Christian name was fearfully contorted. This determined him never to entail upon his sons, if any were born to him, any other than the simplest names. Accordingly when his first son was born in 1819, he called him Pitt, after the Earl of Chatham, whose defense of the American Colonies was still green in the memories of the people of the new republic. Two years later Jay Cooke was born, and named after Chief-Justice Jay of New York. Other sons were born, one of whom, Henry D. Cooke, is the resident partner of the house of Jay Cooke & Co., Washington.

Mr. Cooke trained his children with especial care. In those primitive days of western civilization, educational privileges were few and obtainable only at great cost, but the sons of the pioneer were afforded every accessible advantage, and on his return from his legal excursions he brought with him plentiful supplies of well-selected books, charts, maps, writing materials, and whatever would conduce to the progress of the lads. He died December 28, 1864.

Jay Cooke's inclinations were always for a business life. At an early age he was engaged in a store in Sandusky, and next in a leading house in St. Louis. In the spring of 1838 he went to Philadelphia, and after some minor engagements entered the banking house of E. W. Clark &

*The Cooke family are lineally descended from Francis Cooke who landed from the Mayflower. He built the third house in Plymouth. One branch of his family removed to Connecticut, and another settled in Northern New York. From this latter branch descended Jay Cooke.

Co. When twenty-one years of age he became a partner, after having been previously entrusted with full powers of attorney to use the name of the firm. This house, which had its branches in Boston, New York, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Burlington, Iowa, was the largest domestic exchange house then in the country. During the succeeding twenty years the management of the business of the firm devolved almost entirely upon Mr. Cooke. In 1840 he wrote the first money article that appeared in Philadelphia, and for a year continued to edit the financial column of the Daily Chronicle. The after life of the banker attests how valuable was the training of this financial and editorial labor. At that time the importance of money articles was recognized by but three journals in the country, the New York Herald, Philadelphia Chronicle, and Nashville Whig. With James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald the column originated.

During Mr. Cooke's connection with the house of E. W. Clark & Co., several loans were offered by the Government, in the subscription to which this firm largely participated. In 1858 he retired from the partnership, carrying into effect a resolution previously announced, but delayed for two years by the illness and ultimate death of the senior partner. The firm had been prosperous, and a moderate but satisfactory fortune was the result of the long years of labor then performed by Mr. Cooke.

Until the commencement of 1861 Mr. Cooke was engaged in private business, and in negotiating large loans for railroads and other corporations. Then, for the purpose of providing business openings for their sons, he entered into partnership with his brother-in-law, Wm. G. Moorhead, and commenced banking again, under the title of Jay Cooke & Co. Mr. Moorhead was one of the railroad pioneers of Pennsylvania, whose foresight provided for the extension of transportation from the Delaware to the prairies of the West. He was one of the earliest presidents of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Company.

In the spring of 1861 the Government, in need of means, called for subscription loans, and the firm of Jay Cooke & Co. at once organized and carried into operation the machinery to obtain and forward to Washington large lists of subscribers. This was done without compensation. The State of Pennsylvania then required a war loan of several millions. Its negotiation, in a large measure, fell into the hands of Jay Cooke & Co., and they disposed of it at par during that period of universal business depression and distrust.

Through these successful negotiations Mr. Cooke was first made acquainted with the Secretary of the Treasury. Shortly afterward, and after Mr. Chase had failed to obtain further satisfactory aid from the associated banks, he determined to try the experiment of a popular loan, and to this end appointed four hundred especial agents, selecting generally the presidents and cashiers of the most prominent banking institutions in different parts of the country. In Philadelphia preference was given to Jay Cooke & Co., and they immediately inaugurated a system which resulted in the effectual popularization of the loan, and secured the co-operation of the masses in the subscription to the loan. Of the entire sum secured by the four hundred agents, amounting to but twenty-five or thirty millions, Jay Cooke & Co. returned about one-third.

This plan not filling the treasury rapidly enough, Mr. Chase, after full consultation with prominent financiers, decided to place the negotiation of the five hundred million five-twenty loan of 1862 in the hands of an especial agent. Congress had just authorized the loan and the employment of an agent, and having found the most efficient aid and greatest results from the efforts of Jay Cooke, Mr. Chase appointed him. In connection with his partners and assistants Mr. Cooke organized his plan of proceedure, the result of which is now history.

In this great transaction between Mr. Cooke and the Government the Government assumed no risk. The risks of the undertaking were all assumed by the agent. If sales were made, the treasury agreed to pay a commission amounting to three-eighths of one per cent. to cover the immense expenditures connected with an enterprise which at best was but an experiment. If the loan failed, the agent was to receive nothing, and with the full success of the negotiations there could accrue but a meager remuneration, not one-twentieth of the amount which European bankers are accustomed to receive from a foreign power, in addition to absolute security from loss. The public do not know how closely Mr. Chase managed the expenditures of the Department, and how meager were his disbursements compared to the sums paid for similar service in other countries. Neither are they aware that the enormous negotiations of the great war loans of the United States were taken by the subscription agent, with the possible prospect of receiving no benefit therefrom, and the chance of ruining his own fortune and those of his partners.

This immense experiment was handsomely carried out. The loan was sold, but even its remarkable success did not save Mr. Chase and Mr. Cooke from the detractions and accusations of the political enemies of the Secretary, who sought to damage his Presidential aspirations by charges of favoritism. So closely, however, did Mr. Chase guard the expenses of his Department that commission on the five-twenty loan was paid to Mr. Cooke on only three hundred and sixty-three millions of dollars. A part of the agent's plan for the sale of the loan was to have the notes distributed from the sub-treasuries, and all his advertisements and sub-agents so instructed the people. One hundred and fifty-one millions of dollars of the loan was sold at these designated offices, and on these Mr. Cooke received no commission. He performed the labor and induced the purchase of the bonds, but received no compensation for the sale of this portion of the loan. The clamor of the opponents of Mr. Chase increased, and finally succeeded. The treasury attempted to negotiate its own loans and it failed. The consequence was that the rebellion, which might have been suppressed in the latter part of 1864, was defiant when the first of January, 1865, came. The force of financial success would have defeated the Richmond conspirators, but familiar with the condition of National finances, the Rebels waited confidently for the relapse of the Union effort to subdue them. The prospect was dark and dreary. The treasury was in debt for vouchers for the quartermaster's department, the armies were unpaid and heavy arrearages due, and a debt of three hundred millions of dollars stared the new Secretary in the face, while the financial burden steadily accumulated at the rate of four millions of dollars a day.

This was the condition of affairs when Mr. Fessenden was at the head of the Treasury Bureau. The Government could only pay in vouchers, and these were selling in every part of the country at a discount of twenty-five to thirty per cent., and gravitating rapidly downward. This was known to the Confederate authorities and excited the hopes of the Rebel armies at home and their sympathizers abroad. Had this condition continued, gold would have reached a much higher premium, the vouchers of the Government become unsaleable, and ruin resulted. The Government then tried to obtain money without the aid of a special agent. The endeavor was made, backed by the powerful assistance of the National banks, but proved entirely abortive. With all this powerful machinery the receipts to the treasury averaged but seven hundred thousand per day, one-sixth of the regular expenditure. Mr. Chase and the leading friends of the Government earnestly advised Mr. Fessenden to employ Mr. Cooke as the special agent of the Treasury Department, and the Secretary sent for the banker.

The interview was successful. Mr. Cooke asked the amount of daily sales which would meet the urgent demands upon the Treasury. The reply was, "Two million five hundred thousand dollars; can you raise the money?" "I can," was the ready reply. "When will you commence?" "On the first of February!" and the conference ended. This was on the 24th of January. His commission was sent to Mr. Cooke; he organized his staff of agents, and by the first of February was in full operation. Innumerable assistants were appointed. Special and traveling agents were set at work; advertising was ordered by hundreds of thousands of dollars, and in a few days money began to flow into the depleted treasury, and cash instead of vouchers paid the purchases for the maintenance of the Government and the subsistence of the army.

From the first organization of Mr. Cooke's machinery for popularizing the loan, the daily sales averaged from two to three millions of dollars, and steadily increased, until at the close of the loan the receipts avaraged five millions of dollars per day. In five months the last note was sold, fifteen or sixteen millions of dollars being sold occasionally in one day, and once forty-two millions. The result of these grand successes was the speedy collapse of the hopes of the Rebels. The vouchers of the Government were paid off, and new purchases were paid for promptly at a saving of from thirty to fifty per cent. on former prices. Since the close of the war Mr. Cooke has continued to act for the Government, in connection with other parties, in many important matters. He was also the most efficient assistant in the establishment of the National banking system.

It should be added that Mr. Cooke's profits from the percentage allowed by the Government were far less than has been generally supposed. There are on file in the Treasury Department letters from him making repeated offers to give up the percentage and do the work for nothing, if the Government would release him from his liabilities for loss through any of his thousands of agents—a risk which constantly threatened him with ruin. The Department always refused this offer.

THE END.

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BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL ISAAC R. SHERWOOD.

ISAAC R. SHERWOOD entered the army on the 18th of April, 1861, and served as a private for four months in West Virginia, participating in skirmishes at Laurel Mountain and Cheat River, and in the fight at Carrick's Ford.

He received a commission as First-Lieutenant in the One Hundred and Eleventh Ohio Infantry, was appointed Adjutant, and served in that position through the Buell campaign in Kentucky. On the 1st of February, 1863, at the unanimous request of the field and line officers, he was promoted from Adjutant to Major. He participated in Morgan's campaign, and in the East Tennessee campaign. He commanded the skirmishers of Burnside's army on the retreat from Huff's Ferry to Lenox, and commanded the regiment at Huff's Ferry, Siege of Knoxville, Campbell's Station, Blair's Cross-Roads, Dandridge, Strawberry Plains, Mossy Creek, and Loudon. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel on the 12th of February, 1864, and from that time until the close of the war was constantly in command of the regiment.

He was engaged at Rocky Face, Resaca, Burnt Hickory, Dallas, Pine Mountain, Lost Mountain, Kenesaw Mountain, Chattahoochie, Decatur, Peachtree Creek, Utoy Creek, Atlanta, Lovejoy, Columbia, Duck River, and Franklin.

For gallantry in the latter engagement he was made a Brevet Brigadier-General. He was transferred to the East, and was through the North Carolina campaign. At Saulsbury he went before a board of officers and was recommended for promotion and retention in the service. Accordingly he was made Colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Third Ohio Infantry, and was ordered by the War Department to report to Major-General Saxton for duty, according to brevet rank, as Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the State of Florida. The General, however, immediately tendered his resignation and left the service.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL R. N. ADAMS.

ROBERT N ADAMS was born in Fayette County, Ohio, near Greenfield, in 1835. He is a descendant of the Douglas family, coming from the Scottish Presbyterian stock, whose traditional firmness of purpose and uprightness of character he inherits. His early life was spent on the farm, and in preparing himself for college at the Greenfield school.

In 1858 he entered Miami University, where he remained until near the close of his junior year, when the rebellion broke out, and he joined the "University Rifles," a company organized at Oxford, in which he served as a private in the Twentieth Ohio through the three months' service. In August, 1861, he organized a company at Greenfield, of which he was made Captain. It joined the Eighty-First Ohio Infantry. On May 7, 1862, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, and August 8, 1864, to Colonel of the regiment. In these different grades he served with his regiment, first in Missouri, under Fremont, and afterward with the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Corps, of the the Army of the Tennessee. During the latter portion of the Atlanta campaign, and through the march to Savannah, and to Washington, he commanded a brigade. His appointment as Brevet Brigadier-General was made in May, 1865, to date from March 13, 1865.

In July, 1865, he was mustered out with his regiment. He participated in the battles of Pittsburg Landing, Corinth, Town Creek, Resaca, Dallas, Kenesaw Mountain, Nicojack Creek, Atlanta, July 22d and 28th; Jonesboro' (at which place he was slightly wounded), and Hobkirk's Hill.

After the war he entered upon the study of theology, a design which he had cherished for years.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL MOSES B. WALKER.

MOSES B. WALKER was born in Fairfield County, Ohio, July 16, 1819. He was educated at Yale College, and after graduating studied and practiced law in Montgomery County for twenty years.

At the opening of the war he was appointed Captain in the Twelfth United States Infantry. On the 4th of August, 1861, he was commissioned Colonel of the Thirty-First Ohio Infantry, and in September he led the regiment to Camp Dick Robinson, Kentucky In the spring of 1862 he was placed in command of the First Brigade, First Division, Fourteenth Corps, which he continued to command until after the fall of Atlanta. He was then at home for twenty days on leave, and upon returning to the field served as President of the Military Commission of the Department of the Cumberland for seven months.

He was brevetted Brigadier-General of volunteers, and also Major and Lieutenant-Colonel in the regular army, "for gallant and meritorious service during the war." He was wounded by a shell at the battle of Chickamauga, by which his spine and left shoulder were injured permanently; and in consequence of this he has been retired from active duty in the regular army, and is now at his home in Findlay, Ohio.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL B. B. EGGLESTON.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Corinth Township, Saratoga County, New York. He entered the army as private at Circleville, Ohio, in the First Ohio Cavalry, on the 8th of August, 1861, and was promoted to Captain on the 1st of September. On the 25th of July, 1862, he was captured, and upon rejoining his regiment was promoted to Major, and soon after to Colonel.

After the re-enlistment of his regiment as veterans, Colonel Eggleston was placed in command of a brigade, which he continued to command at intervals until after the Atlanta campaign. He participated in the cavalry campaign under General Wilson, and by order of that officer received the surrender of the post of Atlanta. He then proceeded to Orangeburg, South Carolina, and was appointed by General Gillmore Chief of Staff for the Department, which position he held until mustered out, September 13, 1865. He was brevetted Brigadier-General on the 6th of March, 1865.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL ISAAC MINOR KIRBY.

ISAAC MINOR KIRBY was born at Columbus in 1834. He enlisted April 18, 1861; was elected Captain and mustered into the Fifteenth Ohio Volunteer Infantry He served with that regiment in Western Virginia, and then in Buell's Army of the Ohio. He marched with it to Pittsburg Landing and participated in the battle there, assisting Major Wallace in commanding the regiment. He resigned in May, 1862, and in July raised another company for the One Hundred and First Ohio, in which he was again commissioned Captain. He joined Buell's army at Louisville, and in October, 1863, was promoted Major.

Colonel Stem and Lieutenant-Colonel Wooster fell early in the morning of the first day's fight at Stone River. Major Kirby thus succeeded to the command of the regiment during the remainder of that battle. Immediately afterward he was promoted to Colonel. He continued in command of the regiment until the early part of the movement on Atlanta, when he was given command of the First Brigade, First Division, Fourth Army Corps, which he led throughout the campaign. Colonel Kirby was now recommended by superiors in official reports for promotion. He commanded the brigade during the retreat of Thomas's army before Hood to Nashville, and through the battles of Franklin and Nashville. In the latter he led the first assault on the enemy's main line of works. He was now again recommended for promotion, and he finally received a commission as Brevet Brigadier-General.

General Kirby continued in command of the First Brigade, First Division, Fourth Army Corps, until the close. He was mustered out of the service at Nashville in June, 1865, having been constantly in the field from the commencement till the end of the war.

BREVET BRIGADIER GENERALS;

MOSTLY OF LATE APPOINTMENTS, AND NOT EXERCISING COMMANDS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR BREVET RANK.

FRANKLIN ASKEW was born at St. Clairsville, Ohio, January 9, 1837 He graduated at Michigan University in 1859, and then began the study of the law. When the war broke out he entered the Seventeenth Ohio Infantry—three months' regiment—in which he served as Second-Lieutenant and First-Lieutenant. He then organized a company for three years, and entered the Fifteenth Ohio as Captain, September 13, 1861. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel October 24, 1862, and to Colonel July 22, 1864.

He participated in every battle and skirmish in which his regiment was engaged. At Stone River he was severely wounded, and he received a slight wound at the battle of Nashville. He accompanied his regiment to Texas, and for a short time was in command of the post of San Antonio. His appointment as Brevet Brigadier-General dates from July 14, 1865.

WILLIAM H. BALDWIN was born at New Sharon, Maine, in 1832. His father was once a member of the State Legislature, and at various times held several other offices of trust in the State. His grandfather, Nahum Baldwin, was a soldier throughout the Revolutionary War.

He graduated at Union College, New York, in 1855, and in the Law Department of Harvard University in 1858. Soon after he commenced the practice of law in Cincinnati, but in 1860 he went to Europe, and was with the army of Garibaldi in most of its important movements.

He returned home upon hearing of the war of the rebellion, and was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighty-Third Ohio Infantry in September, 1862. He served with this regiment in the expedition down the Mississippi; was engaged at Chickasaw Bluffs, Arkansas Post, Vicksburg, and Jackson. He also participated in the Red River expedition, and in the severe service which the Eighty-Third Ohio performed in Louisiana in 1864. In 1865 he was with his regiment in the operations about Mobile, arriving in the vicinity of Blakely on the 2d of April. The storming of the enemy's works at this place was attended with peculiar difficulties. The approach was protected with heavy abattis, and with rifle-pits, in addition to which the enemy had planted torpedoes in the way.

Colonel Baldwin asked permission to take his regiment into the works in

his front, as the advanced line, which was granted. He sent for axes and gave one to each company, putting them in the hands of musicians to cut through abattis. Giving orders to form in single rank and to align by the colors, he ordered the color-bearers to follow him. At the appointed signal the order of advance was given and the regiment sprang forward, led by their commander. The Confederate rifle-pits were soon reached, but there was no delay to take prisoners. The guns of those who were captured were broken, and the men were left to be taken up by those following. On the line went, preserving its alignment as well as could be until the abattis was reached. The axes were used, and then the line moved on, and in a short time reached redoubt No. 4. In an instant the works were scaled and Colonel Baldwin cried out, "Surrender!" "To whom?" asked the Confederate commander. "To the Eighty-Third Ohio," was the reply. "I believe we did that once before," said he, which was true, as this was Cockerill's Missouri brigade, which had stacked arms in front of the Eighty-Third Ohio at Vicksburg.

Colonel Baldwin placed Captain Garry, who was the first officer inside the works, in charge of the prisoners, and hastened in pursuit of the Rebels who were attempting to escape. Seven hundred and ninety-nine prisoners were captured by the regiment, besides a quantity of artillery and small arms. The loss of the Eighty-Third in this assault was seven killed and twenty-one wounded. Both flag-staffs were shot off and the flags riddled with balls. The rest of the brigade came up afterward, losing but four killed and seventeen wounded out of four regiments!

For his gallantry at this place he was brevetted Colonel, and subsequently Brigadier General. The latter commission was "for gallant services in the charge against the Rebel works at Blakely, Alabama," and bore date from August 22, 1865.

After the fall of Mobile he served at Selma and Mobile, Alabama, and Galveston, Texas, until mustered out in August, 1865. General Baldwin resumed the practice of law in Cincinnati in partnership with his brother.

W. H. BALL was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Second Ohio October 8, 1862. He resigned February 3, 1865. His regiment served in the Army of the Potomac with Butler at Bermuda Hundred; in New York at the time of the riots; and in the Shenandoah Valley with Sheridan. His commission as Brevet Brigadier-General dates from October 19, 1864.

GERSHOM M. BARBER was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Ninety-Seventh Ohio, April 12, 1865 (having previously served as Captain in the fifth company of independent sharp-shooters), and was mustered out with the regiment on the 31st of July following. The date of his appointment as Brevet Brigadier-General is March 13, 1865.

JAMES BARNETT was a resident of Cleveland engaged in successful business pursuits when the war broke out. He had taken great interest in the organi-

zation of the militia under Governor Chase's administration, and had been the Colonel of what was called a regiment of light artillery, though it really comprised only guns and men for one battery. He entered the service at the first call. One of his guns fired the first cannon shot in the war in the West—in the affair at Philippi, West Virginia. He re-organized his command for the three years service and remained at its head throughout. Its varied and always honorable service is elsewhere (Vol. II) traced in detail. Colonel Barnett was besides employed on a great variety of detached and staff service, mostly relating to artillery, and was always ranked as a cool, efficient, and very valuable officer. He was mustered out October 20, 1864. His rank as Brevet Brigadier-General dates from March 13, 1865.

ROBERT H. BENTLEY was born at Mansfield, Ohio, August 8, 1835. His grandfather, Robert Bentley, was one of the earliest settlers in Richland County, Ohio; was an officer in the war of 1812, and subsequently a Major-General of Ohio militia, and a member of the State Senate.

General Bentley went into the service April 16, 1861, as a private in Captain Wm. McLaughlin's company of the First Ohio Infantry. He came out of the three months' service a second sergeant, and was soon after appointed Regimental Quartermaster of the Thirty-Second Ohio Infantry. After the capture at Harper's Ferry the regiment was reorganized, and he was made Lieutenant-Colonel. With this regiment he went through the Vicksburg campaign, and in the battles which preceded the capture of that city won the special commendation of General Logan, his division commander.

After the capture of Vicksburg he resigned his position in the Thirty-Second Infantry, and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twelfth Ohio Cavalry and remained with the regiment to the close of the war. In the raid upon the Virginia Salt-Works, and in the great Stoneman raid through Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas, he was in command of the regiment, and for services thus rendered was brevetted a Brigadier-General of volunteers. In July, 1865, he resigned his commission, and since that time has been in business at Washington City as an attorney for the prosecution of claims.

J. BIGGS, Brevet Colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-Third Ohio, was appointed Brevet Brigadier-General, to date from March 13, 1865.

JOHN R. BOND was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Eleventh Ohio, August 28, 1862; honorably discharged, October 18, 1864; appointed Brevet Brigadier-General to date from March 13, 1864.

HENRY VAN NESS BOYNTON was born in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, July 22, 1835. He removed with his father's family to Cincinnati in 1846. He graduated at the Kentucky Military Institute in 1858, and was Professor of Mechanics and Astronomy at this institution during the years 1859–60.

He was commissioned Major of the Thirty-Fifth Ohio Infantry, July 29, 1861; and promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, July 13, 1863. He commanded the

regiment at Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, and Buzzard's Roost. At the storming of Mission Ridge he was severely wounded.

He was brevetted Brigadier-General, March 13, 1865, "for good conduct at the battles of Chickamauga and Mission Ridge." He resigned at Chattanooga, Tennessee, September 8, 1864, on account of disability arising from wounds, and returned from the field with the first detachment of the regiment mustered out immediately after the capture of Atlanta.

General Boynton was in many respects a model officer—faithful to his men, devoted to the cause for which he fought, always at his post, thoroughly versed in his duties, gallant in action, and judicious in handling his troops. He was a man of singular sincerity of purpose, and intense in his hostility to slavery and hatred of Rebels. At the request of the author of this work the General was appointed his successor, as chief Washington Correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette, and of the Western Republican Press Association. Into this new field he carried the same ideas, for which he had fought and struggled for their triumph, with the same fervid zeal. He also displayed fine literary powers, and took high rank in the journalistic profession. He is a son of Rev Dr. C. B. Boynton, Chaplain of the House of Representatives at Washington, and Professor in the Naval School at Annapolis.

ROSLIFF BRINKERHOFF was born in Cayuga County, New York, June 28, 1828. He belongs to one of the old Dutch families of that State, which date back for their origin in America to the earliest times in the New Netherlands. His ancestor on his mother's side (Louis Bouvier) was one of that noble band of Huguenot refugees, who fled from their native France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and sought safety from religious persecution among the tolerant and sympathizing Hollanders of the New World.

In 1850 he removed to Ohio, and completed a course of law studies with his kinsman, the Hon. Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield. In 1852 he was admitted to the bar, and continued the practice of his profession at Mansfield until the opening of the war. During this period, however, he varied the monotony of legal life by three or four years' experience as editor and proprietor of the Mansfield Herald, in which capacity he won a State reputation as a writer and orator in the preliminary political contests which preceded the great rebellion.

In September, 1861, he entered the military service as First-Lieutenant, and Regimental Quartermaster of the Sixty-Fourth Ohio Volunteers. In November of the same year he was promoted to the position of Captain and Assistant Quartermaster, and during the winter was on duty at Bardstown, Kentucky. After the capture of Nashville he was placed in charge of transportation, land and river, in that city After the battle of Pittsburg Landing he was ordered to the front, and placed in charge of the field transportation of the Army of the Ohio.

After the capture of Corinth he went home on sick furlough, and was thence ordered to Maine as Chief Quartermaster in that State. Subsequently